THE CINCINNATI BIBLE
SEMINARY LIBRARY

Presented by

Library Book Fund

Date August, 1964

G.M. Elliott Library
Cincinnati Bible College & Seminary
2700 Glenway Avenue
P.O. Box 04320
Cincinnati, Ohio 45204-3200

CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM

LIBRI I—IV

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND JUNIOR STUDENTS

BY

H. FURNEAUX, M.A.

FORMERLY FELLOW AND TUTOR OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD

SECOND EDITION

G.M. ELLIOTT LIBRARY
Cincinnati Bible College & Seminary

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1904

878.01
T118f

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
LONDON, EDINBURGH
NEW YORK AND TORONTO

15 73f

CONTENTS.

PAGE

PREFACE. vii

INTRODUCTION—

i. ON THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF TACITUS . . 1

ii. ON THE SYNTAX AND STYLE OF TACITUS . . 8

iii. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THESE BOOKS . . 23

iv. GENEALOGY OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY . . . 32

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS 35

TEXT 43

APPENDIX. THE CHIEF EVENTS BETWEEN THE END OF BOOK IV AND THE DEATH OF TIBERIUS . . 209

NOTES 213

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT . . 383

PREFACE.

THE Introduction and Notes here given are mainly abridged from the corresponding portion of the larger edition as re-edited in 1896; to which, in the Chapter on Syntax and Style, references throughout are made, to assist any teachers or students who may desire to supplement the present from the former work.

The references here given are almost wholly restricted to the books of Tacitus contained in this volume, and to such other ancient authors or modern works as are well known to schoolboys.

I have also generally in this edition omitted to specify the editors or other writers to whom I am indebted, in the hope that it will be generally understood that the acknowledgments of obligation, freely made throughout the larger volume, are indirectly applicable here.

OXFORD,
Sept., 1898.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

ON THE LIFE AND WORKS OF TACITUS; AND HIS TREATMENT OF THIS PART OF HIS SUBJECT.

OUR knowledge of the chief facts and dates in the life of Tacitus rests mainly on allusions in his own writings and those of his friend the younger Pliny, who addresses several letters to him and often speaks of him in others.

His praenomen is not mentioned in this correspondence, and is differently given by later authorities as Gaius or Publius. His family connexions are unknown; but he would appear to have been the first of his name to attain senatorial rank, though of sufficient position to have begun his 'cursus honorum' at the earliest, or almost the earliest, legal age; as he can hardly have been born earlier than A. D. 52–54, and must have been quaestor not later than A. D. 79, by which time he had also received in marriage the daughter of Agricola, who was already a consular, and one of the first men in the State.

His boyhood falls thus under the time of Nero; his assumption of the 'toga virilis' would coincide, or nearly so, with the terrible year of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius; his early manhood was spent under Vespasian and Titus; the prime of his life under Domitian; the memory of whose tyranny is seen in all his historical writings, which were composed at various dates in the great time of Trajan.

Most of his life may be supposed to have been spent in Rome, where he became one of the leaders of the forensic bar, and one of the best known literary names of Rome; so that a stranger sitting next to him at the games, and finding him to be a man of letters, asked whether he was speaking to Tacitus or to Pliny[1].

[1] Plin. Epp. 9. 23, 2.

He is further known[1] as having been consul suffectus by the designation of Nerva either in A.D. 97 or 98, and as associated with Pliny in the prosecution of Marius Priscus, proconsul of Africa, in A.D. 100[2].

The Annals, more properly entitled 'Libri ab excessu divi Augusti,' comprising, in sixteen Books[3], the history of fifty-four years from the death of Augustus to that of Nero, are the latest in date of all his writings, and are shown, by an allusion to the Eastern conquests of Trajan[4], to have been published at some time not earlier than A.D. 115, and probably before the retrocession of the Eastern frontier under Hadrian in A.D. 117. The first six Books, comprising the whole principate of Tiberius, rest on a single manuscript, designated as the first Medicean, written probably in the tenth or eleventh century, and now preserved at Florence. What are given as various readings are the emendations of its errors and corruptions suggested by various editors, sometimes with the aid of marginal and other corrections of uncertain date in the manuscript itself.

In writing of the times of Tiberius, Tacitus, who must himself have been born some fifteen years after the death of that prince, appears to have derived some information from the unwritten recollections of his elders[5], but to have taken most of the material from previous writers. In one passage he refers to the history of the Roman wars in Germany by the elder Pliny[6], in another to the memoirs of Agrippina the mother of Nero[7], who is thought to have supplied the historians of that age with most of the domestic detail and court scandal which has passed current with far too little question of its truth. Elsewhere, he often refers to authors without naming them[8], and is thought to have been chiefly indebted to the works of M. Servilius Nonianus, who died in A.D. 59, and of Aufidius Bassus, whose date is much the same. He may also have had before him biographies of individuals, especially of Germanicus, to whose achievements

[1] Plin. Epp. 2. 1, 6. [2] Id. 2. 11, 2.

[3] Of these, part of the fifth and sixth, the whole of the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, with parts of the eleventh and sixteenth, are lost.

[4] See 2. 61, 2.

[5] See 3. 16, 2. [6] 1. 69, 3. [7] 4. 53, 3.

[8] 1. 29, 4; 80, 2; 81, 1; 2. 70, 4; 88, 1; 3. 3, 2; 4. 10, 1; 57, 2.

he gives such prominence; probably also some published speeches[1], especially those addressed by the princeps to the senate[2]; while his full record of the transactions of that body appears to have been directly or indirectly derived either from the minutes kept of its proceedings[3] or from published letters containing similar accounts to such as are given by Cicero of the course of the debate, the feeling of the house, and impression made by speakers.

It is to be noted that Tacitus considers his authors in general to be more or less untrustworthy, as having written in a spirit either of servility towards the prince under whom they lived or of rancour towards one recently deceased[4]. As the then existing histories of Tiberius are believed to have been written mostly after his death[5], they may be supposed to have abounded in such invective and insinuation against the great reputed enemy of the house of Germanicus as would be acceptable to Gaius, to Claudius, or to Nero; and Tacitus, who can be shown occasionally to reject a scandalous tale[6] or imputation[7], and to recognise, however grudgingly, an act of justice or liberality[8], may have sincerely believed that he was treating with impartiality the memory of one who had been too darkly painted.

His professed purpose in writing is to hold up signal examples of political vice and virtue for posterity to execrate and to admire[9], and to teach his readers, even through a narrative which he fears by its monotonous horrors may weary them[10], that good citizens can live under bad rulers; and that it is not mere destiny or the chapter of accidents, but personal character

[1] See note on 3. 13, 3.

[2] See 1. 81, 1; 2. 63, 4.

[3] The 'acta senatus' are not expressly mentioned in the first six Books; the 'acta populi,' or public journals, are once referred to (3. 3, 2).

[4] 1. 1, 5.

[5] The short sketch contained in the last nine chapters of Velleius Paterculus, is the only historical work known even by name to us, in which the 'res Tiberii' are treated 'florente ipso.'

[6] See 4. 11.

[7] 1. 76, 7.

[8] See especially the general sketch of the best period of the rule of Tiberius given in 4. 6; also the notice of particular acts in 1. 75; 2. 47, 48; 4. 64, &c.

[9] See 3. 65, 1.

[10] 4. 32; 33.

and discretion, dignified moderation and reserve, that best guard a senator of rank unharmed through a time of peril[1], in which not only the defiant on one side, but almost as often the sycophant on the other, are struck down as the course of events or even the changing humours of the prince may prompt[2].

In history written for such a purpose, the delineation of character, and analysis of actions into their motives, become the most important elements; and it is plain that Tacitus desired in this part of his work to print indelibly on the memory of his readers the portraits of the ruling prince and of the minister whose rise and fall formed the most striking political events of the period.

In Tiberius he has given us the picture of one to whom the best part of a lifetime spent in a position overshadowed by rivals[3] and surrounded by perils had made repression and disguise a second nature; who found himself, at the age of fifty-six, stepping into the position which had been held by a master genius, with whom all comparison must be to his disadvantage, and succeeding, as if by inheritance, to what was neither in theory nor as yet in practice a hereditary monarchy[4]. Hence we are to imagine him as feeling that his only security lay in a sustained hypocrisy; the position which he had made up his mind to grasp must seem forced upon him[5]; the power, when accepted, must be shared in form with the senate, in whose name all the most important acts must run[6]; he must watch beneath his mask every look and word of influential senators, and bide his time to strike down the dangerous[7]; he must seem to trust Germanicus at the head of his greatest army, yet take early opportunity of removing him[8] to a position seemingly still more exalted but really far less formidable[9]; and send with him a subordinate governor who, himself much to be distrusted[10], might both check and be checked by him; he must always keep up an army of informers who would strain every trivial act

[1] See 4. 20, 4. [2] 4. 71, 1.
[3] As Marcellus, Agrippa, Gaius, and Lucius Caesar: see 1. 3.
[4] See below, p. 26. [5] See 1. 11–13.
[6] Cp. 1. 25, 3; 75, 6; 2. 43, 1; 3. 60, 1; 4. 6, 2; 8, 6; 15, 3, &c.
[7] See 1. 7, 11; 13, 1, &c. [8] 2. 5, 1; 26, 3.
[9] 2. 42, 1; 43, 1. [10] Cp. 1. 13, 3; 74, 6; 2. 43, 3.

or thoughtless word into a charge of treason [1]; he must devolve on the senate the odious duty of trial and condemnation [2], and reserve only the credit of clemency for himself [3].

We are to suppose this suppression of all outward sign of the tyrant to be gradually relaxed [4]; the deaths of Germanicus and Drusus threw him more unreservedly into the power of his minister [5]; the death of his mother freed him from a life-long habit of submission; even the fall of Seianus was the removal of a restraint, whereby the propensities to abominable profligacy and savage cruelty, the one finding full scope in seclusion, the other aggravated by isolation and fear, revealed themselves as the true character so long concealed.

The portrait of Seianus has come down to us imperfect, but the steps of his rise at least are clearly indicated. We see him succeeding to the 'praefectura praetorii' as an unimportant office [6], and making it the most powerful position in the State; playing skilfully upon his master's weaknesses by representing the advantage of concentrating the praetorian guard in a barrack close outside the walls, and then securing to himself the assured support of this formidable force [7]. Drusus is got rid of by poison [8]; the family of Germanicus undermined by a series of insidious attacks [9]; the single false step of too bold a request for the hand of Livia promptly retrieved [10], and his position soon after more than restored by a lucky accident [11]; by a stroke of consummate tact, the prince's sense of failing power, the desire to escape from the eyes of men, and other such motives, are adroitly made use of to withdraw him to a retreat, which might pave the way to permanent and complete retirement, and meanwhile concentrate all real power in the hands of his representative at Rome [12].

[1] 1. 74, 1; 2. 27, 1, &c. [2] 3. 51, 4.

[3] Cp. 1. 74, 7; 2. 50, 4; 3. 70, 2; 4. 31, 1.

[4] The first and best period of rule is described in the first three Books, the first stage of deterioration in the fourth: in the Appendix at the end of Book IV, some account of the further descent will be found.

[5] 4. 1, 1; 7, 1.

[6] 'Vim praefecturae modicam antea intendit' 4. 2, 1.

[7] 4. 2, 1–3. [8] 4. 8, 1.

[9] 4. 12, 3; 17, 4; 52, 1; 54, 1; 59, 5; 60, 1; 67, 5; 71, 5.

[10] 4. 39–41. [11] 4. 59. [12] 4. 41, 2; 57, 2; 67, 5.

A third picture, equally vivid and distinct, is that of Germanicus; who is set forth to us as loyal, even to the verge of death, before mutineers who at a word would have proclaimed him emperor[1]; as the true avenger of Varus[2], prevented, as we are assured, only by a jealous recall from completing the conquest of Germany[3]; as the idol of the people of Rome for his supposed popular sympathies[4]; and as the victim of jealousy and intrigue, if not of deeper crimes[5].

Other and less prominent characters, such as the hasty and passionate but not ungenerous Drusus[6], the fiery and ungovernable but high-principled Agrippina[7], and many others of lesser note, come in for their due share of attention, and help to heighten the contrast to the sinister qualities of the principal figure.

It is too great a question to be here discussed fully, how much of this elaborate portraiture is to be taken as historical truth. Much may be put down as due to the inventions or distortions of previous writers, only reduced by Tacitus to dimensions which seemed to him reasonable, by setting aside palpable falsifications; much to his own fondness for subtle interpretation and artistic contrast; much to the satiric tendencies characterising the literature of the age.

Especially in regard to the representation of the prince, it is easy to see that Tacitus had imbibed, perhaps unconsciously, special prejudices against the early Caesars, and particularly against Tiberius. His general admiration for the rule of the Roman aristocracy in its best days had blinded his eyes to its subsequent decrepitude, and made him view the Republican constitution rather as overthrown by ambitious schemers than as having fallen a prey to them through its own inherent weakness[8]; while Tiberius, who is, not unjustly, regarded as the first systematic encourager of professional informers, is tacitly held responsible for all the crop of evil traceable to this cause, which had yielded so abundant a harvest under Domitian[9]; and

[1] 1. 35, 3. [2] 1. 62, 2.
[3] 2. 26, 2; 41, 3; 73, 3. [4] 1. 33, 5. [5] 2. 41, 5; 82, 3, &c.
[6] 1. 29, 1; 2. 43, 7; 3. 37, 3; 4. 3, 2; 4, 2, &c.
[7] 1. 33, 6, &c. [8] Cp. generally 1. 2; 10; 3. 27; 28, &c.
[9] Cp. 1. 73, 1; 74, 2; 2. 27, 1, &c.

would appear to be invidiously contrasted in the writer's mind with Trajan, not only as the patron of delation with its repressor, but as the timid and cautious guardian of the frontiers of Augustus with the conqueror of Dacia and great part of the East[1]. Many misconceptions and much misinterpretation of motives may also be traceable to the theory, whereby the fact of a period of firm and just rule followed by subsequent deterioration is persistently treated as the gradual unfolding of an inherently vicious character, rather than by more just and natural means of explanation.

It is easy, again, to show that the facts recorded of Germanicus fail to support the conception formed of him; that his victories are barren[2], not unfrequently marred by needless massacre[3], and entailing manifold losses and disasters to the army under his command[4]; that most of his movements in the East are those of a mere tour of pleasure[5]; that no administrative measure betokening statesmanship is recorded of him.

Still, when all deduction is made, it is to Tacitus, far more than to any other writer now preserved to us, that we owe any knowledge of the working of the constitution under which Rome and the Empire then were governed, any conception of the personality of the chief men of the age, any attempt to penetrate the motives and springs of action, either in ruler or subject: and even when we move to set aside or modify his judgment on a character such as that of Tiberius, it is chiefly from his own candour and sense of justice in the statement of facts, far more than from any counter-evidence, that the means of criticising his insinuations and generalisations have been supplied to us.

[1] Cp. 1. 11, 7; 4. 4, 6; 32, 3.

[2] There was no permanent occupation of ground in Germany, and no evidence of fact to show that the power of resistance was broken.

[3] Cp. 1. 51, 2; 56, 3; 2. 21, 3.

[4] Cp. 1. 63–71; 2. 23–25

[5] Cp. 2. 53; 54; 59–61.

II.

ON THE SYNTAX AND STYLE OF TACITUS.

NOTE.—Most of what is here said is applicable to the writings of Tacitus as a whole, and especially to the Annals; but the instances given are almost wholly from the first four Books. The references in square brackets are to the sections of the larger edition; those to which 'R,' is prefixed are to the sections of Roby's Grammar.

BY the time of Tacitus, Latin prose composition had already departed much from the standard of Cicero or Caesar, through the frequent adoption of words and forms of expression from the great classic poets, who had by that time become text-books in every grammar-school; also through an increasing tolerance of Greek words and grammatical Graecisms, partly due to such study of Augustan poetry, partly to an increasing taste for what was Greek as such[1].

The special qualities of the style of Tacitus have been held to consist chiefly in rhetorical or poetical colouring, in the study of brevity, and in that of variety; all of which characteristics are no doubt due mainly to his professional career[2]. He has himself told us that the pleader in his day could no longer expatiate like Cicero, but was bound to be terse, epigrammatic, and striking, and to grace his style with poetic colouring from the treasury of Vergil and Horace, or even from more recent poets[3]. In falling in with this fashion, Tacitus draws the poetic element in his style almost exclusively from Vergil, to whom he is repeatedly and abundantly indebted; while his chief prose models are Sallust and Livy, his great predecessors in the field of history[4]. The effort at variety of expression, besides being part of the habitual skill of an orator, is further due to the historian's desire to relieve what he feels to be the oppressive monotony of his subject[5], by saying the same thing with the utmost variety of

[1] Juvenal mentions (7, 226) the use of Horace and Vergil as school-books, and also dwells at length (3, 61 foll.) on the extent to which the Rome of his day had become Greek.

[2] See above, p. 1.

[3] Dial. de Oratoribus, 19; 20.

[4] See below, § 58.

[5] See 4. 32; 33.

expression, by often giving the sentence an unexpected turn, by inventing new words or new senses of words, or reviving such as had become somewhat obsolete.

Of the various usages noted in the following sections, comparatively few are altogether peculiar to Tacitus; but many are new in prose, and all are so far Tacitean that they are used by him with more boldness and freedom than by earlier prose authors[1].

A. SYNTAX.

I. Substantives, Adjectives, and Pronouns.

1 [1, 3]. **The frequent use of abstract for concrete nouns** (most commonly in the plural) is to be noted; as that of amicitia 2. 27, 2; consilia 4. 40, 2; iura 3. 60, 4; liberalitas 2. 37, 2; matrimonia 2. 13, 3; regna 3. 55, 3: also the adoption from poets of the adjectival use of substantives in apposition; as imperator populus 3. 6, 2; mare Oceanus 1. 9, 6.

2 [4, 5, 7]. **Adjectives are substantivally used** with much freedom; (*a*) *in masc.*; as militares 3. 1, 2; (*b*) *neut. sing.*; as egregium 3. 70, 4; honestum 3. 65, 1; also with prep.; as in lubrico 1. 72, 3; (*c*) *neut. pl.*, often for an abstract substantive; as falsis 2. 82, 8; occultis 2. 88, 1: see other usages noted in §§ 19 a, 20 a. **Adjectives are also used with poetic freedom adverbially**; as aeternum 3. 26, 3; inmensum 3. 30, 2; praeceps 4. 62, 3; recens 2. 21, 1: also several **new forms of comparison** are to be noted; as curatissimus 1. 13, 7; flagrantissime 1. 3, 2; inprovisior 2. 47, 1.

3 [8, 9]. **Pronouns belonging to the third person are often omitted**, especially in the accus., even so as sometimes to involve harshness or obscurity. Such instances may be noted as the omission of se in 2. 71, 8; 83, 4; 4. 59, 5; and of eum or eam in 1. 69, 3; 4. 71, 5; also of the abl. (see § 19 b) or other cases: pronouns of the first or second person are sometimes omitted,

[1] Mr. Capes' recent edition of Sallust, and the Introduction (pp. xlv–xlix) to his edition of Books XXI and XXII of Livy may be conveniently referred to by those who wish to see how often Tacitus has adopted and extended the usages of his predecessors.

as in 1. 22, 3; 4. 38, 1. The use of quis for quisque in the constant form ut quis, as in 1. 69, 2; 2. 24, 6, &c., appears to be peculiar to Tacitus.

II. Cases.

A. *Accusative.*

4 [11]. **The poetical or Greek accus.** of the part concerned (R. 1101, 1102), rare in prose even of the silver age, is used frequently of parts of the body; as humeros 2. 13, 1; faciem 2. 17, 7, &c., and in other expressions; also, as by Caesar, in military phrases; as frontem . . . munitus 1. 50, 2.

5 [12]. **Transitive accusatives.**

(a) *An accus. clause is often used in (so-called) apposition to the sentence*, i. e. explanatory of the effect or purpose of the action denoted by the verb and its adjuncts: see 1. 27, 1; 49, 5; 74, 3; 2. 64, 6.

(b) *The poetical accus.* with verbs expressing affections (R. 1123) is not unfrequent, and is extended to instances new or rare in prose; as pavescere 1. 59, 7; gravari 3. 59, 6.

(c) *The use of compound verbs with simple accus.* is extended: among the instances most new to prose are those of advehi (with acc. pers.) 2. 45, 4; elabi 1. 61, 6; incedere 1. 61, 2; intervenire 3. 23, 1; inrepere 4. 2, 3; praecellere 2. 43, 7; praeminere 3. 56, 2.

B. *Dative.*

6 [15]. **The dat. of indirect object,** where an abl. with prep. would be more usual (R. 1144), chiefly found in poets and Livy, is often used; as with abstrahere 2. 26, 6; excusari 1. 12, 3; eximere 1. 48, 2; proripere 4. 45, 4.

7 [16]. **The usage whereby,** in expressions such as 'cui nomen erat,' **the name itself is attracted** to the case of the pronoun (R. 1159), is restricted by Tacitus to adjectives (e. g. 1. 31, 2; 2. 8, 1); the nom. (e. g. 2. 4, 3; 80, 1), or, more rarely, the genit. (see note on 4. 59, 2) being used of substantives.

8 [18]. **The dat. of the agent,** regular after a gerundive, and not unusual after a passive participle or an adj. in '-bilis'

(R. 1146), is used by Tacitus without such restriction, and without any notion of the interest of the agent; as sibi aspici 1. 17, 10: see also 2. 50, 4; 57, 5; 3. 20, 3.

9 [19]. **The poetical dat. where a genit. would be more usual** (R. 1154), rare in prose before Livy, is especially frequent in Tacitus; as rector iuveni 1. 24, 3; paci firmator 2. 46, 6; custos saluti 3. 14, 7; Seiano fautores 4. 60, 2, and very many others.

10 [21]. **The dat. after compound verbs,** where the accus. with prep. would be expected, is also poetical; as pectori adcreverat 1. 19, 1 (where see note).

11 [22]. **The dat. of the gerundive,** expressing work contemplated, is extremely characteristic of Tacitus and especially frequent in the Annals, being used with more than twenty adjectives (see 1. 23, 5; 31, 2; 2. 57, 3, &c.), and much oftener with verbs, often so as to be fully equivalent to a final clause; as with deligere 2. 4, 1; eximere 3. 22, 6; fingere 4. 1, 4; mittere 1. 60, 2. The simple dat. of a noun is sometimes used with the force of a final clause; as morti deposcit 1. 23, 6 (where see note).

12 [23]. **The dat. expressing that which a thing serves as or occasions,** or predicative dat. (R. 1158), most frequent in the case of forms in '-ui,' and especially used with 'esse' or 'haberi,' is common in Tacitus (see Roby, Pref. xxv–lvi). Among the more noteworthy instances are those of absolutioni 3. 13, 2; honori . . . ignominiae 3. 32, 2; noxae 3. 13, 2; obtentui 1. 10, 1; ostentui 1. 29, 4.

C. *Ablative.*

13 [24]. **The abl. of place whence** (R. 1158, 1260) is used more freely by Tacitus than by any other writer, both of countries; as Armenia 1. 3, 3; Illyrico 3. 11, 1; and, in a similar sense, of common names; as fuga impediverat 1. 39, 6; progrediuntur contuberniis 1. 41, 2; often after verbs compounded with 'ab' or 'ex;' as in 1. 39, 4; 54, 3; 65, 2; 2. 23, 2; 69, 5.

14 [25]. **The abl. of place at which** (R. 1170) is used with poetical freedom, whether to express direction; as porta 1. 8, 4; finibus 1. 60, 2; or, much oftener, position; as molibus 2. 60, 4;

toro 3. 5, 6 ; saxis 4. 43, 2 ; campo 4. 74, 6 ; also in the case of neut. adjectives ; as medio 2. 52, 6.

15 [27]. **The free extension of the instrumental abl. to personal agents** (R. 1213, 1220) is also mainly poetical ; e. g. legionibus petitum 2. 46, 2 ; corruptoribus tentare 2. 79, 4 ; criminatoribus . . . efficiebat 4. 12, 6.

16 [28]. **The abl. of manner** is often used boldly without the addition of an adj. (R. 1236, 1239); as spe vel dolore 1. 59, 1 ; clamore et impetu 1. 68, 4 ; ordinibus ac subsidiis 2. 80, 6 ; catervis 4. 51, 1.

17 [29]. **The abl. of quality** (R. 1232) is often used brachylogically of persons without the addition of the verb 'esse' or of a common name (see also § 22); as artibus egregiis 1. 13, 1 ; multa dicendi arte 1. 19, 2 ; defecto corpore 4. 29, 1. On its extension to circumstances attaching to a person or thing, see 3. 43, 2 ; 76, 2 ; 4. 52, 8 ; 58, 1.

18 [30]. **The causal abl.** is used with especial freedom in the Annals, where a prep. or a genit. with 'causa' or 'gratia' would be expected, whether of subjective motives; as iactantia gloriaque 1. 8, 2 ; caritate 1. 10, 6 ; conscientia 1. 57, 2 ; taedio 1. 76, 6 ; or of objective causes ; as dissensione ordinum 3. 27, 2.

19 [31]. **Some uses of the abl. absolute** are remarkable for their conciseness.

(a) *The use of the neut. abl. of a participle as predicate, with a sentence as subject*, is abundant in the Annals, and elsewhere comparatively rare. Among the more peculiar instances may be noted addito 1. 35, 6 ; adiecto 4. 70, 7 ; credito 3. 14, 4 ; intellecto 1. 49, 3 ; pensitato 3. 52, 4 ; quaesito 2. 9, 1 ; repetito 3. 33, 1 : some neut. adjectives are similarly used ; as periculoso 1. 6, 6 ; libero 3. 60, 6.

(b) *The abl. of an adj. or part. is thus used by itself without a demonstrative or relative pronoun*, when the subject has been recently expressed ; as cohibita 3. 33, 1 ; or even when it can be supplied from the sense ; as orantibus 1. 29, 2.

D. *Genitive.*

20 [32]. **Partitive or quasi-partitive** (R. 1296). Such genitives are abundant in Tacitus; the partitive meaning being often lost sight of, and the construction being equivalent, as in poetry (e. g. 'strata viarum,' &c.), to a simple subst. and adj.

(a) *after neut. sing.;* as umido, lubrico paludum 1. 61, 2; 65, 6; sometimes even after a case depending on a prep.; as in prominenti litoris 1. 53, 7.

(b) *after neut. pl.*, still more frequently; as cuncta curarum 3. 35, 2; tacita suspicionum 4. 41, 1.

(c) *after masc. or fem.*, also frequently; as with pauci, multi, alii, &c.: also in such expressions as quinque consularium 3. 28, 6; leves cohortium 3. 39, 1.

(d) *with adverbs;* as eo furoris 1. 18, 2; huc adrogantiae 3. 73, 1.

21 [33]. **Objective genitive** (R. 1312).

(a) *with verbs.* It is peculiar to Tacitus to use such a genit. with monere (1. 67, 1), on the analogy of its compounds, and with adipisci (3. 55, 1), on the analogy of potiri. He also extends the usage of an elliptical genit. with verbs of accusing or judging to new examples; as postulare 1. 74, 1; deferre 4. 42, 3.

(b) *with participles*, the frequency of such a genit. is characteristic; e. g. with cupiens 1. 75, 4; inpatiens 2. 64, 4; intolerans 1. 31, 1; retinens 2. 38, 9; sciens 1. 64, 6.

(c) *with adjectives*, the usage is also characteristic from its extreme frequency; the genit. sometimes expressing direct object (R. 1312), where the accus. with participle might be substituted (as with pavidus 4. 38, 1; providus 4. 38, 1, &c.); or a more remote object (R. 1318), where the abl. with de would be usual (as with ambiguus 1. 7, 4; certus 1. 27, 3; securus 3. 28, 3); oftenest of all expressing (as in poets) the thing in point of which a term is applied to a person (R. 1320): animi is constantly thus used (1. 32, 5; 69, 2, &c.); and such a genit. is found with manifestus 2. 85, 3; melior 3. 74, 1; modicus 2. 73, 3; occultus 4. 7, 2; pervicax 4. 53, 1; praeclarus 4. 34, 4; validus 4. 21, 5; vetus 1. 20, 2; and many others.

22 [34]. **The genit. of quality** is often used with the same brachylogy as the corresponding abl. (§ 17); as Lentulus senectutis extremae 4. 29, 1 ; velut eluctantium verborum 4. 31, 4.

23 [37]. **The gerundive genit.** (see the corresponding dat. § 11) is used oftener by Tacitus than by any other author, and with especial frequency in the Annals ; sometimes with the force of a genit. of quality; as bellum abolendae infamiae 1. 3, 6 ; often, by a more distinctly Tacitean usage, to qualify, not any expressed noun, but the whole sentence (R. 1288) ; as Aegyptum proficiscitur, cognoscendae antiquitatis 2. 59, 1 : so vitandae suspicionis 3. 9, 2 ; ostentandae virtutis 3. 41, 4. This usage is perhaps a Graecism, from such constructions as *τὸ λῃστικὸν καθήρει, τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον ἰέναι αὐτῷ* (Thuc. 1. 4).

III. Verbs.

24 [38]. **Tacitus uses more freedom than classical writers in the omission of verbs** of speaking (as in 1. 9, 4 ; 38. 3 ; 41, 2), thinking (as in 2. 5, 3), moving, or acting (as in 1. 43, 1 ; 4. 38, 5), when they can be supplied from the sense or context, especially in lively descriptions or rhetorical passages.

25 [39]. **Other parts of the verb 'esse' than the present indic. or infin. are often omitted** ; as 'erat,' 'erant,' &c., especially in relative or dependent clauses ; as in cuius manu 1. 7, 9 ; ubi crematus 2. 83, 3 ; donec id vetitum 4. 74, 6 (cp. 1. 69, 2 ; 3. 26, 3) ; also 'fore,' in 2. 15, 3 ; and 'fuisse,' as in 2. 31, 4 ; 73, 4 ; 3. 16, 1, &c. The subjunctive of this verb is also freely omitted, when another subjunct. follows, as in 1. 9, 1 ; 35, 1 ; 65, 1, &c., and in oratio obliqua, as in 1. 11, 2 ; 4. 39, 4.

26 [40]. **The poetical use of simple verbs for compound** is especially abundant in the Annals, where nearly forty verbs so used are noted. In the first Book alone may be instanced ardescere 73, 1 ; asperare 72, 5 ; firmare 71, 5 ; gravescere 5, 1 ; notescere 73, 3 ; piare 42, 2 ; ponere (= proponere) 7, 5 ; solari 14, 4.

IV. Moods and Tenses.

A. *Infinitive.*

27 [43]. **The simple infin.** (R. 1344) is often used, as by other prose writers of the silver age, with verbs which contain a

complete idea in themselves, or which express an inclination or effort; or such as denote an influence over others and take an accus. or dat. Tacitus appears to stand alone in using it with ambio 2. 43, 3; compono 3. 40, 3 (*ἅπ. εἰρ.*); inlicio 2. 37, 2; and some others; with other verbs he appears to be first to use it in prose; as with adigo 4. 29, 3; arceo 3. 72, 2; and several others.

28 [44]. **The accus. with infin.** (R. 1351) is used by Tacitus alone with adnecto 4. 28, 2; illacrymo 2. 71, 4; incuso 3. 38, 4 (all *ἅπ. εἰρ.*). He follows Livy in using it freely with negative expressions of doubt, as in 2. 26, 2; 36, 2, &c. For other remarkable uses of this construction, see notes on 1. 69, 1; 72, 2; 79, 3; 2. 33, 5.

29 [45]. **The (so-called) nominative with infin.** (R. 1353) is often used where the impersonal construction would be usual in classical prose; as with dubitor 3. 8, 4; intellegor 1. 61, 3; and generally with verbs of accusing; as accusor 4. 22, 4; arguor 2. 50, 3; convincor 4. 31, 5; deferor 2. 27, 1.

30 [46]. **The historic infin.** (R. 1359) is used by Tacitus alone with temporal particles in the first clause of a protasis (always with a finite verb dependent on the same particle following); as with ubi 2. 4, 4; postquam 3. 26, 3. His other uses of the mood in temporal clauses (as in 2. 31, 1; 40, 1; 4. 50, 6) are not altogether without precedent; and his use of it in place of the principal verb, though frequent (e. g. six times in 1. 16), is surpassed by Sallust.

31 [47]. **The epexegetic infin.** (R. 1360, 1361), a Graecism frequent in poets, is used by Tacitus with several adjectives; as certus 4. 57, 1; manifestus 2. 57, 4; properus 4. 52, 2.

B. *Indicative.*

32 [50]. **The rhetorical use of this mood for the subjunct.** in the apodosis of conditional sentences is remarkable in Tacitus for its frequency, especially in the imperfect, either to express what might or should have been, in contrast to what is (R. 1535 c); as indignum erat 1. 42, 5; or, much oftener, to express vividly what was on the point of happening (R. 1574, 4); the apodosis being almost invariably introduced by 'ni;' as ferrum

parabant, ni 1. 23, 6 ; deferebat . . . ni 1. 35, 5 ; trudebantur . . . ni 1. 63, 3 ; and very many other instances. On a similar use of other tenses, see notes on 2. 22, 3 ; 4. 9, 1.

C. *Subjunctive or Conjunctive.*

33 [51]. **The potential subjunct.** (R. 1534, foll.) is used with remarkable frequency and freedom ; in the present ; as mereare . . . recipias (1. 28, 7, &c.); in the imperf.; as discerneres (3. 1, 5, &c.); and especially often in the aoristic perfect, in modest assertions or negations of possibility; also with expressions of prohibition, sometimes in the third person ; as nemo . . . contenderit 4. 32, 1 ; sometimes in dependent clauses ; as ne . . . abierim 6. 22, 6.

34 [52]. **The subjunct. of cases often occurring** (R. 1716) is more common in Tacitus than in any earlier writer, and is used with cum (1. 7, 8, &c.), quo (4. 70, 3), quoquo (3. 74, 3), quoties (2. 2, 5, &c.), seu (4. 60, 3, &c.), ubi (1. 44, 8, &c.), ut quis (1. 27, 1, &c.), and in many other expressions.

V. Participles.

Some characteristic uses of participles have been already mentioned (see §§ 19 a, 21 b).

35 [54]. **Participles are often used concisely with the force of a relative clause** ; either aoristic present ; as trucidantium . . . exturbantium (2. 2, 4) ; aoristic perf., of passive as well as of deponent verbs ; as occisis (1. 77, 1), missis (4. 55, 7), &c. (see also note on 3. 13, 2) ; or future, whether in the nom., to express purpose (R. 1115, 3); as certaturus (1. 45, 3), &c., or, in other cases, to express result ; as tracturis (1. 31, 1); cessuris (1. 46, 3), &c.

36 [55]. **Participles are used often in concise expressions as subject of the verb.**

(a) *present*, rarely ; as Agrippina . . . tegens 4. 12, 2.

(b) *perf.*, very often with the force of an abstract noun and genit.; as occisus Caesar 1. 8, 7 ; mutatus princeps 1. 16, 1 ; and in very many other instances ; also in the neut. nom., where a sentence with quod would be expected ; as nihil occultum 3. 9, 3 ; cuncta . . . composita 2. 57, 1. On a similar use of nouns, see note on 1. 19, 5.

VI. Prepositions.

37 [56]. **Prepositions are often absent** where they might be expected (see §§ 2, 5 c, 10, 13, 14, 15, 18); or their use is avoided by the employment of other constructions (see §§ 6, 8, 21 c). On the anastrophe of preps. see § 49.

38 [60]. **In** is often used with the abl. of neuter adjectives in such phrases as in levi (3. 54, 6), in arto (4. 32, 3), &c. (such usage being rare in prose before Livy): also with accus. often with almost the force of a simple dat. as in 1. 76, 5 (where see note); still oftener, like εἰς, ἐπί, or πρός, to express the effect intended or resulting (R. 1974); as in the phrases in deterius (2. 82, 1); in falsum (3. 56, 3); in incertum (1. 11, 4); in lacrimas (1. 57, 5); in maius (3. 12, 6, &c.); in mortem (4. 45, 1); in speciem (2. 6, 3).

39 [57–59, 61–63]. Among the **more remarkable uses of other preps.**, noted in their places, are those of apud (1. 5, 5, &c.), erga (2. 2, 5, &c.), iuxta (1. 6, 6, &c.), per (1. 2, 1; 17, 5; 61, 6, &c.), and simul (3. 64, 3).

VII. Adverbs and Conjunctions.

40 [64]. **The abbreviation of comparative sentences is very common in the Annals.**

(a) *By supplying* '*magis*' from a following 'quam' (as μᾶλλον from ἤ), as in 1. 58, 2; 3. 17, 7, &c.

(b) *By the use of a positive with* '*quanto*,' without the addition of 'magis,' as in 1. 57, 1; 68, 5.

(c) *By the omission of* '*tanto*,' as in 1. 74, 7; 4. 69, 4, &c.: see also note on 3. 8, 1.

(d) *Other compendious expressions* of comparison may be noted; such as atrocius vero 4. 21, 4.

Adversative sentences are often abbreviated, by the omission, after 'non modo,' either of 'sed' (as in 3. 19, 1; 4. 35, 1), or of 'etiam' (as in 1. 60, 1, &c.).

41 [65]. **The omission of conjunctions** (asyndeton) is not confined to rhetorical passages, but is frequent in narrative; as inserunt . . . offerunt . . . intendunt (1. 23, 6); in enumerations; as senatus magistratuum legum (1. 2, 1); or to mark a climax;

as manu voce vulnere (2. 17, 5); or an antithesis; as lacrimas gaudium questus adulationem (1. 7, 2).

42 [66]. **The concise Greek use of adverbs as attributive adjectives** is adopted and extended from Livy; as superne . . . cominus 2. 20, 3; dites circum terras 4. 55, 8.

Many other uses of various adverbs and conjunctions are noted where they occur.

B. STYLE.

I. New Words or New Senses of Words.

43 [69]. Many of the words apparently invented by Tacitus fall under the following heads.

(a) **Verbal substantives.**

(1) *in* '*-tor*,' '*-sor*,' *and* '*-trix*,' as adcumulator 3. 30, 2; condemnator 4. 66, 1; defector 1. 48, 1; exstimulator 3. 40, 1; regnatrix 1. 4, 4; sanctor 3. 26, 6; subversor 3. 28, 1.

(2) *in* '*-us*' (*genit.* '*-us*') *and in* '*mentum*,' as provisus (only in abl.) 1. 27, 2; imitamentum 3. 5, 6, &c. The large number of words of each of these classes used is highly characteristic of Tacitus, as also the preference, in his choice between forms in '-men' and '-mentum,' for whichever is the more unusual.

(b) **Negative words formed with 'in;'** as inprosper 3. 24, 2; inreligiose 2. 50, 2; inturbidus 3. 52, 1.

(c) **Words with the prefix 'per' and 'prae;'** as peramoenus 4. 67, 3; perstimulare 4. 12, 7; pervigere 4. 34, 6; praegracilis 4. 57, 3.

(d) **Frequentative verbs;** as appellitare 4. 66, 1. A general tendency to prefer such verbs to the simple forms is noticeable.

Many other new words, not classified, are noted where they occur.

44 [71]. **The following are among the words used by Tacitus in a sense peculiar to himself,** advertere (in aliquem = to punish) 2. 32, 5; amovere (to banish) 1. 53, 6; conexus (of relationship) 2. 50, 1; gnarus (= notus) 1. 5, 4; proicere (to defer) 2. 36, 3.

Many of the syntactical usages already mentioned are also to be noted among the innovations of Tacitus.

II. Rhetorical and Poetical Colouring.

A large number of the syntactical usages noted above belong to this head.

45 [70]. **The following are among the poetical words found in no earlier prose**; most of them being apparently taken from Vergil: brevia (shoals) 1. 70, 3; celerare 2. 5, 2; densere 2. 14, 4; eburnus 2. 83, 2; honorus 1. 10, 7; incustoditus 2. 12, 5; indefessus 1. 64, 5; insatiabiliter 4. 38, 6; intemeratus 1. 42, 3; inviolabilis 3. 62, 1; lapsare 1. 65, 6; notescere 1. 73, 3; properus 1. 65, 4; secundare 2. 24, 4; sonor 1. 65, 1; trudes 3. 46, 6; valescere 2. 39, 5.

46 [72]. **The following are examples of those used in senses previously poetical:** cura (a written work) 3. 24, 4; educere (to build up) 2. 61, 1; evictus (prevailed upon) 4. 57, 5; intentatus (untried) 1. 50, 3. See also § 26.

47 [74]. **Many metaphorical senses of words** are to be noted; as those of verbs expressing—

(a) *Movement;* as vergere 2. 43, 1; 4. 8, 5.

(b) *Clothing or stripping;* as induere 1. 69, 2; exuere 1. 2, 1.

(c) *Burning;* as ardescere 3. 17, 2.

(d) *Breaking;* as abrumpere 4. 50, 3; perrumpere 3. 15, 4; rumpere 1. 42, 4.

(e) *Revolution;* as volvere 1. 64, 7; revolvere 3. 18, 6.

(f) *Swallowing;* as hauriri 1. 70, 4; 3. 72, 4.

(g) *Loosing;* as exsolvere 3. 28, 6; 39, 1; 4. 22, 4.

To these may be added metaphorical senses of substantives; as of moles (2. 78, 1), saevitia (2. 87, 1), &c.; also of adjectives; as of adultus (2. 23, 1), angustus and lubricus (2. 87, 3), tumidus (4. 12, 7), &c.

48 [76]. **Hendiadys** appears to be more frequent in Tacitus than in earlier prose writers: e. g. carmina et devotiones 2. 69, 5; tempore et spatio 2. 82, 8; posteritate et infamia 3. 65, 1; and many other instances.

49 [77]. **Anastrophe of prepositions** is used with greater freedom in the Annals than in any other prose writings: the prep. being placed (1) *after the substantive* (e.g. 1. 19, 3; 65, 3;

2. 41, 1; 3. 75, 4); (2) *between coordinated substantives* (e.g. 4. 5, 1; 50, 2); (3) *between a substantive and its attribute or dependent genitive* (e. g. 3. 10, 4; 72, 2; 4. 16, 6); (4) *between substantives in apposition* (e. g. 2. 60, 1; 4. 43, 6); (5) *after two coordinated substantives* (e. g. 1. 60, 5; 4. 8, 7; 55, 3). Some of these uses do not extend to monosyllabic preps.; and some preps. (e.g. circa, praeter, prope, sine, supra, pro) are never used by Tacitus in anastrophe; those mostly so used being ab, ad, apud, ex, in, and inter.

III. Influence of the Study of Brevity.

50 [80]. **Ellipses.** Many such have been already noted (see §§ 24, 25, 37, 40, 41), as well as many usages adopted for conciseness of expression (§§ 11, 23, 27, 28, 38).

51 [82]. **Parenthetical remarks** are often expressed concisely by one or more words equivalent to a relative clause: such use of rarum is peculiar to Tacitus and to the Annals (1. 39, 7; 56, 2, &c.); other similar expressions are vix credibile dictu (1. 35, 6); mirum dictu (2. 17, 4), &c.: see also 5a, and note on 4. 55, 6.

52 [83]. **Zeugma** is more common in Tacitus than in any other writer. See the use of redimi 1. 17, 6; probabam 1. 58, 2; permisit 2. 20, 2; appellans 2. 45, 4; intentarent 3. 36, 2; and very many others. Akin to this is the use of a masc. noun for persons of both sexes, as privigni 4. 71, 7.

53 [84]. **Pregnant constructions** are often adopted for conciseness; as ius legationis . . . miseratur 1. 39, 8; proruunt fossas 1. 68, 2; permoveor, num 4. 57, 2; also pregnant meanings of words, as of praemia 2. 81, 1; venenum 3. 22, 2; pax 3. 33, 2.

IV. Influence of the Study of Variety.

54 [87-91]. **It is characteristic of Tacitus constantly to change the form of expression** in corresponding clauses without other apparent object than that of variation. Among the more common changes are—

(a) *From one prep. to another of similar meaning;* as in . . . ad 1. 28, 7; inter . . . apud 3. 40, 1; per . . . in 4. 55, 7.

(b) *From a case with a prep. to a simple case;* as with opportunus 2. 6, 4; promptus 4. 46, 4.

(c) *From asyndeta to conjunctions;* as in 1. 11, 6; or from one conjunction to another, as in 2. 60, 4; 4. 26, 4. In many instances such a change is not merely for variety, but serves to mark different grades of connexion.

(d) *Change of case;* as Spartanorum . . . Atheniensibus 3. 26, 4; or *number;* as patres eques 1. 7, 1; eques . . . pedites 3. 46, 5.

(e) *Change of voice;* as omissa sunt aut . . . obliteravit 2. 83, 5.

(f) *From causal abl. to participle;* as metu . . . diffisus 2. 1, 2 (cp. 2. 22, 2).

(g) *From gerundive to clause with 'ut' or 'neu;'* as appellandam . . . utque 1. 14, 2 (cp. 2. 36, 1; 3. 17, 8; 63, 7).

(h) *From a substantive to an infinitive;* as placuit . . . occultior via et . . . incipere 4. 3, 1; *or to a clause with 'quod,' 'quia,'* &c.; as magnitudinem viri . . . et quam 2. 63, 4 (cp. 3. 44, 4; 4. 18, 1; 31, 2; 38, 4): *also from an adj. or partic. to such a clause;* as rati . . . an ne 3. 3, 2.

55 [93]. Tacitus takes evident pains to **vary as much as possible the expressions** for facts that have to be often stated. Some of the various phrases for the following may be noted—

(a) *Death;* as obire, oppetere, concedere, excedere, vita cedere, vita concedere, &c.

(b) *Suicide;* as se vita privare, vim sibi afferre, vitam relinquere, sua manu cadere, &c.

(c) *Suicide by opening veins;* as venas exsolvere, resolvere, abrumpere, interrumpere, &c.

(d) *Suicide by stabbing;* as ferro incumbere, se ipsum ferro transigere, suo ictu mortem invenire, &c.

(e) *Suicide by starvation;* as vitam abstinentia finire, egestate cibi perimi, &c.

(f) *Interdiction of fire and water;* as aliquem aqua et igni interdicere, arcere, prohibere.

(g) *Approach of evening;* as flexo in vesperam die; vesperascente die; sero diei; obscuro diei, &c.

56 [94]. In reported speeches, variety is often introduced by

an abrupt transition to oratio recta, as in 2. 77, 2; 3. 12, 4; 46, 3; 4. 40, 5.

IV. Influence of Imitation.

57 [95]. **The Graecisms** in Tacitus are chiefly such as had already become naturalised in Latin; and most of them are noticed under other heads (§§ 4, 8, 23, 31, 38, 42): see also notes on 1. 49, 1; 59, 1; 2. 33, 5.

58 [97]. **The debt of Tacitus** to his chief predecessors in historical writing, and to the great classical poets, may here be illustrated by a few instances: others can be gathered from many previous sections (see especially §§ 45–49); and many others are pointed out in the notes in their places.

(1) Sallust (the references are to Dietsch's arrangement).

Annals.

Fr. inc. 92 genua patrum advolvuntur . . . 1. 13, 7
Jug. 51, 1 fors omnia regere 1. 49, 2
Cat. 30, 4 omnia honesta atque inhonesta . . 2. 38, 7
Fr. H. 1. 88 neque animo neque auribus aut lingua competere 3. 46, 1
Jug. 45, 1 magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior 4. 20, 4
Jug. 20, 7 cum predatoria manu 4. 24, 3
Jug. 4, 9 ad inceptum redeo 4. 33, 6

(2) Livy.

7. 5, 6 stolide ferocem viribus suis . . . 1. 3, 4
28. 27, 3 ne quo nomine quidem adpellare debeam, scio, etc. 1. 42, 4
3. 49, 3 si iure ageret . . . si vim adferre conaretur 2. 80, 4
3. 53, 2 liberatores haud dubie 2. 88, 3
6. 8, 2 senecta invalidum 3. 43, 4

(3) Horace.

Ep. 1. 11, 6 odio maris atque viarum (cp. Od. 2. 6, 7). 2. 14, 6

(4) Vergil.

Aen. 4, 15 fixum inmotumque 1. 47, 1
„ 10, 850 vulnus adactum 1. 61, 6
„ 9, 137 exscindere gentem 2. 25, 4

Aen. 3,176 tendoque supinas | ad caelum cum voce manus 2. 29, 2
„ 2, 75 quae sit fiducia capto 3. 11, 2
„ 10, 630 manet . . . gravis exitus . . . 4. 74, 5

III.

ON THE REIGN OF TIBERIUS.

If Tacitus had ever fulfilled his intention[1] of taking the life and times of Augustus as a special subject, his organization of the empire at home and abroad would no doubt have been described in detail. As it is, a knowledge of these institutions is presupposed in the reader, though a passing notice is introduced at times in illustration of some point in the subject of the proper narrative.

In the constitution solemnly inaugurated by his acceptance of the title of 'Augustus' at the beginning of B. C. 27, Caesar was content to be designated not as 'king' or 'dictator,' but only as 'prince[2].' If this term is, as has been commonly supposed, shortened from 'princeps senatus,' it implied only that (as was no doubt the fact) his name stood first on the roll of senators, and would convey no idea of his relation to the state. The fact, however, that Caesar is always spoken of not as 'princeps senatus' but as simply 'princeps' seems, together with many other considerations, to point to the conclusion that the term, if an abbreviation of any kind, is rather that of some such an expression as 'princeps civitatis,' and was intended to designate his general position as first citizen of the Republic, which he claimed to have in other respects restored in its entirety.

Thus understood, the title conveys no monarchical idea[3], and does not even imply magistracy; though certain powers always held with it made the princeps first magistrate of the state.

Of these, the first and most important was the 'imperium

[1] See 3. 24, 4.

[2] 1. 1, 3; 9, 6.

[3] The taunt of Piso, 'principis Romani, non Parthi regis filio, eas epulas dari' (2. 57, 5), illustrates the difference between principate and royalty.

proconsulare[1],' whereby, in contrast to those holding a more limited 'imperium,' he was distinctively the sole 'imperator[2],' or 'emperor,' of the Roman empire, and commander-in-chief of all its fleets and armies. Not only the 'legati' of his own special provinces, but also the proconsuls of those left to the senate, ranked as his subordinates; and all military operations were held by a fiction to be conducted under his 'auspicia[3];' while, by a further extension, this power was valid also in Italy and even within the walls of Rome, giving him not only the supreme command of the home army and police, but also power of life and death over all citizens, even of senatorial rank, and a special jurisdiction, whereby he could either try in person criminal and civil charges of every description, or remit them, as he thought fit, to other tribunals[4].

Hardly less important was the 'tribunicia potestas[5].' In the later time of the Republic, the office of tribune had been generally the most powerful urban magistracy, as that of proconsul had been the chief title of military command; and Caesar was as much above ordinary tribunes as above ordinary proconsuls. He held office for life, was hampered by the veto of no colleague[6], and was known to be able, if need be, to support any coercive action by military force. From this office he derived personal inviolability; it was through it that he could summon the senate and propose questions to it[7], as well as intervene to forbid or modify any decree displeasing to him[8]. Also, in this capacity, he seems to have so far represented the people, that the old civic right of 'provocatio ad populum' from the sentence

[1] See on 1. 14, 4.

[2] The use of this title, as commemorative of victories (see on 1. 9, 2), is distinct from its use to denote supreme command. The latter was taken to be designated, in the case of most principes, by the 'praenomen imperatoris;' which, however, was not borne by Tiberius.

[3] See 2. 18, 2; 22, 1; 41, 1; and the language addressed by Horace to Augustus on the victories of his stepsons (Od. 4. 14, 43), 'te copias, te consilium et tuos | praebente Divos.'

[4] On this jurisdiction, see 3. 10, 3, 6. [5] See 1. 9, 2; 3. 56. 2.

[6] A colleague in this power was only at times appointed, and only one whom the princeps felt that he could trust: see 1. 3, 3; 3. 56, 3.

[7] 1. 7, 5. [8] E.g. 3. 18, 1; 70. 2, &c.

of the magistrate passes into an appeal to Caesar, and the whole prerogative of pardon is thus vested in him[1].

By exercising in some form a 'regimen legum et morum,' he retained to himself the most important powers belonging to the ancient censorship[2], such as the revision of the lists of senators and knights, and the expulsion of unworthy members of those bodies[3].

Another office, regularly held by the princeps from and after B. C. 12, was that of 'pontifex maximus,' whereby he became the supreme authority in many of the chief religious questions belonging to the state[4].

It will be seen that the form of the Roman Republic was preserved; that the Caesars professedly derived their power from their tenure of republican magistracies or modifications of such, and were supreme by a combination of such offices, and by such extension of their functions as would not seem inconsistent with their original idea. Not unfrequently Caesar also filled one of the consulships[5], rather as a recognition of the dignity of the office than as deriving any additional power from it. Otherwise, the annual magistracies existed on their ancient footing[6], and discharged their usual duties of routine; the most important being those of the consuls, as the regular presidents of the senate, and of the praetors, as presiding over and regulating the 'iudicia publica.' Side by side with them were important new officers directly appointed by Caesar; of whom the 'praefectus praetorio' and 'praefectus vigilum' were his military and police vicegerents in Rome, while the 'praefectus urbi' and 'praefectus annonae' must have encroached on some functions of the republican magistrates.

Passing from the magistrates to the senate and the comitia, we find that one of the first acts of Tiberius was practically to annihilate the latter body, by transferring the election of magis-

[1] For an instance of such pardon, see 4. 31, 1.

[2] The censorship itself was allowed to drop after B. C. 22, and was very rarely revived by subsequent emperors. [3] See 2. 48, 3.

[4] For a question referred to Tiberius in this capacity, see 3. 59, 1.

[5] Augustus had held this office continuously for several years down to B. C. 23; Tiberius held it three times during his principate.

[6] 'Eadem magistratuum vocabula' 1. 3, 7.

trates to the senate[1]. The people may probably have felt that the substance of power had long since departed from them, and that only the shadow had now followed it: at any rate, the change took place without serious opposition, and the populace were left with nothing henceforth to care for but their bread and their amusements[2].

With the senate it was outwardly far otherwise. In place of the 'senatus populusque Romanus,' in whose name the acts of Rome used to run, this august body alone remained, with apparently still more than its ancient majesty. 'Affairs that concerned the state, and the most important affairs which concerned individuals[3],' were still handled by it with apparent freedom; its decrees come to differ only in form from laws; in choosing magistrates, who by virtue of such magistracy become senators[4], it is formally a self-elective body; in form even the right of choosing the princeps himself devolves upon it[5]; the whole narrative of Tacitus is full of its debates and decisions. As of old, it awards triumphal honours[6] and other recognition of victories[7], and sends its thanks or rewards to allied kings as representative of the state[8]; it decrees public funerals[9] and other honours to the dead[10]; it makes regulations to repress disorder[11], and curb extravagance[12] and immorality[13], and to deal stringently with the abuses of religious[14] or superstitious practices[15]; while, abroad, all important questions appertaining to the administration of its own provinces are referred to it; one such occasion, that of the deputation from Asia on the right of sanctuary, being described as unusually impressive[16]. Besides all this, the senate has supplanted the praetor's tribunal as the great high court of criminal justice[17], before which culprits of rank are almost always arraigned, especially on the constantly recurring charge of 'maiestas.'

[1] 1. 15, 1. [2] 'Panem et circenses' Juv. 10, 81. [3] 4. 6, 2.
[4] As a rule, the senate was entered through the quaestorship.
[5] This form of election is exercised after the death of Augustus (1. 11–13).
[6] 1. 55, 1; 72, 1; 2 64, 1, &c. [7] 2. 41, 1; 3. 47, 3, &c.
[8] 4. 26, 4. [9] 3. 48, 1, &c. [10] 2. 83, 2, &c.
[11] 1. 77, 2; 4. 14, 4. [12] 2. 33, 1, &c. [13] 2. 85, 1.
[14] 2. 85, 5. [15] 2. 32, 5. [16] 3. 60, 6. [17] See 2. 27, 4, &c.

Those, however, who could look below the surface knew well that, not the senate, but Caesar through the senate, governed; and that it acted rather as representative of him than of the state. Every magistrate was really so far his nominee that only such candidates as had his recommendation, or at least his approval[1], could be chosen; and as the entry to the senate itself was through magistracy[2] or by the direct nomination of the princeps[3], every senator must have felt that he owed his position to Caesar; who, besides the powers formally conferred on him, had all the advantage arising from the general recognition that, whoever was master of the legions, was master of as much else as he thought fit to claim.

If we look to the practical working of the imperial administration, the chief difference felt by the inhabitants of Rome must have consisted in the greater maintenance of order. Seven thousand 'vigiles' were distributed over the city; a more distinctly military police force of three urban cohorts[4], each a thousand strong, enforced the summary jurisdiction of the city praefect; and nine praetorian cohorts[5] of similar strength were at hand, if needed. This security must have been in itself no small boon to trade and industry; and even the poorest class must have found their gain in the more systematic regulation of the corn supply[6].

In the empire outside, the most important change to notice is the division of provinces made in B.C. 27 between Augustus and the senate, whereby only the more peaceful were retained by the latter; those lately acquired, or otherwise needing the presence of military force, being taken over by Caesar.

Of the senatorial provinces, the two chief were Asia and Africa. The former, comprising a large triangular tract with its base on the western coast of Asia Minor, included generally Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and nearly all Phrygia, with most of the islands in the Aegean, and had its metropolis and seat of government at Ephesus. The latter would coincide in modern geography with the western part of Tripoli, the whole of Tunis,

[1] See on 1. 14, 6; 15, 2.

[2] I. e. by the quaestorship (see above, p. 26).

[3] Some senators in later times are styled 'adlecti a principe.'

[4] 4. 5, 5.

[5] Id.

[6] 2. 87, 1; 4. 6, 6.

and considerable portion of Algeria; its chief cities being Utica and the new Julian colony of Carthage.

For the proconsulship of these two great provinces lots were drawn annually by the two senior consulars who had not previously held either[1]. The other senatorial provinces, eight or nine in number[2], were similarly allotted to annual governors, also styled proconsuls, though usually only of praetorian rank. Their duties, as a rule, were civil only, nor are any soldiers, except a few by way of police, to be found generally in these provinces[3]. Besides the assistance of one or more legati of high senatorial rank, each proconsul was attended by a quaestor, who received all sums due to the aerarium at Rome.

The Caesarian provinces, whose revenues formed the main support of the fiscus, comprised all those fronting the enemies of the empire, and many other important countries. Their governors, appointed directly by the princeps, held office during his pleasure, usually for from three to five years, but often for much longer periods[4], and, like proconsuls of senatorial provinces, had the assistance of 'legati,' as also of a 'procurator fisci,' whose duties answered to those of the quaestor. Holding often the command of large armies, and having much fuller power of life and death[5], these governors were in a far higher real position than that of a senatorial proconsul; although, in recognition of the sole 'proconsulare imperium' of Caesar, none had a higher title than that of 'legatus Augusti propraetore.'

To the greatest provinces, in which large forces were stationed, legati of consular rank were always sent[6]. Foremost

[1] See on 2. 32, 2.

[2] Those usually so reckoned were Sicily, Sardinia (with Corsica), Hispania Baetica, Gallia Narbonensis, Macedonia, Achaia, Bithynia, Cyprus, and Crete (with Cyrene); but some of these were at times given over to Caesar. See 1. 76, 4, and note on 2. 85, 5.

[3] Africa formed an exception to this rule, having a regular force of one legion, to which, during part of the war with Tacfarinas, a second was added (see on 4. 5, 3).

[4] See 1. 80, 2.

[5] Senatorial proconsuls could not (except in Africa) execute a soldier; and any citizen, under a capital charge, could appeal from any governor to Caesar. A well-known instance is that of St. Paul (Acts xxv. 11).

[6] Besides those here mentioned, Hispania Tarraconensis, Moesia, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, belonged at the time of Tiberius to this class.

among these are Upper and Lower Germany and Syria, each with its garrison of four legions [1], those of the German armies fully organized and trained by war against the unsubdued tribes beyond the Rhine, and those of Syria charged with maintaining the prestige of Rome against Parthia.

Another class, corresponding to the second class of senatorial provinces, comprised those in which only a single legion, or even a smaller force, was stationed. In these the legatus was usually only of praetorian rank, but had otherwise the same status as in the greater provinces. As an example of such may be taken the main divisions of Gaul, Gallia Belgica, Lugdunensis, and Aquitania; for all of which insignificant forces seem ordinarily to have sufficed; the German legions, though strictly within Gaul, being under separate command [2].

In a third class of provinces of still less importance, the procurator, of only equestrian rank, instead of being placed under a legatus, is himself the acting governor, perhaps usually in some subordination to the legatus of a neighbouring province. One well-known instance of such a government in the time of Tiberius, that of Pontius Pilatus in Judaea, shows that an officer even of this rank might have command of at least a cohort [3].

Egypt, as the great granary of Rome, had an exceptional position, and, though held by a considerable force, was entrusted to no legatus, but jealously retained by the princeps under his own control [4], with a vicegerent of equestrian rank styled 'praefectus.'

All governors of provinces had fixed salaries from the treasury; and cruelty and extortion, though by no means things of the past, enjoyed far less impunity than such as collusive accusers, or judges interested in connivance, had often secured for the culprit in former times. From this cause, probably also from the more equitable assessment of tribute through a systematic census, the provinces are admitted to have been gainers by the fall of the Republic [5], and there is evidence that those placed under Caesar were more economically governed than the senatorial [6].

[1] On the German legions, see 1. 31, &c.; on those of Syria, see 4. 5, 4.
[2] See 3. 42, 2, &c. [3] St. Matth. xxvii, 27, &c. [4] See 2. 59, 4.
[5] 1. 1, 2. [6] See on 1. 76, 4.

Several states and kingdoms not formally reduced to provinces, but left semi-independent under native rulers[1], helped to strengthen the empire against hostile nations.

The great military force of the empire was massed along its north-eastern frontier[2], formed, roughly speaking, by the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates. The eight legions of Germany and the four of Syria have been already mentioned; the line of the Danube was secured by five in Moesia and Pannonia, supported by two more in Dalmatia; to these are to be added two in Egypt, one in Africa, and three in Spain, making up the whole standing force of twenty-five legions. Italy had no other garrison than the praetorian and urban cohorts (whose headquarters were in Rome), and the fleets of Misenum and Ravenna.

The legion, commanded by a legatus[3] of senatorial, often even of praetorian rank[4], consisted of ten cohorts, each subdivided into three maniples, each of which contained two centuries. All its soldiers, though recruited freely from all parts of the empire[5], were Roman citizens; but a large auxiliary or non-citizen force was always attached to it, supplementing it chiefly with light troops and cavalry: the whole corps being thus made up to a strength of about 10,000 of all arms and descriptions. The main armies may thus be rated in the aggregate at about 250,000 men; to which perhaps 100,000 may be added for the troops of Italy, the marines of the fleets, and the detached bodies stationed in peaceful provinces.

This organization as a whole dates from Augustus, and was maintained by Tiberius as he found it, without other change of importance than the transference of the election of magistrates to the senate[6], and the concentration of the praetorian guard in Rome[7].

His general policy was to preserve order and maintain existing settlements[8], and to avoid wars[9]. Probably from a conviction that the conquest of Germany was impracticable, he re-

[1] Among such were Thrace (2. 64, 3) and Mauretania (4. 5, 3). Others are mentioned in 4. 5, 4.

[2] On the number and distribution of the legions, see 4. 5.

[3] 1. 44, 3, &c.

[4] See on 2. 36, 1.

[5] See 4. 4, 4.

[6] See above, p. 25.

[7] 4. 2, 1.

[8] 2. 65, 1.

[9] 4. 32, 3.

called Germanicus as soon as the defeat of Varus seemed sufficiently avenged [1], and allowed no further aggressive expeditions in any quarter.

His domestic administration during the first eight years of his rule receives the full commendation of the historian, except in respect of the trials for 'maiestas [2],' a charge which, even in those years, had been strained beyond the limits necessary to ensure respect for the government [3], and in regard of which a change still for the worse, as regards frequency of prosecutions and severity of sentences, is to be noted in the period covered by the fourth Book [4].

Out of these trials arose the evils of espionage in private life [5] and the officious activity of a large body of professional accusers [6], encouraged by the more or less open support of the prince, and often gorged with extravagant rewards [7].

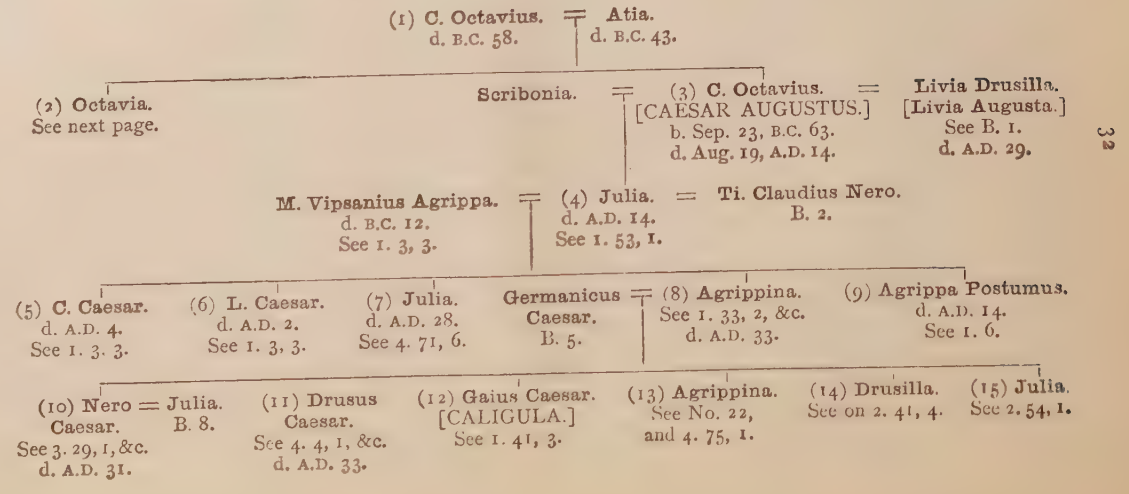
Hence ensued a general state of panic and suspicion; men of rank stooped to a servility so abject as to defeat its own object, and to disgust and irritate him whom they sought to please [8]: others provoked their fate by outspoken opposition [9]: few had the tact to tread a middle path [10]: and the great aim of any public man was not so much to serve the state as to preserve himself.

Literature shared the fate of politics: history [11] and most other kinds of composition were dangerous to their authors; and the result is, that hardly any generation appears to be so barren in intellectual activity as that of the rule of Tiberius [12].

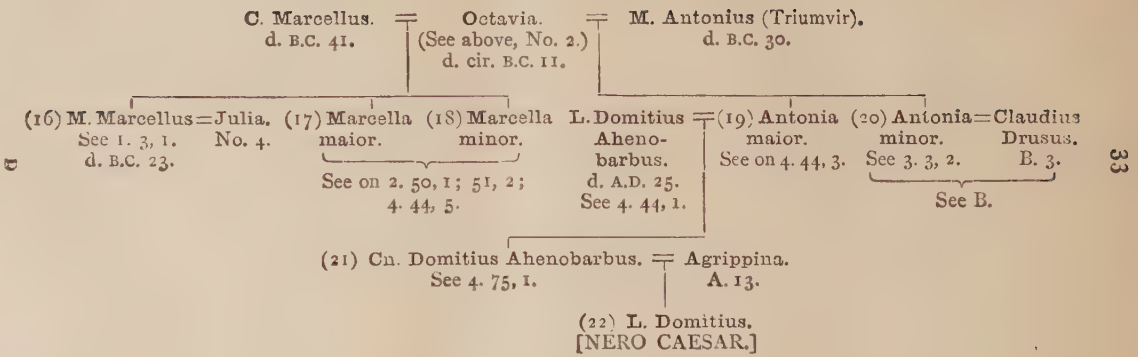
[1] 2. 26, 2. [2] 4. 6, 3. [3] See 1. 72, &c. [4] See 4. 1, 1.
[5] See 4. 68–70. [6] See 1. 74, 1; 2. 27, 1. [7] See 2. 32, 1; 4. 30, 4.
[8] 3. 47, 4; 65, 3. [9] 4. 21, 1. [10] 4. 20, 4. [11] 4. 34, 1.
[12] Of the works preserved to us, none rank higher than the short history of Velleius Paterculus and the fables of Phaedrus.

IV. GENEALOGY OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY.

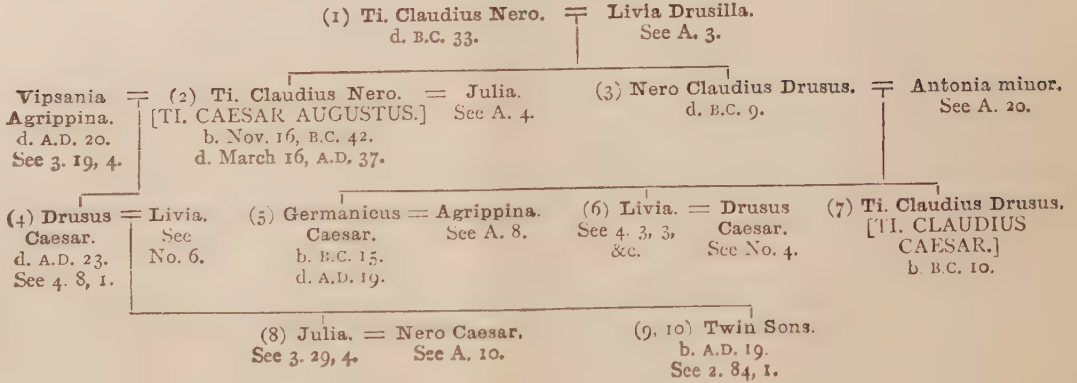
STEM A. DIRECT AND COLLATERAL DESCENDANTS OF AUGUSTUS.



STEM A (*continued*).



STEM B. FAMILY OF THE CLAUDIAN CAESARS.


(1) Ti. Claudius Nero. d. B.C. 33.
Livia Drusilla. See A. 3.
Vipsania Agrippina. d. A.D. 20. See 3. 19, 4.
(2) Ti. Claudius Nero. [TI. CAESAR AUGUSTUS.] b. Nov. 16, B.C. 42. d. March 16, A.D. 37.
Julia. See A. 4.
(3) Nero Claudius Drusus. d. B.C. 9.
Antonia minor. See A. 20.
(4) Drusus Caesar. d. A.D. 23. See 4. 8, 1.
Livia. See No. 6.
(5) Germanicus Caesar. b. B.C. 15. d. A.D. 19.
Agrippina. See A. 8.
(6) Livia. See 4. 3, 3, &c.
Drusus Caesar. See No. 4.
(7) Ti. Claudius Drusus. [TI. CLAUDIUS CAESAR.] b. B.C. 10.
(8) Julia. See 3. 29, 4.
Nero Caesar. See A. 10.
(9, 10) Twin Sons. b. A.D. 19. See 2. 84, 1.

SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS

OF

THE ANNALS, BOOKS I–IV.

BOOK I.

Ch. 1–4. Introductory.

1. Periods of Roman History, and reasons for selecting this one. 2. Growth of the power of Augustus. 3. His plans for the succession. 4. His decline of life. Opinions of men respecting the future.

A. U. C. 767, A. D. 14. Sex. Pompeius, Sex. Appuleius, coss.

Ch. 5–15. Death of Augustus and succession of Tiberius.

5. Last illness and death of Augustus (August 19); Tiberius assumes the position of successor. 6. Agrippa Postumus put to death. 7. Servility of the senate and people; caution of Tiberius. 8. The will of Augustus; debate in the senate on his funeral. 9, 10. Favourable and unfavourable judgments of his character and policy. Temple and divine honours decreed to him. 11–13. Apparent reluctance of Tiberius to accept the principate; offence taken by him at observations of Asinius Gallus, L. Arruntius, Q. Haterius, and Mamercus Scaurus. 14. Honours to Livia Augusta and to Germanicus. 15. Election of praetors; transference of comitia to senate; institution of 'ludi Augustales.'

Ch. 16–30. Mutiny of the Pannonian legions.

16–19. Outbreak of the mutiny; conduct and demands of the soldiers; Blaesus, son of the legatus, sent as their delegate to Rome. 20–23. Further progress of the mutiny, and complete break-down of all discipline. 24–27. Despatch of a force from Rome under Drusus and Scianus; continued contumacy of the legions and danger of Cn. Lentulus. 28. Revulsion of feeling produced by an eclipse of the moon (Sept. 26). 29, 30. Restoration of order; delegates sent to Rome; punishment of the ringleaders, and departure of Drusus.

Ch. 31–52. Mutiny and subsequent campaign of the German legions.

31, 32. Outbreak of mutiny in Lower Germany. 33–35. Action of

Germanicus; his address to the soldiers and peril at their hands. 36-38. Concessions made for the time; withdrawal of the legions to their winter camps. 39, 40. Fresh outbreak at Ara Ubiorum on arrival of an embassy from Rome; Agrippina and her son sent away to the Treveri. 41-43. Change of feeling taken advantage of by Germanicus in his speech. 44. Military trial of offenders and restoration of order. 45-49. Similar measures taken in the other camp at Vetera; state of feeling at Rome; resolution of Tiberius to stay there. 50-52. Expedition against the Marsi; feeling of Tiberius respecting the events.

Ch. 53. Death of Julia, daughter of Augustus; Sempronius Gracchus put to death.

Ch. 54. Institution of 'sodales Augustales;' turbulence at the games.

A. U. C. 768, A. D. 15. Drusus Caesar, C. Norbanus, coss.

Ch. 55 56. Arminius and Segestes the heads of parties among the Germans; expedition in the spring against the Chatti.

Ch. 57-59. Segestes rescued from his enemies: the wife of Arminius taken; the Cherusci roused to war by Arminius.

Ch. 60-63. Expedition, chiefly conducted by ships, to the Amisia, and thence against the Cherusci; burial of the remains of the army of Varus.

Ch. 64-69. Difficult and dangerous retreat of Caecina by land; the destruction of the bridge over the Rhine prevented by Agrippina.

Ch. 70-71. Peril of another force marching by the sea-shore; efforts to repair the losses of the army.

Ch. 72-81. Events at Rome during the year.

72-74. Triumphalia decreed; title of 'pater patriae' refused by Tiberius; revival of law of 'maiestas;' charges against two knights and Granius Marcellus; conduct of Tiberius. 75. His supervision of the law courts, and liberality to some senators. 76. Flood of the Tiber; Achaia and Macedonia transferred from the senate to Caesar; Drusus presides at a gladiatorial exhibition. 77. Repetition of disturbance at the theatre, and measures taken. 78. Temple to Augustus in Spain; edict of Tiberius on the centesima and on the dismissal of soldiers. 79. Debate on proposals to obviate the floods of the Tiber. 80. Macedonia and Achaia combined with the government of Moesia; habit of Tiberius to continue the same persons in office; and reasons for it. 81. His mode of conducting the election of consuls.

BOOK II.

A. U. C. 769, A. D. 16. Statilius Sisenna Taurus, L. Libo, coss.

Ch. 1–4. State of affairs in the East.

1, 2. Unpopularity of Vonones, who had been educated in Rome and had succeeded to the throne of Parthia. 3, 4. Vonones, driven out by Artabanus, accepted as king of Armenia, but afterwards removed by the Romans into Syria.

Ch. 5–26. Campaign of Germanicus.

5, 6. A large fleet formed and concentrated at the 'Insula Batavorum.' 7. Expedition against the Chatti and to the Luppia. 8. Route of the army to the Amisia and thence to the Visurgis. 9, 10. Colloquy of Arminius and Flavus. 11. The Romans cross the Visurgis. 12, 13. The temper of the soldiers ascertained by Germanicus. 14. His dream, and address to the army. 15. Address of Arminius. 16–18. Battle of Idisiaviso; Tiberius saluted as 'imperator,' and trophy erected. 19–22. Second Roman victory in a position chosen by the Germans; submission of the Angrivarii. 23, 24. Disastrous storm on the retreat. 25. Renewed attack on the Chatti and Marsi. 26. Germanicus recalled by Tiberius to his triumph and a second consulship.

Ch. 27–31. Impeachment of Libo Drusus for revolutionary designs; his suicide.

32. Rewards of the accusers; servility of senators; punishment of astrologers and magicians.

Ch. 33–38. Debates in the senate. 33. On the luxury of the age. 34. Outspoken words of L. Piso; his suit with Urgulania. 35. On the adjournment of business. 36. On holding elections five years in advance. 37, 38. The petition of Hortalus rebuked.

Ch. 39, 40. Attempt of a slave to personate Agrippa Postumus.

A. U. C. 770, A. D. 17. C. Caelius, L. Pomponius, coss.

Ch. 41. Triumph of Germanicus (May 16); feeling of the people. 42. Cappadocia reduced to a province on the death of Archelaus. 43. Germanicus appointed with general powers to settle matters in the East; Cn. Piso made governor of Syria. 44–46. Drusus sent to Illyricum to watch the struggle between Maroboduus, king of the Suevi, and Arminius, who had defeated him with the Cheruscans.

47, 48. Liberality of Tiberius to the cities of Asia ruined by an earthquake; and to various persons at Rome. 49. Dedication of temples. 50. Trial of Appuleia Varilla. 51. Contest on the election of a praetor. 52. Beginning of the predatory war of Tacfarinas in Africa; his defeat by Camillus.

A. U. C. 771, A. D. 18. Ti. Caesar Augustus III, Germanicus Caesar II, coss.

Ch. 53–58. Actions of Germanicus in the East.

53. His route to Athens. 54. Birth of Julia at Lesbos; journey of Germanicus to the Euxine and return by Ilium and Colophon. 55. Conduct of Piso at Athens; corruption of the Syrian legions by him and Plancina. 56. Germanicus crowns Artaxias king of Armenia and sends governors to Cappadocia and Commagene. 57. Dissensions between Germanicus and Piso. 58. Overtures from Artabanus king of Parthia; Vonones removed to Cilicia.

A. U. C. 772, A. D. 19. M. Silanus, L. Norbanus, coss.

Ch. 59–61. Travel of Germanicus in Egypt; displeasure of Tiberius: visit to Thebes, the Memnon, Syene, and Elephantine.

Ch. 62, 63. Maroboduus forced to take refuge in Italy and kept at Ravenna; similar fate of Catualda who had overthrown him.

Ch. 64–67. Rhescuporis, king of Thrace, who had seized and killed his brother Cotys, entrapped by Pomponius Flaccus, and condemned at Rome; Thrace divided between his son and nephews.

Ch. 68. Vonones attempts to escape, and is put to death.

Ch. 69–73. Illness and death of Germanicus.

69. Illness of Germanicus; conduct of Piso; suspicions of poison and witchcraft. 70. Final breach with Piso, who is ordered to leave the province. 71, 72. Last words and death of Germanicus. 73. His funeral; comparison with Alexander the Great.

Ch. 74–81. Events in the East after his death.

74. Sentius chosen governor of Syria; evidence collected against Piso. 75. Agrippina sets out for Rome. 76, 77. Advice given to Piso. 78. His resolution to reclaim his province by force. 79. His meeting with the ship of Agrippina. 80, 81. His occupation of a fort in Cilicia and surrender.

Ch. 82, 83. Feeling in Rome, and honours decreed to the memory of Germanicus. 84. Twin sons born to Drusus and Livia.

Ch. 85. Decrees against female profligacy, and against the Isiac and Jewish worships. 86. Election of a vestal. 87. Corn sold at a fixed price, with compensation to dealers; Tiberius refuses the title of 'pater patriae.' 88. Offer to poison Arminius rejected; notice of his death and achievements.

BOOK III.

A. U. C. 773, A. D. 20. M. Valerius Messalla, M. Aurelius Cotta, coss.

Ch. 1–18. Further honours to Germanicus, and trial of Cn. Piso.

1, 2. Reception of Agrippina at Brundusium; transportation of the remains to Rome. 3. Tiberius, Augusta, and Antonia absent from the demonstration. 4, 5. Feeling at Rome on the day of the funeral. 6. Edict of Tiberius. 7. Drusus departs to Illyricum. 8, 9. Piso, after visiting him there, returns ostentatiously to Rome. 10, 11. Indictment sent back to the senate, after a hearing before Tiberius; return of Drusus. 12. Speech of Tiberius at the opening of the case. 13, 14. Progress of the trial. 15. Plancina secures her safety through Augusta; suicide of Piso. 16. His last letter read. 17, 18. End of the trial; modifications of the sentence by Tiberius.

Ch. 19–30. Other events of the year.

19. Priesthoods given to the accusers; ovation of Drusus; death of his mother Vipsania. 20, 21. Tacfarinas again defeated in Africa by Apronius. 22, 23. Trial of Lepida. 24. Return of D. Silanus from voluntary exile. 25. Complaints of the working of the 'lex Papia Poppaea.' 26–28. Digression on the origin of law, and the history of Roman legislation. 29. Entry of Nero Caesar into public life; his marriage. 30. Deaths of L. Volusius and Sallustius Crispus.

A. U. C. 774, A. D. 21. Tiberius Caesar Augustus IV, Drusus Caesar II, coss.

31. Tiberius absent during the year; complaint brought by Domitius Corbulo against P. Sulla; his attacks on persons charged with the maintenance of roads. 32. News of renewed hostilities in Africa; M. Lepidus proconsul by lot of Asia. 33, 34. Speeches of Caecina Severus and Valerius Messalinus on the proposal to forbid governors of provinces to take their wives with them. 35. Blaesus, uncle of Seianus, made proconsul of Africa 'extra sortem.' 36, 37. Drusus checks an abuse in respect of the statues of the princeps, and is

credited with the punishment of accusers; his popularity. 38. Tiberius causes Antistius Vetus to be condemned for complicity with Rhescuporis. 39. Renewed disturbance in Thrace suppressed.

Ch. 40-47. Serious rebellion promoted by Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir in Gaul. 40. Seditious meetings held. 41. Outbreak of the Andecavi and Turoni put down by Acilius Aviola. 42. Rising of the Treveri suppressed by a force of cavalry; death of Florus. 43-46. A large force raised by the Aedui defeated and dispersed by C. Silius near Augustodunum; death of Sacrovir. 47. Tiberius reports to the senate, and talks of going to Gaul; honours decreed to him.

48. Death of Sulpicius Quirinus. 49-51. Clutorius Priscus put to death by sentence of the senate for a poem in anticipation of the death of Drusus; speech of M'. Lepidus; Tiberius blames the haste shown.

A. U. C. 775, A. D. 22. C. Sulpicius Galba, D. Haterius Agrippa, coss.

52-55. The aediles complain of the defiance of sumptuary laws, especially in luxuries of the table; letter of Tiberius. The subject allowed to drop; but, after many years' licence, luxury abated in the time of Vespasian. 56, 57. Drusus associated in the tribunician power; extravagant compliments decreed. 58. Servius Maluginensis, flamen Dialis, claims his lot for the proconsulate of Asia. 59. Drusus thought to have shown pride in only writing to the senate.

60-63. Embassies to the senate from Greek cities in Asia touching the right of asylum claimed for their temples. 64. Return of Tiberius in consequence of the illness of Augusta; vows offered for her recovery. 65. Prevalence of servility in the senate.

66-69. Trial and condemnation of C. Silanus for extortion and treasonable conduct in Asia; Tiberius declines the responsibility which the proposal of Dolabella would cast on him. 70. Condemnation of Caesius Cordus; dismissal of the charge against L. Ennius; pretended indignation of Ateius Capito. 71. Offering to Fortuna Equestris for recovery of Augusta; the claim of the flamen Dialis to a province disallowed. 72. Restoration of the 'Basilica Pauli' by Lepidus; that of the theatre of Pompeius undertaken by Caesar. 73, 74. Successes of Blaesus against Tacfarinas, and honours awarded to him. 75. Deaths of Asinius Saloninus and Ateius Capito. 76. Death of Junia, wife of Cassius and sister of Brutus; her will and funeral.

BOOK IV.

A. U. C. 776, A. D. 23. C. Asinius Pollio, C. Antistius Vetus, coss.

1. Ascendancy of Seianus; his origin and character. 2. Concentration of the praetorian guards in a camp; influence of Seianus with the soldiers and the senate. 3. His schemes against Drusus. 4. Drusus, son of Germanicus, enters public life; professed intention of Tiberius to visit the provinces. 5, 6. Review of the military and civil organization of the empire. 7-9. Hostility of Drusus and Seianus; the former poisoned; behaviour of Tiberius on his son's death; honours to his memory. 10, 11. A story, that Tiberius had himself caused the death of Drusus, rejected. 12. Designs of Seianus against the family of Germanicus. 13. Provincial grievances dealt with by Tiberius. 14. Further deputations on right of asylum; pantomime actors expelled from Italy. 15. Death of Lucilius Longus and of a son of Drusus; condemnation of Lucilius Capito; the Asiatic cities permitted to erect a temple to Tiberius, Augusta, and the senate. 16. Regulations respecting the flamen Dialis, and the Vestals.

A. U. C. 777, A. D. 24. Ser. Cornelius Cethegus, L. Visellius Varro, coss.

17. Jealousy of Tiberius at mention of Nero and Drusus in the 'vota solemnia.' 18-20. Trial and death of C. Silius, and banishment of his wife Sosia; independence of character shown by M'. Lepidus. 21. L. Piso is accused, and dies before trial; Cassius Severus banished to Seriphos. 22. Plautius Silvanus convicted of the murder of his wife. 23-26. Tacfarinas finally defeated and killed by Dolabella; presents sent from the senate to Ptolemaeus, king of Mauretania. 27. An incipient servile insurrection crushed near Brundisium. 28-30. Vibius Serenus accused by his son; the extreme penalty modified. 31. Cominius pardoned for a libel; Suillius condemned for selling justice; Firmius Catus for false accusation. 32, 33. Apology of Tacitus for the monotony of his subject.

A. U. C. 778, A. D. 25. Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, M. Asinius Agrippa, coss.

34, 35. Trial of Cremutius Cordus for praise of Brutus and Cassius; his defence and suicide. 36. Charges brought before young Drusus, praefectus urbis; Cyzicus deprived of its freedom. 37, 38. Tiberius

rejects the petition to allow a temple to himself in Spain. 39, 40. Seianus asks Livia in marriage; reply of Tiberius. 41. Seianus urges him to retire from Rome. 42. The trial of Votienus influences Tiberius in this direction; others severely sentenced. 43. Decision on a question of boundary between Messenia and Laconia, and on other provincial matters. 44. Deaths of Cn. Lentulus and L. Domitius at Rome, and of L. Antonius at Massilia. 45. Murder of L. Piso in Spain.

A. U. C. 779, A. D. 26. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, C. Calvisius Sabinus, coss.

46-51. Triumphalia awarded to Poppaeus Sabinus, for the suppression of an insurrection in Thrace. 52-54. Agrippina, alarmed at the condemnation of her cousin Claudia Pulchra, remonstrates with Tiberius, and afterwards requests him to give her a husband; Seianus increases the enmity between them. 55, 56. Eleven Asiatic cities contend for the honour of possessing the temple to be erected to Tiberius; Sardes and Smyrna preferred, and the latter selected. 57, 58. Tiberius permanently quits Rome; his reasons suggested, and predictions respecting him discussed. 59. His life saved by Seianus on the falling of a cave. 60. Schemes of Seianus against Nero. 61. Deaths of Asinius Agrippa and Q. Haterius.

A. U. C. 780, A. D. 27. M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, L. Calpurnius Piso, coss.

62, 63. Disastrous loss of life from the fall of an amphitheatre at Fidenae. 64, 65. Destructive fire on the Mons Caelius; liberality of Tiberius, and compliment paid to him; origin of the name. 66. Quintilius Varus accused by Domitius Afer and P. Dolabella. 67. Retirement of Tiberius to Capreae; description of the island.

A. U. C. 781, A. D. 28. App. Junius Silanus, P. Silius Nerva, coss.

68-70. Titius Sabinus, a friend of the family of Germanicus, who had been entrapped by disgraceful means, denounced and executed on the opening day of the year. 71. Hints of Tiberius against Agrippina and Nero; death of Julia, grand-daughter of Augustus. 72, 73. Rising of the Frisii; want of energy shown by L. Apronius in dealing with it. 74. Visit of Tiberius and Seianus to Campania; concourse and servility of the senate and people. 75. Marriage of Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, to Cn. Domitius.

CORNELII TACITI

ANNALIUM
AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

LIBER I.

1. Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere; libertatem et
2 consulatum L. Brutus instituit. dictaturae ad tempus sume-
bantur; neque decemviralis potestas ultra biennium, neque
3 tribunorum militum consulare ius diu valuit. non Cinnae,
non Sullae longa dominatio; et Pompei Crassique potentia
cito in Caesarem, Lepidi atque Antonii arma in Augustum
cessere, qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine principis
4 sub imperium accepit. sed veteris populi Romani prospera
vel adversa claris scriptoribus memorata sunt; tempori-
busque Augusti dicendis non defuere decora ingenia, donec
5 gliscente adulatione deterrerentur. Tiberii Gaique et Claudii
ac Neronis res florentibus ipsis ob metum falsae, postquam
6 occiderant, recentibus odiis compositae sunt. inde consilium
mihi pauca de Augusto et extrema tradere, mox Tiberii prin-
cipatum et cetera, sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul
habeo.

2. Postquam Bruto et Cassio caesis nulla iam publica
arma, Pompeius apud Siciliam oppressus exutoque Lepido,
interfecto Antonio ne Iulianis quidem partibus nisi Caesar dux
reliquus, posito triumviri nomine consulem se ferens et ad
tuendam plebem tribunicio iure contentum, ubi militem donis,

populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit, insurgere paulatim, munia senatus magistratuum legum in se trahere, nullo adversante, cum ferocissimi per acies aut proscriptione cecidissent, ceteri nobilium, quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus et honoribus extollerentur ac novis ex rebus aucti tuta et praesentia quam vetera et periculosa mallent. neque 2 provinciae illum rerum statum abnuebant, suspecto senatus populique imperio ob certamina potentium et avaritiam magistratuum, invalido legum auxilio, quae vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur.

3. Ceterum Augustus subsidia dominationi Claudium Marcellum sororis filium admodum adulescentem pontificatu et curuli aedilitate, M. Agrippam ignobilem loco, bonum militia et victoriae socium, geminatis consulatibus extulit, mox defuncto Marcello generum sumpsit; Tiberium Neronem et Claudium Drusum privignos imperatoriis nominibus auxit, integra etiam tum domo sua. nam genitos Agrippa Gaium 2 ac Lucium in familiam Caesarum induxerat, necdum posita puerili praetexta principes iuventutis appellari, destinari consules specie recusantis flagrantissime cupiverat. ut Agrippa 3 vita concessit, Lucium Caesarem euntem ad Hispaniensis exercitus, Gaium remeantem Armenia et vulnere invalidum mors fato propera vel novercae Liviae dolus abstulit, Drusoque pridem extincto Nero solus e privignis erat, illuc cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribuniciae potestatis adsumitur omnisque per exercitus ostentatur, non obscuris, ut antea, matris artibus, sed palam hortatu. nam senem 4 Augustum devinxerat adeo, uti nepotem unicum, Agrippam Postumum, in insulam Planasiam proiecerit, rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferocem, nullius tamen flagitii conpertum. at hercule Germanicum Druso 5 ortum octo apud Rhenum legionibus inposuit adscirique per adoptionem a Tiberio iussit, quamquam esset in domo Tiberii

6 filius iuvenis, sed quo pluribus munimentis insisteret. bellum
ea tempestate nullum nisi adversus Germanos supererat, ab-
olendae magis infamiae ob amissum cum Quintilio Varo
exercitum quam cupidine proferendi imperii aut dignum ob
7 praemium. domi res tranquillae, eadem magistratuum vo-
cabula; iuniores post Actiacam victoriam, etiam senes
plerique inter bella civium nati: quotus quisque reliquus qui
rem publicam vidisset?

4. Igitur verso civitatis statu nihil usquam prisci et integri
moris: omnes exuta aequalitate iussa principis aspectare,
nulla in praesens formidine, dum Augustus aetate validus se-
2 que et domum et pacem sustentavit. postquam provecta iam
senectus aegro et corpore fatigabatur aderatque finis et spes
novae, pauci bona libertatis in cassum disserere, plures bel-
3 lum pavescere, alii cupere. pars multo maxima inminentis
dominos variis rumoribus differebant: trucem Agrippam et
ignominia accensum non aetate neque rerum experientia
tantae moli parem, Tiberium Neronem maturum annis, spec-
tatum bello, set vetere atque insita Claudiae familiae superbia,
multaque indicia saevitiae, quamquam premantur, erumpere.
4 hunc et prima ab infantia eductum in domo regnatrice; con-
gestos iuveni consulatus, triumphos; ne iis quidem annis,
quibus Rhodi specie secessus exul egerit, aliud quam iram
5 et simulationem et secretas lubidines meditatum. accedere
matrem muliebri inpotentia: serviendum feminae duobusque
insuper adulescentibus, qui rem publicam interim premant,
quandoque distrahant.

5. Haec atque talia agitantibus gravescere valetudo Au-
2 gusti, et quidam scelus uxoris suspectabant. quippe rumor
incesserat, paucos ante menses Augustum, electis consciis
et comite uno Fabio Maximo, Planasiam vectum ad visendum
3 Agrippam; multas illic utrimque lacrimas et signa caritatis
spemque ex eo fore ut iuvenis penatibus avi redderetur;

quod Maximum uxori Marciae aperuisse, illam Liviae. gna- 4
rum id Caesari; neque multo post extincto Maximo, dubium
an quaesita morte, auditos in funere eius Marciae gemitus
semet incusantis, quod causa exitii marito fuisset. utcumque 5
se ea res habuit, vixdum ingressus Illyricum Tiberius pro-
peris matris litteris accitur; neque satis conpertum est, spi-
rantem adhuc Augustum apud urbem Nolam an exanimem
reppererit. acribus namque custodiis domum et vias saepse- 6
rat Livia, laetique interdum nuntii vulgabantur, donec pro-
visis quae tempus monebat simul excessisse Augustum et
rerum potiri Neronem fama eadem tulit.

6. Primum facinus novi principatus fuit Postumi Agrippae
caedes, quem ignarum inermumque quamvis firmatus animo
centurio aegre confecit. nihil de ea re Tiberius apud sena- 2
tum disseruit: patris iussa simulabat, quibus praescripsisset
tribuno custodiae adposito, ne cunctaretur Agrippam morte
adficere, quandoque ipse supremum diem explevisset. multa 3
sine dubio saevaque Augustus de moribus adulescentis que-
stus, ut exilium eius senatus consulto sanciretur perfecerat:
ceterum in nullius umquam suorum necem duravit, neque
mortem nepoti pro securitate privigni inlatam credibile erat.
propius vero Tiberium ac Liviam, illum metu, hanc nover- 4
calibus odiis, suspecti et invisi iuvenis caedem festinavisse.
nuntianti centurioni, ut mos militiae, factum esse quod im- 5
perasset, neque imperasse sese et rationem facti reddendam
apud senatum respondit. quod postquam Sallustius Crispus 6
particeps secretorum (is ad tribunum miserat codicillos) com-
perit, metuens ne reus subderetur, iuxta periculoso ficta seu
vera promeret, monuit Liviam ne arcana domus, ne consilia
amicorum, ministeria militum vulgarentur, neve Tiberius vim
principatus resolveret cuncta ad senatum vocando: eam con-
dicionem esse imperandi, ut non aliter ratio constet quam si
uni reddatur.

7. At Romae ruere in servitium consules, patres, eques.
2 quanto quis inlustrior, tanto magis falsi ac festinantes, vultuque composito, ne laeti excessu principis neu tristiores primordio, lacrimas gaudium, questus adulationem miscebant.
3 Sex. Pompeius et Sex. Appuleius consules primi in verba Tiberii Caesaris iuravere, apudque eos Seius Strabo et C. Turranius, ille praetoriarum cohortium praefectus, hic an-
4 nonae; mox senatus milesque et populus. Nam Tiberius cuncta per consules incipiebat, tamquam vetere re publica
5 et ambiguus imperandi: ne edictum quidem, quo patres in curiam vocabat, nisi tribuniciae potestatis praescriptione
6 posuit sub Augusto acceptae. verba edicti fuere pauca et sensu permodesto: de honoribus parentis consulturum, neque abscedere a corpore, idque unum ex publicis muneri-
7 bus usurpare. sed defuncto Augusto signum praetoriis cohortibus ut imperator dederat; excubiae, arma, cetera aulae;
8 miles in forum, miles in curiam comitabatur. litteras ad exercitus tamquam adepto principatu misit, nusquam cunctabundus nisi cum in senatu loqueretur. causa praecipua ex
9 formidine, ne Germanicus, in cuius manu tot legiones, immensa sociorum auxilia, mirus apud populum favor, habere
10 imperium quam exspectare mallet. dabat et famae, ut vocatus electusque potius a re publica videretur quam per
11 uxorium ambitum et senili adoptione inrepsisse. postea cognitum est ad introspiciendas etiam procerum voluntates inductam dubitationem: nam verba vultus in crimen detorquens recondebat.

8. Nihil primo senatus die agi passus *est* nisi de supremis Augusti, cuius testamentum inlatum per virgines Vestae Ti-
2 berium et Liviam heredes habuit. Livia in familiam Iuliam nomenque Augustum adsumebatur; in spem secundam nepotes pronepotesque, tertio gradu primores civitatis scripserat, plerosque invisos sibi, sed iactantia gloriaque ad

posteros. legata non ultra civilem modum, nisi quod populo 3
et plebi quadringentiens triciens quinquiens, praetoriarum
cohortium militibus singula nummum milia, *urbanis quin-*
genos, legionariis aut cohortibus civium Romanorum trecenos
nummos viritim dedit. tum consultatum de honoribus; ex 4
quis *qui* maxime insignes visi, ut porta triumphali duceretur
funus, Gallus Asinius, ut legum latarum tituli, victarum ab
eo gentium vocabula anteferrentur, L. Arruntius censuere.
addebat Messalla Valerius renovandum per annos sacra- 5
mentum in nomen Tiberii; interrogatusque a Tiberio num
se mandante eam sententiam prompsisset, sponte dixisse re-
spondit, neque in iis quae ad rem publicam pertinerent con-
silio nisi suo usurum, vel cum periculo offensionis: ea sola
species adulandi supererat. conclamant patres corpus ad 6
rogum umeris senatorum ferendum. remisit Caesar adro-
ganti moderatione, populumque edicto monuit ne, ut quon-
dam nimiis studiis funus divi Iulii turbassent, ita Augustum
in foro potius quam in campo Martis, sede destinata, cre-
mari vellent. die funeris milites velut praesidio stetere, 7
multum inridentibus qui ipsi viderant quique a parentibus
acceperant diem illum crudi adhuc servitii et libertatis in-
prospere repetitae, cum occisus dictator Caesar aliis pessi-
mum, aliis pulcherrimum facinus videretur: nunc senem
principem, longa potentia, provisis etiam heredum in rem
publicam opibus, auxilio scilicet militari tuendum, ut sepul-
tura eius quieta foret.

9. Multus hinc ipso de Augusto sermo, plerisque vana
mirantibus, quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii prin-
ceps et vitae supremus, quod Nolae in domo et cubiculo
in quo pater eius Octavius vitam finivisset. numerus etiam 2
consulatuum celebrabatur, quo Valerium Corvum et C.
Marium simul acquaverat, continuata per septem et triginta
annos tribunicia potestas, nomen imperatoris semel atque

3 viciens partum aliaque honorum multiplicata aut nova. at
4 apud prudentes vita eius varie extollebatur arguebaturve. hi
pietate erga parentem et necessitudine rei publicae, in qua
nullus tunc legibus locus, ad arma civilia actum, quae neque
parari possent neque haberi per bonas artes. multa An-
tonio, dum interfectores patris ulcisceretur, multa Lepido
5 concessisse. postquam hic socordia senuerit, ille per libi-
dines pessum datus sit, non aliud discordantis patriae re-
6 medium fuisse quam *ut* ab uno regeretur. Non regno tamen
neque dictatura, sed principis nomine constitutam rem pub-
licam; mari Oceano aut amnibus longinquis saeptum im-
perium; legiones, provincias, classes, cuncta inter se conexa;
ius apud cives, modestiam apud socios; urbem ipsam mag-
nifico ornatu; pauca admodum vi tractata, quo ceteris quies
esset.

10. Dicebatur contra: pietatem erga parentem et tempora
rei publicae obtentui sumpta: ceterum cupidine dominandi
concitos per largitionem veteranos, paratum ab adulescente
privato exercitum, corruptas consulis legiones, simulatam
Pompeianarum gratiam partium; mox ubi decreto patrum
fasces et ius praetoris invaserit, caesis Hirtio et Pansa, sive
hostis illos, seu Pansam venenum vulneri adfusum, sui milites
Hirtium et machinator doli Caesar abstulerat, utriusque
copias occupavisse; extortum invito senatu consulatum, ar-
maque quae in Antonium acceperit contra rem publicam
versa; proscriptionem civium, divisiones agrorum ne ipsis
2 quidem qui fecere laudatas. sane Cassii et Brutorum exi-
tus paternis inimicitiis datos, quamquam fas sit privata odia
publicis utilitatibus remittere: sed Pompeium imagine pacis,
sed Lepidum specie amicitiae deceptos; post Antonium,
Tarentino Brundisinoque foedere et nuptiis sororis inlectum,
3 subdolae adfinitatis poenas morte exsolvisse. pacem sine
dubio post haec, verum cruentam: Lollianas Varianasque

clades, interfectos Romae Varrones, Egnatios, Iullos. nec 4
domesticis abstinebatur: abducta Neroni uxor et consulti per
ludibrium pontifices an concepto necdum edito partu rite
nuberet; Q. † Tedii et Vedii Pollionis luxus; postremo
Livia gravis in rem publicam mater, gravis domui Caesarum
noverca. nihil deorum honoribus relictum, cum se templis 5
et effigie numinum per flamines et sacerdotes coli vellet.
ne Tiberium quidem caritate aut rei publicae cura succes- 6
sorem adscitum, sed quoniam adrogantiam saevitiamque eius
introspexerit, comparatione deterrima sibi gloriam quaesi-
visse. etenim Augustus paucis ante annis, cum Tiberio 7
tribuniciam potestatem a patribus rursum postularet, quam-
quam honora oratione, quaedam de habitu cultuque et in-
stitutis eius iecerat, quae velut excusando exprobraret. ce- 8
terum sepultura more perfecta templum et caelestes reli-
giones decernuntur.

11. Versae inde ad Tiberium preces. et ille varia edis- 2
serebat de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia. solam divi
Augusti mentem tantae molis capacem: se in partem cura-
rum ab illo vocatum experiendo didicisse quam arduum,
quam subiectum fortunae regendi cuncta onus. proinde in 3
civitate tot inlustribus viris subnixa non ad unum omnia de-
ferrent: plures facilius munia rei publicae sociatis laboribus
exsecuturos. plus in oratione tali dignitatis quam fidei erat: 4
Tiberioque etiam in rebus quas non occuleret, seu natura
sive adsuetudine, suspensa semper et obscura verba: tunc
vero nitenti, ut sensus suos penitus abderet, in incertum et
ambiguum magis implicabantur. at patres, quibus unus me- 5
tus si intellegere viderentur, in questus lacrimas vota effundi;
ad deos, ad effigiem Augusti, ad genua ipsius manus tendere,
cum proferri libellum recitarique iussit. opes publicae con- 6
tinebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot
classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia, et necessi-

7 tates ac largitiones. quae cuncta sua manu perscripserat
Augustus addideratque consilium coercendi intra terminos
imperii, incertum metu an per invidiam.

12. Inter quae senatu ad infimas obtestationes procumbente, dixit forte Tiberius se ut non toti rei publicae parem, ita quaecumque pars sibi mandaretur, eius tutelam susceptu-
2 rum. tum Asinius Gallus 'interrogo' inquit, 'Caesar,
3 quam partem rei publicae mandari tibi velis.' perculsus inprovisa interrogatione paulum reticuit: dein collecto animo respondit nequaquam decorum pudori suo legere aliquid
4 aut evitare ex eo, cui in universum excusari mallet. rursum Gallus (etenim vultu offensionem coniectaverat) non idcirco interrogatum ait, ut divideret quae separari nequirent, sed ut sua confessione argueretur, unum esse rei publicae
5 corpus atque unius animo regendum. addidit laudem de Augusto Tiberiumque ipsum victoriarum suarum quaeque in
6 toga per tot annos egregie fecisset admonuit. nec ideo iram eius lenivit, pridem invisus, tamquam ducta in matrimonium Vipsania M. Agrippae filia, quae quondam Tiberii uxor fuerat, plus quam civilia agitaret Pollionisque Asinii patris ferociam retineret.

13. Post quae L. Arruntius haud multum discrepans a Galli oratione perinde offendit, quamquam Tiberio nulla vetus in Arruntium ira: sed divitem, promptum, artibus egre-
2 giis et pari fama publice, suspectabat. quippe Augustus supremis sermonibus cum tractaret, quinam adipisci principem locum suffecturi abnuerent aut inpares vellent vel îdem possent cuperentque, M'. Lepidum dixerat capacem sed aspernantem, Gallum Asinium avidum et minorem, L.
3 Arruntium non indignum et [illegible] quamquam [illegible] prioribus consentitur, pro Arruntio quidam Cn. Pisonem tradidere; omnesque praeter Lepidum [illegible]
4 struente Tiberio circumventi sunt. etiam Q. Haterius et

THE CINCINNATI BIBLE SEMINARY LIBRARY
A. 2 No. ____
D. D. No. ____

Mamercus Scaurus suspicacem animum perstrinxere, Haterius cum dixisset 'quousque patieris, Caesar, non adesse caput rei publicae?', Scaurus quia dixerat, spem esse ex eo non inritas fore senatus preces, quod relationi consulum iure tribuniciae potestatis non intercessisset. in Haterium statim 5 invectus est; Scaurum, cui inplacabilius irascebatur, silentio tramisit. fessusque clamore omnium, expostulatione singu- 6 lorum flexit paulatim, non ut fateretur suscipi a se imperium, sed ut negare et rogari desineret. constat Haterium, cum 7 deprecandi causa Palatium introisset ambulantisque Tiberii genua advolveretur, prope a militibus interfectum, quia Tiberius casu an manibus eius inpeditus prociderat. neque tamen periculo talis viri mitigatus est, donec Haterius Augustam oraret eiusque curatissimis precibus protegeretur.

14. Multa patrum et in Augustam adulatio. alii parentem, 2 alii matrem patriae appellandam, plerique ut nomini Caesaris adscriberetur 'Iuliae filius' censebant. ille moderandos femi- 3 narum honores dictitans eademque se temperantia usurum in iis quae sibi tribuerentur, ceterum anxius invidia et muliebre fastigium in deminutionem sui accipiens ne lictorem quidem ei decerni passus est aramque adoptionis et alia huiusce modi prohibuit. at Germanico Caesari proconsulare 4 imperium petivit, missique legati qui deferrent, simul maestitiam eius ob excessum Augusti solarentur. quo minus idem 5 pro Druso postularetur, ea causa quod designatus consul Drusus praesensque erat. candidatos praeturae duodecim 6 nominavit, numerum ab Augusto traditum; et hortante senatu ut augeret, iure iurando obstrinxit se non excessurum.

15. Tum primum e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt: nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio principis, quaedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant. neque populus 2 ademptum ius questus est nisi inani rumore, et senatus largitionibus ac precibus sordidis exsolutus libens tenuit,

moderante Tiberio ne plures quam quattuor candidatos com-
3 mendaret, sine repulsa et ambitu designandos. inter quae
tribuni plebei petivere, ut proprio sumptu ederent ludos, qui
4 de nomine Augusti fastis additi Augustales vocarentur. sed
decreta pecunia ex aerario, utque per circum triumphali veste
5 uterentur: curru vehi haud permissum. mox celebratio
annua ad praetorem translata, cui inter cives et peregrinos
iurisdictio evenisset.

16. Hic rerum urbanarum status erat, cum Pannonicas
legiones seditio incessit, nullis novis causis, nisi quod mu-
tatus princeps licentiam turbarum et ex civili bello spem
2 praemiorum ostendebat. castris aestivis tres simul legiones
habebantur, praesidente Iunio Blaeso, qui fine Augusti et
initiis Tiberii auditis ob iustitium aut gaudium intermiserat
3 solita munia. eo principio lascivire miles, discordare, pes-
simi cuiusque sermonibus praebere aures, denique luxum et
4 otium cupere, disciplinam et laborem aspernari. erat in
castris Percennius quidam, dux olim theatralium operarum,
dein gregarius miles, procax lingua et miscere coetus histrio-
5 nali studio doctus. is inperitos animos et quaenam post
Augustum militiae condicio ambigentes inpellere paulatim
nocturnis conloquiis aut flexo in vesperam die et dilapsis
melioribus deterrimum quemque congregare.

17. Postremo promptis iam et aliis seditionis ministris
velut contionabundus interrogabat, cur paucis centurionibus,
2 paucioribus tribunis in modum servorum oboedirent. quando
ausuros exposcere remedia, nisi novum et nutantem adhuc
3 principem precibus vel armis adirent? satis per tot annos
ignavia peccatum, quod tricena aut quadragena stipendia
senes et plerique truncato ex vulneribus corpore tolerent.
4 ne dimissis quidem finem esse militiae, sed apud vexillum
5 tendentes alio vocabulo eosdem labores perferre. ac si quis
tot casus vita superaverit, trahi adhuc diversas in terras, ubi

per nomen agrorum uliginesque paludum vel inculta montium accipiant. enimvero militiam ipsam gravem, infructuosam: denis in diem assibus animam et corpus aestimari: hinc vestem arma tentoria, hinc saevitiam centurionum et vacationes munerum redimi. at hercule verbera et vulnera, duram hiemem, exercitas aestates, bellum atrox aut sterilem pacem sempiterna. nec aliud levamentum quam si certis sub legibus militia iniretur, ut singulos denarios mererent, sextus decumus stipendii annus finem adferret, ne ultra sub vexillis tenerentur, sed isdem in castris praemium pecunia solveretur. an praetorias cohortes, quae binos denarios acceperint, quae post sedecim annos penatibus suis reddantur, plus periculorum suscipere? non obtrectari a se urbanas excubias: sibi tamen apud horridas gentes e contuberniis hostem aspici.

18. Adstrepebat vulgus, diversis incitamentis, hi verberum notas, illi canitiem, plurimi detrita tegmina et nudum corpus exprobrantes. postremo eo furoris venere, ut tres legiones miscere in unam agitaverint. depulsi aemulatione, quia suae quisque legioni eum honorem quaerebant, alio vertunt atque una tres aquilas et signa cohortium locant; simul congerunt caespites, exstruunt tribunal, quo magis conspicua sedes foret. properantibus Blaesus advenit, increpabatque ac retinebat singulos, clamitans 'mea potius caede imbuite manus: leviore flagitio legatum interficietis quam ab imperatore desciscitis. aut incolumis fidem legionum retinebo, aut iugulatus paenitentiam adcelerabo.'

19. Aggerabatur nihilo minus caespes iamque pectori usque adcreverat, cum tandem pervicacia victi inceptum omisere. Blaesus multa dicendi arte non per seditionem et turbas desideria militum ad Caesarem ferenda ait, neque veteres ab imperatoribus priscis neque ipsos a divo Augusto tam nova petivisse; et parum in tempore incipientes prin-

3 cipis curas onerari. si tamen tenderent in pace temptare quae ne civilium quidem bellorum victores expostulaverint, cur contra morem obsequii, contra fas disciplinae vim meditentur? decernerent legatos seque coram mandata darent. 4 adclamavere ut filius Blaesi tribunus legatione ea fungeretur peteretque militibus missionem ab sedecim annis: cetera 5 mandaturos, ubi prima provenissent. profecto iuvene modicum otium: sed superbire miles, quod filius legati orator publicae causae satis ostenderet necessitate expressa quae per modestiam non obtinuissent.

20. Interea manipuli ante coeptam seditionem Nauportum missi ob itinera et pontes et alios usus, postquam turbatum in castris accepere, vexilla convellunt direptisque proximis vicis ipsoque Nauporto, quod municipii instar erat, retinentis centuriones inrisu et contumeliis, postremo verberibus insectantur, praecipua in Aufidienum Rufum praefectum castrorum ira, quem dereptum vehiculo sarcinis gravant aguntque primo in agmine, per ludibrium rogitantes an tam immensa onera, tam longa itinera libenter ferret. 2 quippe Rufus diu manipularis, dein centurio, mox castris praefectus, antiquam duramque militiam revocabat, vetus operis ac laboris et eo inmitior, quia toleraverat.

21. Horum adventu redintegratur seditio, et vagi circum- 2 iecta populabantur. Blaesus paucos, maxime praeda onustos, ad terrorem ceterorum adfici verberibus, claudi carcere iubet; nam etiam tum legato a centurionibus et optimo 3 quoque manipularium parebatur. illi obniti trahentibus, prensare circumstantium genua, ciere modo nomina singulorum, modo centuriam quisque cuius manipularis erat, cohortem, legionem, eadem omnibus inminere clamitantes. 4 simul probra in legatum cumulant, caelum ac deos obtestantur, nihil reliqui faciunt quo minus invidiam misericordiam 5 metum et iras permoverent. adcurritur ab universis, et car-

cere effracto solvunt vincula desertoresque ac rerum capitalium damnatos sibi iam miscent.

22. Flagrantior inde vis, plures seditioni duces. et Vibulenus quidam gregarius miles, ante tribunal Blaesi adlevatus circumstantium umeris, apud turbatos et quid pararet intentos 'vos quidem' inquit 'his innocentibus et miserrimis lucem et spiritum reddidistis: sed quis fratri meo vitam, quis fratrem mihi reddit? quem missum ad vos a Germanico exercitu de communibus commodis nocte proxima iugulavit per gladiatores suos, quos in exitium militum habet atque armat. responde, Blaese, ubi cadaver abieceris: ne hostes 2
quidem sepultura invident. cum osculis, cum lacrimis do- 3
lorem meum implevero, me quoque trucidari iube, dum interfectos nullum ob scelus, sed quia utilitati legionum consulebamus, hi sepeliant.'

23. Incendebat haec fletu et pectus atque os manibus verberans. mox disiectis quorum per umeros sustinebatur, 2
praeceps et singulorum pedibus advolutus tantum consternationis invidiaeque concivit, ut pars militum gladiatores, qui e servitio Blaesi erant, pars ceteram eiusdem familiam vincirent, alii ad quaerendum corpus effunderentur. ac ni 3
propere neque corpus ullum reperiri, et servos adhibitis cruciatibus abnuere caedem, neque illi fuisse umquam fratrem pernotuisset, haud multum ab exitio legati aberant. tribunos 4
tamen ac praefectum castrorum extrusere, sarcinae fugientium direptae, et centurio Lucilius interficitur, cui militaribus facetiis vocabulum 'cedo alteram' indiderant, quia fracta vite in tergo militis alteram clara voce ac rursus aliam poscebat. ceteros latebrae texere, uno retento Clemente Iulio, 5
qui perferendis militum mandatis habebatur idoneus ob promptum ingenium. quin ipsae inter se legiones octava 6
et quinta decuma ferrum parabant, dum centurionem cognomento Sirpicum illa morti deposcit, quintadecumani tuen-

tur, ni miles nonanus preces et adversum aspernantis minas interiecisset.

24. Haec audita quamquam abstrusum et tristissima quaeque maxime occultantem Tiberium perpulere ut Drusum filium cum primoribus civitatis duabusque praetoriis cohortibus mitteret, nullis satis certis mandatis, ex re consulturum. 2 et cohortes delecto milite supra solitum firmatae. additur 3 magna pars praetoriani equitis et robora Germanorum, qui tum custodes imperatori aderant; simul praetorii praefectus Aelius Seianus, collega Straboni patri suo datus, magna apud Tiberium auctoritate, rector iuveni et ceteris periculorum 4 praemiorumque ostentator. Druso propinquanti quasi per officium obviae fuere legiones, non laetae, ut adsolet, neque insignibus fulgentes, sed inluvie deformi et vultu, quamquam maestitiam imitarentur, contumaciae propiores.

25. Postquam vallum introiit, portas stationibus firmant, globos armatorum certis castrorum locis opperiri iubent: 2 ceteri tribunal ingenti agmine circumveniunt. stabat Drusus silentium manu poscens. illi quotiens oculos ad multitudinem rettulerant, vocibus truculentis strepere, rursum viso Caesare trepidare; murmur incertum, atrox clamor et repente quies; diversis animorum motibus pavebant terre- 3 bantque. tandem interrupto tumultu litteras patris recitat, in quis perscriptum erat, praecipuam ipsi fortissimarum legionum curam, quibuscum plurima bella toleravisset; ubi primum a luctu requiesset animus, acturum apud patres de postulatis eorum; misisse interim filium, ut sine cunctatione concederet quae statim tribui possent; cetera senatui servanda, quem neque gratiae neque severitatis expertem haberi par esset.

26. Responsum est a contione, mandata Clementi cen- 2 turioni quae perferret. is orditur de missione a sedecim annis, de praemiis finitae militiae, ut denarius diurnum

stipendium foret, ne veterani sub vexillo haberentur. ad ea Drusus cum arbitrium senatus et patris obtenderet, clamore turbatur. cur venisset neque augendis militum stipendiis 3 neque adlevandis laboribus, denique nulla bene faciendi licentia? at hercule verbera et necem cunctis permitti. Ti- 4 berium olim nomine Augusti desideria legionum frustrari solitum: easdem artes Drusum rettulisse. numquamne ad 5 se nisi filios familiarum venturos? novum id plane quod imperator sola militis commoda ad senatum reiciat. eundem 6 ergo senatum consulendum, quotiens supplicia aut proelia indicantur: an praemia sub dominis, poenas sine arbitro esse?

27. Postremo deserunt tribunal, ut quis praetorianorum militum amicorumve Caesaris occurreret, manus intentantes, causam discordiae et initium armorum, maxime infensi Cn. Lentulo, quod is ante alios aetate et gloria belli firmare Drusum credebatur et illa militiae flagitia primus aspernari. nec multo post digredientem cum Caesare ac provisu peri- 2 culi hiberna castra repetentem circumsistunt, rogitantes quo pergeret, ad imperatorem an ad patres, ut illic quoque commodis legionum adversaretur; simul ingruunt, saxa iaciunt. iamque lapidis ictu cruentus et exitii certus adcursu multi- 3 tudinis quae cum Druso advenerat protectus est.

28. Noctem minacem et in scelus erupturam fors lenivit: nam luna claro repente caelo visa languescere. id miles 2 rationis ignarus omen praesentium accepit, suis laboribus defectionem sideris adsimulans, prospereque cessura qua pergerent, si fulgor et claritudo deae redderetur. igitur aeris 3 sono, tubarum cornuumque concentu strepere: prout splendidior obscuriorve, laetari aut maerere; et postquam ortae nubes offecere visui creditumque conditam tenebris, ut sunt mobiles ad superstitionem perculsae semel mentes, sibi aeternum laborem portendi, sua facinora aversari deos lamen-

4 tantur. utendum inclinatione ea Caesar et quae casus obtu-
lerat in sapientiam vertenda ratus circumiri tentoria iubet;
5 accitur centurio Clemens et si alii bonis artibus grati in
vulgus. hi vigiliis, stationibus, custodiis portarum se inse-
6 runt, spem offerunt, metum intendunt. 'quousque filium
imperatoris obsidebimus? quis certaminum finis? Percen-
nione et Vibuleno sacramentum dicturi sumus? Percennius
et Vibulenus stipendia militibus, agros emeritis largientur?
denique pro Neronibus et Drusis imperium populi Romani
7 capessent? quin potius, ut novissimi in culpam, ita primi
ad paenitentiam sumus? tarda sunt quae in commune ex-
postulantur: privatam gratiam statim mereare, statim re-
8 cipias.' commotis per haec mentibus et inter se suspectis,
9 tironem a veterano, legionem a legione dissociant. tum
redire paulatim amor obsequii: omittunt portas, signa unum
in locum principio seditionis congregata suas in sedes re-
ferunt.

29. Drusus orto die et vocata contione, quamquam rudis dicendi, nobilitate ingenita incusat priora, probat praesentia; negat se terrore et minis vinci: flexos ad modestiam si vi-
deat, si supplices audiat, scripturum patri ut placatus legionum
2 preces exciperet. orantibus rursum idem Blaesus et L. Apo-
nius, eques Romanus e cohorte Drusi, Iustusque Catonius,
3 primi ordinis centurio, ad Tiberium mittuntur. certatum
inde sententiis, cum alii opperiendos legatos atque interim
comitate permulcendum militem censerent, alii fortioribus
remediis agendum: nihil in vulgo modicum; terrere, ni pa-
veant; ubi pertimuerint, inpune contemni: dum superstitio
urgeat, adiciendos ex duce metus sublatis seditionis auctori-
4 bus. promptum ad asperiora ingenium Druso erat: vocatos
Vibulenum et Percennium interfici iubet. tradunt plerique
intra tabernaculum ducis obrutos, alii corpora extra vallum
abiecta ostentui.

30. Tum ut quisque praecipuus turbator conquisiti, et pars, extra castra palantes, a centurionibus aut praetoriarum cohortium militibus caesi; quosdam ipsi manipuli documentum fidei tradidere. auxerat militum curas praematura hiems 2 imbribus continuis adeoque saevis, ut non egredi tentoria, congregari inter se, vix tutari signa possent, quae turbine atque unda raptabantur. durabat et formido caelestis irae, 3 nec frustra adversus impios hebescere sidera, ruere tempestates: non aliud malorum levamentum quam si linquerent castra infausta temerataque et soluti piaculo suis quisque hibernis redderentur. primum octava, dein quinta decuma 4 legio rediere: nonanus opperiendas Tiberii epistulas clamitaverat, mox desolatus aliorum discessione inminentem necessitatem sponte praevenit. et Drusus non exspectato lega- 5 torum regressu, quia praesentia satis consederant, in urbem rediit.

31. Isdem ferme diebus isdem causis Germanicae legiones turbatae, quanto plures, tanto violentius, et magna spe fore ut Germanicus Caesar imperium alterius pati nequiret daretque se legionibus vi sua cuncta tracturis. duo apud 2 ripam Rheni exercitus erant: cui nomen superiori, sub C. Silio legato, inferiorem A. Caecina curabat. regimen summae rei penes Germanicum, agendo Galliarum censui tum intentum. sed quibus Silius moderabatur, mente ambigua 3 fortunam seditionis alienae speculabantur: inferioris exercitus miles in rabiem prolapsus est, orto ab unetvicensimanis quintanisque initio, et tractis prima quoque ac vicensima legionibus: nam isdem aestivis in finibus Ubiorum habebantur per otium aut levia munia. igitur audito fine Augusti ver- 4 nacula multitudo nuper acto in urbe dilectu, lasciviae sueta, laborum intolerans, implere ceterorum rudes animos: venisse tempus quo veterani maturam missionem, iuvenes largiora stipendia, cuncti modum miseriarum exposcerent saevitiam-

que centurionum ulciscerentur. non unus haec, ut Pannonicas inter legiones Percennius, nec apud trepidas militum aures, alios validiores exercitus respicientium, sed multa seditionis ora vocesque: sua in manu sitam rem Romanam, suis victoriis augeri rem publicam, in suum cognomentum adscisci imperatores.

32. Nec legatus obviam ibat: quippe plurium vaecordia constantiam exemerat. repente lymphati destrictis gladiis in centuriones invadunt: ea vetustissima militaribus odiis materies et saeviendi principium. prostratos verberibus mulcant, sexagenis singulos, ut numerum centurionum adaequarent: tum convulsos laniatosque et partim exanimos ante vallum aut in amnem Rhenum proiciunt. Septimius cum perfugisset ad tribunal pedibusque Caecinae advolveretur, eo usque flagitatus est, donec ad exitium dederetur. Cassius Chaerea, mox caede Gai Caesaris memoriam apud posteros adeptus, tum adulescens et animi ferox, inter obstantes et armatos ferro viam patefecit. non tribunus ultra, non castrorum praefectus ius obtinuit: vigilias, stationes, et si qua alia praesens usus indixerat, ipsi partiebantur. id militares animos altius coniectantibus praecipuum indicium magni atque inplacabilis motus, quod neque disiecti aut paucorum instinctu, set pariter ardescerent, pariter silerent, tanta aequalitate et constantia, ut regi crederes.

33. Interea Germanico per Gallias, ut diximus, census accipienti excessisse Augustum adfertur. neptem eius Agrippinam in matrimonio pluresque ex ea liberos habebat, ipse Druso fratre Tiberii genitus, Augustae nepos, set anxius occultis in se patrui aviaeque odiis, quorum causae acriores, quia iniquae. quippe Drusi magna apud populum Romanum memoria, credebaturque, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem redditurus; unde in Germanicum favor et spes eadem. nam iuveni civile ingenium, mira comitas et diversa ab Tiberii

sermone vultu, adrogantibus et obscuris. accedebant mu- 6
liebres offensiones novercalibus Liviae in Agrippinam stimulis, atque ipsa Agrippina paulo commotior, nisi quod castitate et mariti amore quamvis indomitum animum in bonum vertebat.

34. Sed Germanicus quanto summae spei propior, tanto impensius pro Tiberio niti, seque et proximos et Belgarum civitates in verba eius adigit. dehinc audito legionum tu- 2
multu raptim profectus obvias extra castra habuit, deiectis in terram oculis velut paenitentia. postquam vallum iniit, dissoni questus audiri coepere. et quidam prensa manu eius 3
per speciem exosculandi inseruerunt digitos, ut vacua dentibus ora contingeret; alii curvata senio membra ostendebant. adsistentem contionem, quia permixta videbatur, discedere 4
in manipulos iubet: sic melius audituros responsum; vexilla praeferri, ut id saltem discerneret cohortes: tarde obtemperavere. tunc a veneratione Augusti orsus flexit ad victorias 5
triumphosque Tiberii, praecipuis laudibus celebrans quae apud Germanias illis cum legionibus pulcherrima fecisset. Italiae inde consensum, Galliarum fidem extollit; nil usquam 6
turbidum aut discors. silentio haec vel murmure modico audita sunt.

35. Ut seditionem attigit, ubi modestia militaris, ubi veteris disciplinae decus, quonam tribunos, quo centuriones exegissent, rogitans, nudant universi corpora, cicatrices ex vulneribus, verberum notas exprobrant; mox indiscretis vocibus pretia vacationum, angustias stipendii, duritiam operum ac propriis nominibus incusant vallum, fossas, pabuli materiae lignorum adgestus, et si qua alia ex necessitate aut adversus otium castrorum quaeruntur. atrocissimus vetera- 2
norum clamor oriebatur, qui tricena aut supra stipendia numerantes, mederetur fessis, neu mortem in isdem laboribus, sed finem tam exercitae militiae neque inopem requiem ora-

3 bant. fuere etiam qui legatam a divo Augusto pecuniam
reposcerent, faustis in Germanicum ominibus; et si vellet
4 imperium, promptas *res* ostentavere. tum vero, quasi sce-
5 lere contaminaretur, praeceps tribunali desiluit. opposuerunt
abeunti arma, minitantes, ni regrederetur; at ille moriturum
potius quam fidem exueret clamitans, ferrum a latere diripuit
elatumque deferebat in pectus, ni proximi prensam dextram
6 vi adtinuissent. extrema et conglobata inter se pars con-
tionis ac, vix credibile dictu, quidam singuli propius in-
cedentes, feriret hortabantur; et miles nomine Calusidius
7 strictum obtulit gladium, addito acutiorem esse. saevum id
malique moris etiam furentibus visum, ac spatium fuit quo
Caesar ab amicis in tabernaculum raperetur.

36. Consultatum ibi de remedio; etenim nuntiabatur pa-
rari legatos qui superiorem exercitum ad causam eandem
traherent: destinatum excidio Ubiorum oppidum, imbutasque
2 praeda manus in direptionem Galliarum erupturas. augebat
metum gnarus Romanae seditionis et, si omitteretur ripa,
invasurus hostis: at si auxilia et socii adversum abscedentis
3 legiones armarentur, civile bellum suscipi. periculosa seve-
ritas, flagitiosa largitio: seu nihil militi sive omnia con-
4 cederentur, in ancipiti res publica. igitur volutatis inter se
rationibus placitum ut epistulae nomine principis scribe-
rentur: missionem dari vicena stipendia meritis, exauctorari
qui sena dena fecissent ac retineri sub vexillo ceterorum
inmunes nisi propulsandi hostis, legata quae petiverant ex-
solvi duplicarique.

37. Sensit miles in tempus conficta statimque flagitavit.
missio per tribunos maturatur, largitio differebatur in hiberna
2 cuiusque. non abscessere quintani unetvicensimanique, do-
nec isdem in aestivis contracta ex viatico amicorum ipsius-
3 que Caesaris pecunia persolveretur. primam ac vicensimam
legiones Caecina legatus in civitatem Ubiorum reduxit, turpi

agmine, cum fisci de imperatore rapti inter signa interque aquilas veherentur. Germanicus superiorem ad exercitum profectus secundam et tertiam decumam et sextam decumam legiones nihil cunctatas sacramento adigit. quartadecumani paulum dubitaverant: pecunia et missio quamvis non flagitantibus oblata est. 4 5

38. At in Chaucis coeptavere seditionem praesidium agitantes vexillarii discordium legionum et praesenti duorum militum supplicio paulum repressi sunt. iusserat id M'. Ennius castrorum praefectus, bono magis exemplo quam concesso iure. deinde intumescente motu profugus repertusque, postquam intutae latebrae, praesidium ab audacia mutuatur: non praefectum ab iis, sed Germanicum ducem, sed Tiberium imperatorem violari. simul exterritis qui obstiterant, raptum vexillum ad ripam vertit, et si quis agmine decessisset, pro desertore fore clamitans, reduxit in hiberna turbidos et nihil ausos. 2 3 4

39. Interea legati ab senatu regressum iam apud aram Ubiorum Germanicum adeunt. duae ibi legiones, prima atque vicensima, veteranique nuper missi sub vexillo hiemabant. pavidos et conscientia vaecordes intrat metus, venisse patrum iussu qui inrita facerent quae per seditionem expresserant. utque mos vulgo quamvis falsis reum subdere, Munatium Plancum consulatu functum, principem legationis, auctorem senatus consulti incusant; et nocte concubia vexillum in domo Germanici situm flagitare occipiunt, concursuque ad ianuam facto moliuntur fores, extractum cubili Caesarem tradere vexillum intento mortis metu subigunt. mox vagi per vias obvios habuere legatos, audita consternatione ad Germanicum tendentes. ingerunt contumelias, caedem parant, Planco maxime, quem dignitas fuga impediverat; neque aliud periclitanti subsidium quam castra primae legionis. illic signa et aquilam amplexus religione sese 2 3 4 5 6 7

tutabatur, ac ni aquilifer Calpurnius vim extremam arcuisset, rarum etiam inter hostes, legatus populi Romani Romanis
8 in castris sanguine suo altaria deum commaculavisset. luce demum, postquam dux et miles et facta noscebantur, ingressus castra Germanicus perduci ad se Plancum imperat
9 recepitque in tribunal. tum fatalem increpans rabiem, neque militum sed deum ira resurgere, cur venerint legati aperit; ius legationis atque ipsius Planci gravem et inmeritum casum, simul quantum dedecoris adierit legio, facunde miseratur, attonitaque magis quam quieta contione legatos praesidio auxiliarium equitum dimittit.

40. Eo in metu arguere Germanicum omnes, quod non ad superiorem exercitum pergeret, ubi obsequia et contra rebellis auxilium: satis superque missione et pecunia et mol-
2 libus consultis peccatum. vel si vilis ipsi salus, cur filium parvulum, cur gravidam coniugem inter furentes et omnis humani iuris violatores haberet? illos saltem avo et rei
3 publicae redderet. diu cunctatus aspernantem uxorem, cum se divo Augusto ortam neque degenerem ad pericula testaretur, postremo uterum eius et communem filium multo
4 cum fletu complexus, ut abiret perpulit. incedebat muliebre et miserabile agmen, profuga ducis uxor, parvulum sinu filium gerens, lamentantes circum amicorum coniuges, quae simul trahebantur, nec minus tristes qui manebant.

41. Non florentis Caesaris neque suis in castris, set velut in urbe victa facies; gemitusque ac planctus etiam militum
2 aures oraque advertere: progrediuntur contuberniis. quis ille flebilis sonus? quod tam triste? feminas inlustres, non centurionem ad tutelam, non militem, nihil imperatoriae uxoris aut comitatus soliti: pergere ad Treveros [et] ex-
3 ternae fidei. pudor inde et miseratio et patris Agrippae, Augusti avi memoria, socer Drusus, ipsa insigni fecunditate, praeclara pudicitia; iam infans in castris genitus in contu-

bernio legionum eductus, quem militari vocabulo Caligulam appellabant, quia plerumque ad concilianda vulgi studia eo tegmine pedum induebatur. sed nihil aeque flexit quam 4 invidia in Treveros: orant obsistunt, rediret maneret, pars Agrippinae occursantes, plurimi ad Germanicum regressi. isque ut erat recens dolore et ira, apud circumfusos ita 5 coepit.

42. 'Non mihi uxor aut filius patre et re publica cariores sunt, sed illum quidem sua maiestas, imperium Romanum ceteri exercitus defendent. coniugem et liberos meos, 2 quos pro gloria vestra libens ad exitium offerrem, nunc procul a furentibus summoveo, ut, quidquid istud sceleris imminet, meo tantum sanguine pietur, neve occisus Augusti pronepos, interfecta Tiberii nurus nocentiores vos faciant. quid enim per hos dies inausum intemeratumve vobis? 3 quod nomen huic coetui dabo? militesne appellem, qui 4 filium imperatoris vestri vallo et armis circumsedistis? an cives, quibus tam proiecta senatus auctoritas? hostium quoque ius et sacra legationis et fas gentium rupistis. di- 5 vus Iulius seditionem exercitus verbo uno compescuit, Quirites vocando qui sacramentum eius detrectabant: divus Augustus vultu et aspectu Actiacas legiones exterruit: nos ut nondum eosdem, ita ex illis ortos si Hispaniae Suriaeve miles aspernaretur, tamen mirum et indignum erat. pri- 6 mane et vicensima legiones, illa signis a Tiberio acceptis, tu tot proeliorum socia, tot praemiis aucta, egregiam duci vestro gratiam refertis? hunc ego nuntium patri, laeta 7 omnia aliis e provinciis audienti, feram? ipsius tirones, ipsius veteranos non missione, non pecunia satiatos; hic tantum interfici centuriones, eici tribunos, includi legatos, infecta sanguine castra flumina, meque precariam animam inter infensos trahere.

43. 'Cur enim primo contionis die ferrum illud, quod pec-

tori meo infigere parabam, detraxistis, o inprovidi amici?
2 melius et amantius ille qui gladium offerebat. cecidissem
certe nondum tot flagitiorum exercitui meo conscius; legis-
setis ducem, qui meam quidem mortem inpunitam sineret,
3 Vari tamen et trium legionum ulcisceretur. neque enim di
sinant ut Belgarum quamquam offerentium decus istud et
claritudo sit, subvenisse Romano nomini, compressisse Ger-
4 maniae populos. tua, dive Auguste, caelo recepta mens,
tua, pater Druse, imago, tui memoria isdem istis cum mili-
tibus, quos iam pudor et gloria intrat, eluant hanc maculam
5 irasque civiles in exitium hostibus vertant. vos quoque, quo-
rum alia nunc ora, alia pectora contueor, si legatos senatui,
obsequium imperatori, si mihi coniugem et filium redditis,
discedite a contactu ac dividite turbidos: id stabile ad paeni-
tentiam, id fidei vinculum erit.'

44. Supplices ad haec et vera exprobrari fatentes orabant
puniret noxios, ignosceret lapsis et duceret in hostem:
revocaretur coniunx, rediret legionum alumnus neve opses
2 Gallis traderetur. reditum Agrippinae excusavit ob inminen-
tem partum et hiemem; venturum filium: cetera ipsi exse-
3 querentur. discurrunt mutati et seditiosissimum quemque
vinctos trahunt ad legatum legionis primae C. Caetronium,
qui iudicium et poenas de singulis in hunc modum exercuit.
4 stabant pro contione legiones destrictis gladiis; reus in sug-
gestu per tribunum ostendebatur: si nocentem adclamave-
5 rant, praeceps datus trucidabatur. et gaudebat caedibus mi-
les, tamquam semet absolveret; nec Caesar arcebat, quando
nullo ipsius iussu penes eosdem saevitia facti et invidia erat.
6 secuti exemplum veterani haud multo post in Raetiam mittun-
tur, specie defendendae provinciae ob imminentis Suebos,
ceterum ut avellerentur castris trucibus adhuc non minus
7 asperitate remedii quam sceleris memoria. centurionatum
inde egit. citatus ab imperatore nomen, ordinem, patriam,

numerum stipendiorum, quae strenue in praeliis fecisset, et cui erant dona militaria, edebat. si tribuni, si legio indu- 8
striam innocentiamque adprobaverant, retinebat ordinem: ubi avaritiam aut crudelitatem consensu obiectavissent, sol-
vebatur militia.

45. Sic compositis praesentibus haud minor moles super- erat ob ferociam quintae et unetvicensimae legionum, sexa- gensimum apud lapidem (loco Vetera nomen est) hibernan- tium. nam primi seditionem coeptaverant: atrocissimum 2
quodque facinus horum manibus patratum; nec poena com- militonum exterriti nec paenitentia conversi iras retinebant. igitur Caesar arma classem socios demittere Rheno parat, 3
si imperium detrectetur, bello certaturus.

46. At Romae nondum cognito, qui fuisset exitus in Illy- rico, et legionum Germanicarum motu audito, trepida civitas incusare Tiberium quod, dum patres et plebem, invalida et inermia, cunctatione ficta ludificetur, dissideat interim miles neque duorum adulescentium nondum adulta auctoritate com- primi queat. ire ipsum et opponere maiestatem imperatoriam 2
debuisse cessuris, ubi principem longa experientia eundem- que severitatis et munificentiae summum vidissent. an Au- 3
gustum fessa aetate totiens in Germanias commeare potuisse: Tiberium vigentem annis sedere in senatu, verba patrum ca- villantem? satis prospectum urbanae servituti: militaribus 4
animis adhibenda fomenta, ut ferre pacem velint.

47. Inmotum adversus eos sermones fixumque Tiberio fuit non omittere caput rerum neque se remque publicam in casum dare. multa quippe et diversa angebant: validior per 2
Germaniam exercitus, propior apud Pannoniam; ille Gallia- rum opibus subnixus, hic Italiae inminens: quos igitur ante- ferret? ac ne postpositi contumelia incenderentur. at per 3
filios pariter adiri maiestate salva, cui maior e longinquo re- verentia. simul adulescentibus excusatum quaedam ad pa- 4

trem reicere, resistentisque Germanico aut Druso posse a se mitigari vel infringi: quod aliud subsidium, si imperatorem 5 sprevissent? ceterum ut iam iamque iturus legit comites, conquisivit impedimenta, adornavit naves: mox hiemem aut negotia varie causatus primo prudentes, dein vulgum, diutis- 5 sime provincias fefellit.

48. At Germanicus, quamquam contracto exercitu et parata in defectores ultione, dandum adhuc spatium ratus, si recenti exemplo sibi ipsi consulerent, praemittit litteras ad Caecinam, venire se valida manu ac, ni supplicium in malos 10 2 praesumant, usurum promisca caede. eas Caecina aquiliferis signiferisque et quod maxime castrorum sincerum erat occulte recitat, utque cunctos infamiae, se ipsos morti eximant hortatur: nam in pace causas et merita spectari; ubi 3 bellum ingruat, innocentes ac noxios iuxta cadere. illi temp- 15 tatis quos idoneos rebantur, postquam maiorem legionum partem in officio vident, de sententia legati statuunt tempus, quo foedissimum quemque et seditioni promptum ferro in- 4 vadant. tunc signo inter se dato inrumpunt contubernia, trucidant ignaros, nullo nisi consciis noscente quod caedis 20 initium, quis finis.

49. Diversa omnium, quae umquam accidere, civilium 2 armorum facies. non proelio, non adversis e castris, sed isdem e cubilibus, quos simul vescentis dies, simul quietos nox habuerat, discedunt in partes, ingerunt tela. clamor vulnera 25 3 sanguis palam, causa in occulto; cetera fors regit. et quidam bonorum caesi, postquam intellecto in quos saeviretur, pessimi quoque arma rapuerant. neque legatus aut tribunus moderator adfuit: permissa vulgo licentia atque ultio et sa- 4 tietas. mox ingressus castra Germanicus, non medicinam 30 illud plurimis cum lacrimis sed cladem appellans, cremari corpora iubet.

5 Truces etiam tum animos cupido involat eundi in hostem,

piaculum furoris; nec aliter posse placari commilitonum manes, quam si pectoribus impiis honesta vulnera accepissent. sequitur ardorem militum Caesar iunctoque ponte tramittit 6
duodecim milia e legionibus, sex et viginti socias cohortis, octo equitum alas, quarum ea seditione intemerata modestia fuit.

50. Laeti neque procul Germani agitabant, dum iustitio ob amissum Augustum, post discordiis attinemur. at Roma- 2
nus agmine propero silvam Caesiam limitemque a Tiberio coeptum scindit, castra in limite locat, frontem ac tergum vallo, latera concaedibus munitus. inde saltus obscuros per- 3
meat consultatque ex duobus itineribus breve et solitum sequatur an inpeditius et intemptatum eoque hostibus incautum. delecta longiore via cetera adcelerantur: etenim 4
attulerant exploratores festam eam Germanis noctem ac sollemnibus epulis ludicram. Caecina cum expeditis cohortibus 5
praeire et obstantia silvarum amoliri iubetur: legiones modico intervallo sequuntur. iuvit nox sideribus inlustris, ven- 6
tumque ad vicos Marsorum et circumdatae stationes stratis etiam tum per cubilia propterque mensas, nullo metu, non antepositis vigiliis: adeo cuncta incuria disiecta erant neque 7
belli timor, ac ne pax quidem nisi languida et soluta inter temulentos.

51. Caesar avidas legiones, quo latior populatio foret, quattuor in cuneos dispertit; quinquaginta milium spatium ferro flammisque pervastat. non sexus, non aetas miseratio- 2
nem attulit: profana simul et sacra et celeberrimum illis gentibus templum quod Tamfanae vocabant solo aequantur. sine 3
vulnere milites, qui semisomnos, inermos aut palantis cecide- rant. excivit ea caedes Bructeros, Tubantes, Usipetes; sal- 4
tusque per quos exercitui regressus insedere. quod gnarum duci, incessitque itineri et proelio. pars equitum et auxiliariae 5
cohortes ducebant, mox prima legio, et mediis impedimentis

sinistrum latus unetvicensimani, dextrum quintani clausere,
6 vicensima legio terga firmavit, post ceteri sociorum. sed
hostes, donec agmen per saltus porrigeretur, immoti, dein
latera et frontem modice adsultantes, tota vi novissimos in-
7 currere. turbabanturque densis Germanorum catervis leves
cohortes, cum Caesar advectus ad vicensimanos voce magna
hoc illud tempus oblitterandae seditionis clamitabat: perge-
8 rent, properarent culpam in decus vertere. exarsere animis
unoque impetu perruptum hostem redigunt in aperta caeduntque: simul primi agminis copiae evasere silvas castraque
9 communivere. quietum inde iter, fidensque recentibus ac
priorum oblitus miles in hibernis locatur.

52. Nuntiata ea Tiberium laetitia curaque adfecere: gaudebat oppressam seditionem, sed quod largiendis pecuniis et
missione festinata favorem militum quaesivisset, bellica quo-
2 que Germanici gloria angebatur. rettulit tamen ad senatum
de rebus gestis multaque de virtute eius memoravit, magis
in speciem verbis adornata quam ut penitus sentire credere-
3 tur. paucioribus Drusum et finem Illyrici motus laudavit, sed
intentior et fida oratione. cunctaque quae Germanicus in-
dulserat, servavit etiam apud Pannonicos exercitus.

53. Eodem anno Iulia supremum diem obiit, ob impudicitiam olim a patre Augusto Pandateria insula, mox oppido
2 Reginorum, qui Siculum fretum accolunt, clausa. fuerat in
matrimonio Tiberii florentibus Gaio et Lucio Caesaribus
spreveratque ut inparem; nec alia tam intima Tiberio causa
3 cur Rhodum abscederet. imperium adeptus extorrem, infamem et post interfectum Postumum Agrippam omnis spei egenam inopia ac tabe longa peremit, obscuram fore necem lon-
4 ginquitate exilii ratus. par causa saevitiae in Sempronium
Gracchum, qui familia nobili, sollers ingenio et prave facundus, eandem Iuliam in matrimonio Marci Agrippae temera-
5 verat. nec is libidini finis: traditam Tiberio pervicax adulter

contumacia et odiis in maritum accendebat, litteraeque, quas Iulia patri Augusto cum insectatione Tiberii scripsit, a Graccho compositae credebantur. igitur amotus Cercinam, Africi 6
maris insulam, quattuordecim annis exilium toleravit. tunc 7
milites ad caedem missi invenere in prominenti litoris, nihil laetum opperientem. quorum adventu breve tempus petivit, 8
ut suprema mandata uxori Alliariae per litteras daret, cervicemque percussoribus obtulit, constantia mortis haud indignus Sempronio nomine: vita degeneraverat. quidam non 9
Roma eos milites, sed ab L. Asprenate pro consule Africae missos tradidere auctore Tiberio, qui famam caedis posse in Asprenatem verti frustra speraverat.

54. Idem annus novas caerimonias accepit addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quondam Titus Tatius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat. sorte 2
ducti e primoribus civitatis unus et viginti: Tiberius Drususque et Claudius et Germanicus adiciuntur. ludos Augustales 3
tunc primum coeptos turbavit discordia ex certamine histrionum. indulserat ei ludicro Augustus, dum Maecenati obtemperat effuso in amorem Bathylli; neque ipse abhorrebat talibus studiis, et civile rebatur misceri voluptatibus vulgi. alia Tiberio morum via: sed populum per tot annos molliter 4
habitum nondum audebat ad duriora vertere.

55. Druso Caesare C. Norbano consulibus decernitur Germanico triumphus manente bello; quod quamquam in aestatem summa ope parabat, initio veris et repentino in Chattos excursu praecepit. nam spes incesserat dissidere 2
hostem in Arminium ac Segestem, insignem utrumque perfidia in nos aut fide. Arminius turbator Germaniae, Segestes 3
parari rebellionem saepe alias et supremo convivio, post quod in arma itum, aperuit suasitque Varo ut se et Arminium et ceteros proceres vinciret: nihil ausuram plebem principibus amotis, atque ipsi tempus fore, quo crimina et innoxios

4 discerneret. sed Varus fato et vi Armini cecidit: Segestes quamquam consensu gentis in bellum tractus discors manebat, auctis privatim odiis, quod Arminius filiam eius alii
5 pactam rapuerat, gener invisus inimici soceri; quaeque apud concordes vincula caritatis, incitamenta irarum apud infensos erant.

56. Igitur Germanicus quattuor legiones, quinque auxiliarium milia et tumultuarias catervas Germanorum cis Rhenum colentium Caecinae tradit; totidem legiones, duplicem sociorum numerum ipse ducit, positoque castello super ve-
10 stigia paterni praesidii in monte Tauno expeditum exercitum in Chattos rapit, L. Apronio ad munitiones viarum et flumi-
2 num relicto. nam (rarum illi caelo) siccitate et amnibus modicis inoffensum iter properaverat, imbresque et fluminum
3 auctus regredienti metuebantur. sed Chattis adeo inprovisus
15 advenit, ut quod imbecillum aetate ac sexu statim captum
4 aut trucidatum sit. iuventus flumen Adranam nando tramise-
5 rat, Romanosque pontem coeptantis arcebant. dein tormentis sagittisque pulsi, temptatis frustra condicionibus pacis, cum quidam ad Germanicum perfugissent, reliqui omissis pagis
20 6 vicisque in silvas disperguntur. Caesar incenso Mattio (id genti caput) aperta populatus vertit ad Rhenum, non auso hoste terga abeuntium lacessere, quod illi moris, quotiens
7 astu magis quam per formidinem cessit. fuerat animus Cheruscis iuvare Chattos, sed exterruit Caecina huc illuc ferens
25 arma; et Marsos congredi ausos prospero proelio cohibuit.

57. Neque multo post legati a Segeste venerunt auxilium orantes adversus vim popularium, a quis circumsedebatur, validiore apud eos Arminio, quoniam bellum suadebat: nam barbaris, quanto quis audacia promptus, tanto magis
30 2 fidus rebusque motis potior habetur. addiderat Segestes legatis filium, nomine Segimundum: sed iuvenis conscientia cunctabatur. quippe anno quo Germaniae descivere sacer-

dos apud aram Ubiorum creatus ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles. adductus tamen in spem clementiae Romanae pertulit patris mandata benigneque exceptus cum praesidio Gallicam in ripam missus est. Germanico pretium fuit convertere agmen, pugnatumque in obsidentis, et ereptus Segestes magna cum propinquorum et clientium manu. inerant feminae nobiles, inter quas uxor Arminii eademque filia Segestis, mariti magis quam parentis animo, neque evicta in lacrimas neque voce supplex, compressis intra sinum manibus gravidum uterum intuens. ferebantur et spolia Varianae cladis, plerisque eorum qui tum in deditionem veniebant praedae data: simul Segestes ipse, ingens visu et memoria bonae societatis inpavidus.

58. Verba eius in hunc modum fuere: 'non hic mihi primus erga populum Romanum fidei et constantiae dies. ex quo a divo Augusto civitate donatus sum, amicos inimicosque ex vestris utilitatibus delegi, neque odio patriae (quippe proditores etiam iis quos anteponunt invisi sunt), verum quia Romanis Germanisque idem conducere et pacem quam bellum probabam. ergo raptorem filiae meae, violatorem foederis vestri, Arminium apud Varum, qui tum exercitui praesidebat, reum feci. dilatus segnitia ducis, quia parum praesidii in legibus erat, ut me et Arminium et conscios vinciret flagitavi: testis illa nox, mihi utinam potius novissima! quae secuta sunt, defleri magis quam defendi possunt: ceterum et inieci catenas Arminio et a factione eius iniectas perpessus sum. atque ubi primum tui copia, vetera novis et quieta turbidis antehabeo, neque ob praemium, sed ut me perfidia exsolvam, simul genti Germanorum idoneus conciliator, si paenitentiam quam perniciem maluerit. pro iuventa et errore filii veniam precor: filiam necessitate huc adductam fateor. tuum erit consultare, utrum praevaleat, quod ex Arminio concepit an quod ex me genita est.' Caesar clementi

responso liberis propinquisque eius incolumitatem, ipsi sedem
9 vetere in provincia pollicetur. exercitum reduxit nomenque
imperatoris auctore Tiberio accepit. Arminii uxor virilis
sexus stirpem edidit: educatus Ravennae puer quo mox
ludibrio conflictatus sit, in tempore memorabo.

59. Fama dediti benigneque excepti Segestis vulgata,
ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat, spe vel do-
2 lore accipitur. Arminium super insitam violentiam rapta uxor,
subiectus servitio uxoris uterus vaecordem agebant, volitabat-
que per Cheruscos, arma in Segestem, arma in Caesarem
3 poscens. neque probris temperabat: egregium patrem, mag-
num imperatorem, fortem exercitum, quorum tot manus
4 unam mulierculam avexerint. sibi tres legiones, totidem le-
gatos procubuisse; non enim se proditione neque adversus
feminas gravidas, sed palam adversus armatos bellum trac-
5 tare. cerni adhuc Germanorum in lucis signa Romana, quae
6 dis patriis suspenderit. coleret Segestes victam ripam, red-
deret filio sacerdotium hominum: Germanos numquam satis
excusaturos, quod inter Albim et Rhenum virgas et secures
7 et togam viderint. aliis gentibus ignorantia imperi Romani
inexperta esse supplicia, nescia tributa; quae quoniam exu-
erint inritusque discesserit ille inter numina dicatus Augustus,
ille delectus Tiberius, ne inperitum adulescentulum, ne seditio-
8 sum exercitum pavescerent. si patriam parentes antiqua
mallent quam dominos et colonias novas, Arminium potius
gloriae ac libertatis quam Segestem flagitiosae servitutis
ducem sequerentur.

60. Conciti per haec non modo Cherusci sed conterminae
gentes, tractusque in partis Inguiomerus Arminii patruus,
vetere apud Romanos auctoritate; unde maior Caesari metus.
2 et ne bellum mole una ingrueret, Caecinam cum quadraginta
cohortibus Romanis distrahendo hosti per Bructeros ad flu-
men Amisiam mittit, equitem Pedo praefectus finibus Frisio-

rum ducit. ipse inpositas navibus quattuor legiones per 3
lacus vexit; simulque pedes eques classis apud praedictum
amnem convenere. Chauci cum auxilia pollicerentur, in com-
militium adsciti sunt. Bructeros sua urentis expedita cum 4
manu L. Stertinius missu Germanici fudit; interque caedem et
praedam repperit undevicensimae legionis aquilam cum Varo
amissam. ductum inde agmen ad ultimos Bructerorum, 5
quantumque Amisiam et Lupiam amnes inter vastatum, haud
procul Teutoburgiensi saltu, in quo reliquiae Vari legionumque
insepultae dicebantur.

61. Igitur cupido Caesarem invadit solvendi suprema militibus ducique, permoto ad miserationem omni qui aderat exercitu ob propinquos, amicos, denique ob casus bellorum et sortem hominum. praemisso Caecina, ut occulta saltuum 2
scrutaretur pontesque et aggeres umido paludum et fallacibus campis inponeret, incedunt maestos locos visuque ac memoria deformis. prima Vari castra lato ambitu et dimen- 3
sis principiis trium legionum manus ostentabant; dein semiruto vallo, humili fossa accisae iam reliquiae consedisse
intellegebantur: medio campi albentia ossa, ut fugerant, ut
restiterant, disiecta vel aggerata. adiacebant fragmina telorum 4
equorumque artus, simul truncis arborum antefixa ora. lucis 5
propinquis barbarae arae, apud quas tribunos ac primorum
ordinum centuriones mactaverant. et cladis eius superstites, 6
pugnam aut vincula elapsi, referebant hic cecidisse legatos,
illic raptas aquilas; primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum, ubi
infelici dextera et suo ictu mortem invenerit; quo tribunali
contionatus Arminius, quot patibula captivis, quae scrobes,
utque signis et aquilis per superbiam inluserit.

62. Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus sextum post cladis annum trium legionum ossa, nullo noscente alienas reliquias an suorum humo tegeret, omnes ut coniunctos, ut consanguineos, aucta in hostem ira, maesti simul et infensi

condebant. primum extruendo tumulo caespitem Caesar posuit, gratissimo munere in defunctos et praesentibus doloris socius. quod Tiberio haud probatum, seu cuncta Germanici in deterius trahenti, sive exercitum imagine caesorum insepultorumque tardatum ad proelia et formidolosiorem hostium credebat; neque imperatorem auguratu et vetustissimis caerimoniis praeditum adtrectare feralia debuisse.

63. Sed Germanicus cedentem in avia Arminium secutus, ubi primum copia fuit, evehi equites campumque, quem hostis insederat, eripi iubet. Arminius colligi suos et propinquare silvis monitos vertit repente: mox signum prorumpendi dedit iis quos per saltus occultaverat. tunc nova acie turbatus eques, missaeque subsidiariae cohortes et fugientium agmine impulsae auxerant consternationem; trudebanturque in paludem gnaram vincentibus, iniquam nesciis, ni Caesar productas legiones instruxisset: inde hostibus terror, fiducia militi; et manibus aequis abscessum. mox reducto ad Amisiam exercitu legiones classe, ut advexerat, reportat; pars equitum litore Oceani petere Rhenum iussa; Caecina, qui suum militem ducebat, monitus, quamquam notis itineribus regrederetur, pontes longos quam maturrime superare. angustus is trames vastas inter paludes et quondam a L. Domitio aggeratus; cetera limosa, tenacia gravi caeno aut rivis incerta erant; circum silvae paulatim adclives, quas tum Arminius inplevit, compendiis viarum et cito agmine onustum sarcinis armisque militem cum antevenisset. Caecinae dubitanti, quonam modo ruptos vetustate pontes reponeret simulque propulsaret hostem, castra metari in loco placuit, ut opus et alii proelium inciperent.

64. Barbari perfringere stationes seque inferre munitoribus nisi lacessunt, circumgrediuntur, occursant: miscetur operantium bellantiumque clamor. et cuncta pariter Romanis adversa, locus uligine profunda, idem ad gradum

instabilis, procedentibus lubricus, corpora gravia loricis; neque librare pila inter undas poterant. contra Cheruscis sueta 3
apud paludes proelia, procera membra, hastae ingentes ad vulnera facienda quamvis procul. nox demum inclinantis 4
iam legiones adversae pugnae exemit. Germani ob prospera 5
indefessi, ne tum quidem sumpta quiete, quantum aquarum circum surgentibus iugis oritur vertere in subiecta, mersaque humo et obruto quod effectum operis duplicatus militi labor. quadragensimum id stipendium Caecina parendi aut imperi- 6
tandi habebat, secundarum ambiguarumque rerum sciens eoque interritus. igitur futura volvens non aliud repperit quam 7
ut hostem silvis coërceret, donec saucii quantumque gravioris agminis anteirent; nam medio montium et paludum porrigebatur planities, quae tenuem aciem pateretur. deliguntur le- 8
giones quinta dextro lateri, unetvicensima in laevum, primani ducendum ad agmen, vicensimanus adversum secuturos.

65. Nox per diversa inquies, cum barbari festis epulis, laeto cantu aut truci sonore subiecta vallium ac resultantis saltus complerent, apud Romanos invalidi ignes, interruptae voces, atque ipsi passim adiacerent vallo, oberrarent tentoriis, insomnes magis quam pervigiles. ducemque terruit 2
dira quies: nam Quintilium Varum sanguine oblitum et paludibus emersum cernere et audire visus est velut vocantem, non tamen obsecutus et manum intendentis reppulisse. coepta luce missae in latera legiones, metu an contumacia, 3
locum deseruere, capto propere campo umentia ultra. neque tamen Arminius quamquam libero incursu statim pro- 4
rupit: sed ut haesere caeno fossisque impedimenta, turbati circum milites, incertus signorum ordo, utque tali in tempore
sibi quisque properus et lentae adversum imperia aures, inrumpere Germanos iubet, clamitans 'en Varus eodemque iterum fato vinctae legiones!' simul haec et cum delectis 5
scindit agmen equisque maxime vulnera ingerit. illi san- 6

guine suo et lubrico paludum lapsantes excussis rectoribus
7 disicere obvios, proterere iacentes. plurimus circa aquilas
labor, quae neque ferri adversum ingruentia tela neque figi
8 limosa humo poterant. Caecina dum sustentat aciem,
suffosso equo delapsus circumveniebatur, ni prima legio sese
9 opposuisset. iuvit hostium aviditas, omissa caede praedam
sectantium; enisaeque legiones vesperascente die in aperta
10 et solida. neque is miseriarum finis. struendum vallum,
petendus agger, amissa magna ex parte per quae egeritur
humus aut exciditur caespes; non tentoria manipulis, non
fomenta sauciis; infectos caeno aut cruore cibos dividentes
funestas tenebras et tot hominum milibus unum iam reliquum diem lamentabantur.

66. Forte equus abruptis vinculis vagus et clamore ter-
2 ritus quosdam occurrentium obturbavit. tanta inde conster-
natio inrupisse Germanos credentium, ut cuncti ruerent ad
portas, quarum decumana maxime petebatur, aversa hosti et
3 fugientibus tutior. Caecina comperto vanam esse formidi-
nem, cum tamen neque auctoritate neque precibus, ne manu
quidem obsistere aut retinere militem quiret, proiectus in
limine portae miseratione demum, quia per corpus legati
eundum erat, clausit viam: simul tribuni et centuriones
falsum pavorem esse docuerunt.

67. Tunc contractos in principia iussosque dicta cum
silentio accipere temporis ac necessitatis monet. unam in
armis salutem, sed ea consilio temperanda manendumque
intra vallum, donec expugnandi hostes spe propius succe-
derent; mox undique erumpendum: illa eruptione ad Rhe-
2 num perveniri. quod si fugerent, pluris silvas, profundas
magis paludes, saevitiam hostium superesse; at victoribus
3 decus gloriam. quae domi cara, quae in castris honesta,
4 memorat; reticuit de adversis. equos dehinc, orsus a suis,

legatorum tribunorumque nulla ambitione fortissimo cuique bellatori tradit, ut hi, mox pedes in hostem invaderent.

68. Haud minus inquies Germanus spe, cupidine et diversis ducum sententiis agebat, Arminio sinerent egredi egressosque rursum per umida et inpedita circumvenirent suadente, atrociora Inguiomero et laeta barbaris, ut vallum armis ambirent: promptam expugnationem, plures captivos, incorruptam praedam fore. igitur orta die proruunt fossas, 2 iniciunt crates, summa valli prensant, raro super milite et quasi ob metum defixo. postquam haesere munimentis, 3 datur cohortibus signum cornuaque ac tubae concinuere. exim clamore et impetu tergis Germanorum circumfun- 4 duntur, exprobrantes non hic silvas nec paludes, sed aequis locis aequos deos. hosti facile excidium et paucos ac se- 5 mermos cogitanti sonus tubarum, fulgor armorum, quanto inopina, tanto maiora offunduntur, cadebantque, ut rebus secundis avidi, ita adversis incauti. Arminius integer, In- 6 guiomerus post grave vulnus pugnam deseruere: vulgus trucidatum est, donec ira et dies permansit. nocte demum 7 reversae legiones, quamvis plus vulnerum, eadem ciborum egestas fatigaret, vim sanitatem copias, cuncta in victoria habuere.

69. Pervaserat interim circumventi exercitus fama et infesto Germanorum agmine Gallias peti, ac ni Agrippina inpositum Rheno pontem solvi prohibuisset, erant qui id flagitium formidine auderent. sed femina ingens animi munia 2 ducis per eos dies induit, militibusque, ut quis inops aut saucius, vestem et fomenta dilargita est. tradit C. Plinius, 3 Germanicorum bellorum scriptor, stetisse apud principium pontis, laudes et grates reversis legionibus habentem. id 4 Tiberii animum altius penetravit: non enim simplices eas curas, nec adversus externos *studia* militum quaeri. nihil 5 relictum imperatoribus, ubi femina manipulos intervisat, signa

adeat, largitionem temptet, tamquam parum ambitiose filium ducis gregali habitu circumferat Caesaremque Caligulam ap-
6 pellari velit. potiorem iam apud exercitus Agrippinam quam legatos, quam duces; conpressam a muliere seditionem, cui
7 nomen principis obsistere non quiverit. accendebat haec onerabatque Seianus, peritia morum Tiberii odia in longum iaciens, quae reconderet auctaque promeret.

70. At Germanicus legionum, quas navibus vexerat, secundam et quartam decumam itinere terrestri P. Vitellio ducendas tradit, quo levior classis vadoso mari innaret vel
2 reciproco sideret. Vitellius primum iter sicca humo aut modice adlabente aestu quietum habuit: mox inpulsu aquilonis, simul sidere aequinoctii, quo maxime tumescit Oceanus,
3 rapi agique agmen. et opplebantur terrae: eadem freto litori campis facies, neque discerni poterant incerta ab solidis,
4 brevia a profundis. sternuntur fluctibus, hauriuntur gurgitibus; iumenta, sarcinae, corpora exanima interfluunt, occursant. permiscentur inter se manipuli, modo pectore modo ore tenus exstantes, aliquando subtracto solo disiecti aut ob-
5 ruti. non vox et mutui hortatus iuvabant adversante unda; nihil strenuus ab ignavo, sapiens ab inprudenti, consilia a
6 casu differre: cuncta pari violentia involvebantur. tandem Vitellius in editiora enisus eodem agmen subduxit. pernoctavere sine utensilibus, sine igni, magna pars nudo aut mulcato corpore, haud minus miserabiles quam quos hostis circumsidet: quippe illic etiam honestae mortis usus, his in-
7 glorium exitium. lux reddidit terram, penetratumque ad
8 amnem [Visurgin], quo Caesar classe contenderat. inpositae dein legiones, vagante fama submersas; nec fides salutis, antequam Caesarem exercitumque reducem videre.

71. Iam Stertinius, ad accipiendum in deditionem Segimerum fratrem Segestis praemissus, ipsum et filium eius in
2 civitatem Ubiorum perduxerat. data utrique venia, facile

Segimero, cunctantius filio, quia Quintilii Vari corpus inlusisse dicebatur. ceterum ad supplenda exercitus damna cer- 3
tavere Galliae Hispaniae Italia, quod cuique promptum, arma equos aurum offerentes. quorum laudato studio Germanicus, 4
armis modo et equis ad bellum sumptis, propria pecunia militem iuvit. utque cladis memoriam etiam comitate leni- 5
ret, circumire saucios, facta singulorum extollere; vulnera intuens alium spe, alium gloria, cunctos adloquio et cura sibique et proelio firmabat.

72. Decreta eo anno triumphalia insignia A. Caecinae, L. Apronio, C. Silio ob res cum Germanico gestas. nomen 2
patris patriae Tiberius, a populo saepius ingestum, repudiavit; neque in acta sua iurari quamquam censente senatu permisit, cuncta mortalium incerta, quantoque plus adeptus
foret, tanto se magis in lubrico dictitans. non tamen ideo 3
faciebat fidem civilis animi; nam legem maiestatis reduxerat, cui nomen apud veteres idem, sed alia in iudicium veniebant, si quis proditione exercitum aut plebem seditionibus, denique male gesta re publica maiestatem populi Romani
minuisset: facta arguebantur, dicta inpune erant. primus 4
Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis specie legis eius tractavit, commotus Cassii Severi libidine, qua viros feminasque inlustres procacibus scriptis diffamaverat; mox Tiberius, consultante Pompeio Macro praetore, an iudicia
maiestatis redderentur, exercendas leges esse respondit. hunc 5
quoque asperavere carmina incertis auctoribus vulgata in saevitiam superbiamque eius et discordem cum matre animum.

73. Haud pigebit referre in Falanio et Rubrio, modicis equitibus Romanis, praetemptata crimina, ut quibus initiis,
quanta Tiberii arte gravissimum exitium inrepserit, dein repressum sit, postremo arserit cunctaque corripuerit, noscatur. Falanio obiciebat accusator, quod inter cultores Augusti, qui 2
per omnes domos in modum collegiorum habebantur, Cas-

sium quendam mimum corpore infamem adscivisset, quodque venditis hortis statuam Augusti simul mancipasset. Rubrio
3 crimini dabatur violatum periurio numen Augusti. quae ubi Tiberio notuere, scripsit consulibus non ideo decretum patri suo caelum, ut in perniciem civium is honor verteretur.
4 Cassium histrionem solitum inter alios eiusdem artis interesse ludis, quos mater sua in memoriam Augusti sacrasset; nec contra religiones fieri, quod effigies eius, ut alia numinum simulacra, venditionibus hortorum et domuum accedant.
5 ius iurandum perinde aestimandum quam si Iovem fefellisset: deorum iniurias dis curae.

74. Nec multo post Granium Marcellum praetorem Bithyniae quaestor ipsius Caepio Crispinus maiestatis postulavit, subscribente Romano Hispone: qui formam vitae iniit, quam postea celebrem miseriae temporum et audaciae homi-
2 num fecerunt. nam egens, ignotus, inquies, dum occultis libellis saevitiae principis adrepit, mox clarissimo cuique periculum facessit, potentiam apud unum, odium apud omnis adeptus dedit exemplum, quod secuti ex pauperibus divites, ex contemptis metuendi perniciem aliis ac postremum sibi
3 invenere. sed Marcellum insimulabat sinistros de Tiberio sermones habuisse, inevitabile crimen, cum ex moribus principis foedissima quaeque deligeret accusator obiectaretque
4 reo. nam quia vera erant, etiam dicta credebantur. addidit Hispo statuam Marcelli altius quam Caesarum sitam, et alia in statua amputato capite Augusti effigiem Tiberii inditam.
5 ad quod exarsit adeo, ut rupta taciturnitate proclamaret se quoque in ea causa laturum sententiam palam et iuratum,
6 quo ceteris eadem necessitas fieret. manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis. igitur Cn. Piso 'quo' inquit 'loco censebis, Caesar? si primus, habebo quod sequar: si
7 post omnis, vereor ne inprudens dissentiam.' permotus his, quantoque incautius efferverat, paenitentia patiens tulit ab-

solvi reum criminibus maiestatis: de pecuniis repetundis ad reciperatores itum est.

75. Nec patrum cognitionibus satiatus iudiciis adsidebat in cornu tribunalis, ne praetorem curuli depelleret; multaque eo coram adversus ambitum et potentium preces constituta. set dum veritati consulitur, libertas corrumpebatur. inter quae Pius Aurelius senator questus mole publicae viae ductuque aquarum labefactas aedis suas, auxilium patrum invocabat. resistentibus aerarii praetoribus subvenit Caesar pretiumque aedium Aurelio tribuit, erogandae per honesta pecuniae cupiens, quam virtutem diu retinuit, cum ceteras exueret. Propertio Celeri praetorio, veniam ordinis ob paupertatem petenti, deciens sestertium largitus est, satis conperto paternas ei angustias esse. temptantis eadem alios probare causas senatui iussit, cupidine severitatis in iis etiam quae rite faceret acerbus. unde ceteri silentium et paupertatem confessioni et beneficio praeposuere.

76. Eodem anno continuis imbribus auctus Tiberis plana urbis stagnaverat; relabentem secuta est aedificiorum et hominum strages. igitur censuit Asinius Gallus ut libri Sibullini adirentur. renuit Tiberius, perinde divina humanaque obtegens; sed remedium coercendi fluminis Ateio Capitoni et L. Arruntio mandatum. Achaiam ac Macedoniam onera deprecantis levari in praesens proconsulari imperio tradique Caesari placuit. edendis gladiatoribus, quos Germanici fratris ac suo nomine obtulerat, Drusus praesedit, quamquam vili sanguine nimis gaudens; quod *in* vulgus formidolosum et pater arguisse dicebatur. cur abstinuerit spectaculo ipse, varie trahebant; alii taedio coetus, quidam tristitia ingenii et metu conparationis, quia Augustus comiter interfuisset. non crediderim ad ostentandam saevitiam movendasque populi offensiones concessam filio materiem, quamquam id quoque dictum est.

77. At theatri licentia, proximo priore anno coepta, gravius tum erupit, occisis non modo e plebe set militibus et centurione, vulnerato tribuno praetoriae cohortis, dum pro-
2 bra in magistratus et dissensionem vulgi prohibent. actum de ea seditione apud patres dicebanturque sententiae, ut prae-
3 toribus ius virgarum in histriones esset. intercessit Haterius Agrippa tribunus plebei increpitusque est Asinii Galli oratione, silente Tiberio, qui ea simulacra libertatis senatui
4 praebebat. valuit tamen intercessio, quia divus Augustus immunes verberum histriones quondam responderat, neque
5 fas Tiberio infringere dicta eius. de modo lucaris et adversus lasciviam fautorum multa decernuntur; ex quis maxime insignia, ne domos pantomimorum senator introiret, ne egredientes in publicum equites Romani cingerent aut alibi quam in theatro sectarentur, et spectantium immodestiam exilio multandi potestas praetoribus fieret.

78. Templum ut in colonia Tarraconensi strueretur Augusto petentibus Hispanis permissum, datumque in omnes
2 provincias exemplum. centesimam rerum venalium post bella civilia institutam deprecante populo edixit Tiberius militare aerarium eo subsidio niti; simul imparem oneri rem publicam, nisi vicensimo militiae anno veterani dimitterentur.
3 ita proximae seditionis male consulta, quibus sedecim stipendiorum finem expresserant, abolita in posterum.

79. Actum deinde in senatu ab Arruntio et Ateio, an ob moderandas Tiberis exundationes verterentur flumina et lacus, per quos augescit; auditaeque municipiorum et coloniarum legationes, orantibus Florentinis, ne Clanis solito alveo demotus in amnem Arnum transferretur idque ipsis perniciem
2 adferret. congruentia his Interamnates disseruere: pessum ituros fecundissimos Italiae campos, si amnis Nar (id enim
3 parabatur) in rivos diductus superstagnavisset. nec Reatini silebant, Velinum lacum, qua in Narem effunditur, obstrui

recusantes, quippe in adiacentia erupturum; optume rebus mortalium consuluisse naturam, quae sua ora fluminibus, suos cursus, utque originem, ita fines dederit; spectandas etiam religiones sociorum, qui sacra et lucos et aras patriis amnibus dicaverint: quin ipsum Tiberim nolle prorsus accolis 4 fluviis orbatum minore gloria fluere. seu preces coloniarum 5 seu difficultas operum sive superstitio valuit, ut in sententiam *Cn.* Pisonis concederetur, qui nil mutandum censuerat.

80. Prorogatur Poppaeo Sabino provincia Moesia, additis Achaia ac Macedonia. id quoque morum Tiberii fuit, 2 continuare imperia ac plerosque ad finem vitae in isdem exercitibus aut iurisdictionibus habere. causae variae tradun- 3 tur: alii taedio novae curae semel placita pro aeternis servavisse, quidam invidia, ne plures fruerentur; sunt qui existiment, ut callidum eius ingenium, ita anxium iudicium; neque enim eminentis virtutes sectabatur, et rursum vitia oderat: ex optimis periculum sibi, a pessimis dedecus publicum metuebat. qua haesitatione postremo eo provectus est, ut 4 mandaverit quibusdam provincias, quos egredi urbe non erat passurus.

81. De comitiis consularibus, quae tum primum illo principe ac deinceps fuere, vix quicquam firmare ausim: adeo diversa non modo apud auctores sed in ipsius orationibus reperiuntur. modo subtractis candidatorum nominibus originem 2 cuiusque et vitam et stipendia descripsit, ut qui forent intellegeretur: aliquando ea quoque significatione subtracta candidatos hortatus, ne ambitu comitia turbarent, suam ad id curam pollicitus est. plerumque eos tantum apud se professos 3 disseruit, quorum nomina consulibus edidisset; posse et alios profiteri, si gratiae aut meritis confiderent: speciosa verbis, re inania aut subdola, quantoque maiore libertatis imagine tegebantur, tanto eruptura ad infensius servitium.

LIBER II.

1. Sisenna Statilio [Tauro] L. Libone consulibus mota Orientis regna provinciaeque Romanae, initio apud Parthos orto, qui petitum Roma acceptumque regem, quamvis gentis Arsacidarum, ut externum aspernabantur. is fuit Vonones,
2 obses Augusto datus a Phraate. nam Phraates quamquam depulisset exercitus ducesque Romanos, cuncta venerantium officia ad Augustum verterat partemque prolis firmandae amicitiae miserat, haud perinde nostri metu quam fidei popularium diffisus.

2. Post finem Phraatis et sequentium regum ob internas caedes venere in urbem legati a primoribus Parthis, qui Vo-
2 nonem vetustissimum liberorum eius accirent. magnificum id sibi credidit Caesar auxitque opibus. et accepere barbari
3 laetantes, ut ferme ad nova imperia. mox subiit pudor degeneravisse Parthos: petitum alio ex orbe regem, hostium artibus infectum; iam inter provincias Romanas solium Ar-
4 sacidarum haberi darique. ubi illam gloriam trucidantium Crassum, exturbantium Antonium, si mancipium Caesaris,
5 tot per annos servitutem perpessum, Parthis imperitet? accendebat dedignantes et ipse diversus a maiorum institutis, raro venatu, segni equorum cura; quotiens per urbes ince-
6 deret, lecticae gestamine fastuque erga patrias epulas. inridebantur et Graeci comites ac vilissima utensilium anulo clausa. sed prompti aditus, obvia comitas, ignotae Parthis virtutes, nova vitia; et quia ipsorum moribus aliena, perinde odium pravis et honestis.

3. Igitur Artabanus Arsacidarum e sanguine apud Da-
2 has adultus excitur, primoque congressu fusus reparat vires regnoque potitur. victo Vononi perfugium Armenia fuit,

vacua tunc interque Parthorum et Romanas opes infida ob scelus Antonii, qui Artavasden regem Armeniorum specie amicitiae inlectum, dein catenis oneratum, postremo interfecerat. eius filius Artaxias, memoria patris nobis infensus. 3 Arsacidarum vi seque regnumque tutatus est. occiso Artaxia 4 per dolum propinquorum, datus a Caesare Armeniis Tigranes deductusque in regnum a Tiberio Nerone. nec Tigrani diu- 5 turnum imperium fuit neque liberis eius, quamquam sociatis more externo in matrimonium regnumque.

4. Dein iussu Augusti inpositus Artavasdes et non sine clade nostra deiectus. tum Gaius Caesar componendae Ar- 2 meniae deligitur. is Ariobarzanen, origine Medum, ob insignem corporis formam et praeclarum animum volentibus Armeniis praefecit. Ariobarzane morte fortuita absumpto stir- 3 pem eius haud toleravere; temptatoque feminae imperio, cui nomen Erato, eaque brevi pulsa, incerti solutique et magis sine domino quam in libertate profugum Vononen in regnum accipiunt. sed ubi minitari Artabanus et parum subsidii in 4 Armeniis, vel, si nostra vi defenderetur, bellum adversus Parthos sumendum erat, rector Suriae Creticus Silanus excitum custodia circumdat, manente luxu et regio nomine. quod lu- 5 dibrium ut effugere agitaverit Vonones, in loco reddemus.

5. Ceterum Tiberio haud ingratum accidit turbari res Orientis, ut ea specie Germanicum suetis legionibus abstraheret novisque provinciis inpositum dolo simul et casibus obiectaret. at ille, quanto acriora in eum studia militum et 2 aversa patrui voluntas, celerandae victoriae intentior, tractare proeliorum vias et quae sibi tertium iam annum belligeranti saeva vel prospera evenissent. fundi Germanos acie et iustis 3 locis, iuvari silvis, paludibus, brevi aestate et praematura hieme; suum militem haud perinde vulneribus quam spatiis itinerum, damno armorum adfici; fessas Gallias ministrandis equis; longum impedimentorum agmen opportunum ad in-

4 sidias, defensantibus iniquum. at si mare intretur, promptam ipsis possessionem et hostibus ignotam, simul bellum maturius incipi legionesque et commeatus pariter vehi; integrum equitem equosque per ora et alveos fluminum media in Germania fore.

6. Igitur huc intendit, missis ad census Galliarum P. Vitellio et C. Antio. Silius et Anteius et Caecina fabricandae
2 classi praeponuntur. mille naves sufficere visae properataeque, aliae breves, angusta puppi proraque et lato utero, quo facilius fluctus tolerarent; quaedam planae carinis, ut sine
noxa siderent; plures adpositis utrimque gubernaculis, con-
3 verso ut repente remigio hinc vel illinc adpellerent; multae pontibus stratae, super quas tormenta veherentur, simul aptae ferendis equis aut commeatui; velis habiles, citae remis,
4 augebantur alacritate militum in speciem ac terrorem. insula Batavorum in quam convenirent praedicta, ob faciles adpulsus accipiendisque copiis et transmittendum ad bellum
5 opportuna. nam Rhenus uno alveo continuus aut modicas insulas circumveniens apud principium agri Batavi velut in duos amnes dividitur, servatque nomen et violentiam cursus, qua Germaniam praevehitur, donec Oceano misceatur; ad Gallicam ripam latior et placidior adfluens—verso cognomento Vahalem accolae dicunt,— mox id quoque vocabulum mutat Mosa flumine eiusque inmenso ore eundem in Oceanum effunditur.

7. Sed Caesar, dum adiguntur naves, Silium legatum cum expedita manu inruptionem in Chattos facere iubet: ipse audito castellum Lupiae flumini adpositum obsideri, sex le-
2 giones eo duxit. neque Silio ob subitos imbres aliud actum quam ut modicam praedam et Arpi principis Chattorum con-
iugem filiamque raperet, neque Caesari copiam pugnae op-
3 sessores fecere, ad famam adventus eius dilapsi: tumulum tamen nuper Varianis legionibus structum et veterem aram

Druso sitam disiecerant. restituit aram honorique patris prin- 4
ceps ipse cum legionibus decucurrit; tumulum iterare haud
visum. et cuncta inter castellum Alisonem ac Rhenum novis 5
limitibus aggeribusque permunita.

8. Iamque classis advenerat, cum praemisso commeatu et distributis in legiones ac socios navibus fossam, cui Drusianae nomen, ingressus precatusque Drusum patrem, ut se eadem ausum libens placatusque exemplo ac memoria consiliorum atque operum iuvaret, lacus inde et Oceanum usque ad Amisiam flumen secunda navigatione pervehitur. classis 2
Amisiae *ore* relicta laevo amne, erratumque in eo quod non subvexit *aut* transposuit militem dextras in terras iturum; ita plures dies efficiendis pontibus absumpti. et eques quidem ac 3
legiones prima aestuaria, nondum adcrescente unda, intrepidi transiere: postremum auxiliorum agmen Batavique in parte ea, dum insultant aquis artemque nandi ostentant, turbati et quidam hausti sunt. metanti castra Caesari Angrivariorum 4
defectio a tergo nuntiatur: missus ilico Stertinius cum equite et armatura levi igne et caedibus perfidiam ultus est.

9. Flumen Visurgis Romanos Cheruscosque interfluebat. eius in ripa cum ceteris primoribus Arminius adstitit, quaesitoque an Caesar venisset, postquam adesse responsum est, ut liceret cum fratre conloqui oravit. erat is in exercitu cogno- 2
mento Flavus, insignis fide et amisso per vulnus oculo paucis ante annis duce Tiberio. tum permissu ** progressusque salu- 3
tatur ab Arminio; qui amotis stipatoribus, ut sagittarii nostra pro ripa dispositi abscederent postulat, et postquam digressi, unde ea deformitas oris interrogat fratrem. illo locum et proe- 4
lium referente, quodnam praemium recepisset exquirit. Fla- 5
vus aucta stipendia, torquem et coronam aliaque militaria dona memorat, inridente Arminio vilia servitii pretia.

10. Exim diversi ordiuntur, hic magnitudinem Romanam, opes Caesaris et victis graves poenas, in deditionem venienti

paratam clementiam; neque coniugem et filium eius hostiliter haberi: ille fas patriae, libertatem avitam, penetralis Germaniae deos, matrem precum sociam; ne propinquorum et adfinium, denique gentis suae desertor et proditor quam
2 imperator esse mallet. paulatim inde ad iurgia prolapsi quo minus pugnam consererent ne flumine quidem interiecto cohibebantur, ni Stertinius adcurrens plenum irae armaque et
3 equum poscentem Flavum adtinuisset. cernebatur contra minitabundus Arminius proeliumque denuntians; nam pleraque Latino sermone interiaciebat, ut qui Romanis in castris ductor popularium meruisset.

11. Postero die Germanorum acies trans Visurgim stetit. Caesar nisi pontibus praesidiisque inpositis dare in discrimen legiones haud imperatorium ratus, equitem vado tra-
2 mittit. praefuere Stertinius et e numero primipilarium Aemi-
3 lius, distantibus locis invecti, ut hostem diducerent. qua celerrimus amnis, Chariovalda dux Batavorum erupit. eum Cherusci fugam simulantes in planitiem saltibus circumiectam traxere: dein coorti et undique effusi trudunt adversos, instant cedentibus collectosque in orbem pars congressi, qui-
4 dam eminus proturbant. Chariovalda diu sustentata hostium saevitia, hortatus suos ut ingruentes catervas globo perfringerent, atque ipse densissimos inrumpens, congestis telis et suffosso equo labitur, ac multi nobilium circa: ceteros vis sua aut equites cum Stertinio Aemilioque subvenientes periculo exemere.

12. Caesar transgressus Visurgim indicio perfugae cognoscit delectum ab Arminio locum pugnae; convenisse et alias nationes in silvam Herculi sacram ausurosque nocturnam
2 castrorum oppugnationem. habita indici fides et cernebantur ignes, suggressique propius speculatores audiri fremitum equorum inmensique et inconditi agminis murmur attulere.
3 igitur propinquo summae rei discrimine explorandos militum

animos ratus, quonam id modo incorruptum foret, secum agitabat. tribunos et centuriones laeta saepius quam com- 4
perta nuntiare, libertorum servilia ingenia, amicis inesse adulationem; si contio vocetur, illic quoque quae pauci incipiant reliquos adstrepere. penitus noscendas mentes, cum secreti 5
et incustoditi inter militaris cibos spem aut metum proferrent.

13. Nocte coepta egressus augurali per occulta et vigilibus ignara, comite uno, contectus umeros ferina pelle, adit castrorum vias, adsistit tabernaculis fruiturque fama sui, cum hic nobilitatem ducis, decorem alius, plurimi patientiam, comitatem, per seria per iocos eundem animum laudibus ferrent reddendamque gratiam in acie faterentur, simul perfidos et ruptores pacis ultioni et gloriae mactandos. inter quae unus 2
hostium, Latinae linguae sciens, acto ad vallum equo voce magna coniuges et agros et stipendii in dies, donec bellaretur, sestertios centenos, si quis transfugisset, Arminii nomine pollicetur. intendit ea contumelia legionum iras: ve- 3
niret dies, daretur pugna; sumpturum militem Germanorum agros, tracturum coniuges; accipere omen et matrimonia ac pecunias hostium praedae destinare. tertia ferme vigilia ad- 4
sultatum est castris sine coniectu teli, postquam crebras pro munimentis cohortes et nihil remissum sensere.

14. Nox eadem laetam Germanico quietem tulit, viditque se operatum et sanguine sacri respersa praetexta pulchriorem aliam manibus aviae Augustae accepisse. auctus omine, 2
addicentibus auspiciis, vocat contionem et quae sapientia provisa aptaque inminenti pugnae disserit. non campos 3
modo militi Romano ad proelium bonos, sed, si ratio adsit, silvas et saltus; nec enim inmensa barbarorum scuta, enormis hastas inter truncos arborum et enata humo virgulta perinde haberi quam pila et gladios et haerentia corpori tegmina. denserent ictus, ora mucronibus quaererent: non 4
loricam Germano, non galeam, ne scuta quidem ferro ner-

vove firmata, sed viminum textus vel tenuis et fucatas colore tabulas; primam utcumque aciem hastatam, ceteris praeusta aut brevia tela. iam corpus ut visu torvum et ad brevem impetum validum, sic nulla vulnerum patientia: sine pudore flagitii, sine cura ducum abire, fugere, pavidos adversis, inter secunda non divini, non humani iuris memores. si taedio viarum ac maris finem cupiant, hac acie parari: propiorem iam Albim quam Rhenum, neque bellum ultra, modo se, patris patruique vestigia prementem, isdem in terris victorem sisterent.

15. Orationem ducis secutus militum ardor, signumque pugnae datum. nec Arminius aut ceteri Germanorum proceres omittebant suos quisque testari, hos esse Romanos Variani exercitus fugacissimos, qui ne bellum tolerarent, seditionem induerint; quorum pars onusta vulneribus terga, pars fluctibus et procellis fractos artus infensis rursum hostibus, adversis dis obiciant, nulla boni spe. classem quippe et avia Oceani quaesita, ne quis venientibus occurreret, ne pulsos premeret: sed ubi miscuerint manus, inane victis ventorum remorumve subsidium. meminissent modo avaritiae, crudelitatis, superbiae: aliud sibi reliquum quam tenere libertatem aut mori ante servitium?

16. Sic accensos et proelium poscentes in campum, cui Idisiaviso nomen, deducunt. is medius inter Visurgim et colles, ut ripae fluminis cedunt aut prominentia montium resistunt, inaequaliter sinuatur. pone tergum insurgebat silva, editis in altum ramis et pura humo inter arborum truncos. campum et prima silvarum barbara acies tenuit: soli Cherusci iuga insedere, ut proeliantibus Romanis desuper incurrerent. noster exercitus sic incessit: auxiliares Galli Germanique in fronte, post quos pedites sagittarii; dein quattuor legiones et cum duabus praetoriis cohortibus ac delecto equite Caesar; exim totidem aliae legiones et levis armatura

cum equite sagittario ceteraeque sociorum cohortes. intentus paratusque miles, ut ordo agminis in aciem adsisteret.

17. Visis Cheruscorum catervis, quae per ferociam proruperant, validissimos equitum incurrere latus, Stertinium cum ceteris turmis circumgredi tergaque invadere iubet, ipse in tempore adfuturus. interea pulcherrimum augurium, octo aquilae petere silvas et intrare visae imperatorem advertere. exclamat irent, sequerentur Romanas aves, propria legionum numina. simul pedestris acies infertur et praemissus eques postremos ac latera impulit. mirumque dictu, duo hostium agmina diversa fuga, qui silvam tenuerant, in aperta, qui campis adstiterant, in silvam ruebant. medii inter hos Cherusci collibus detrudebantur, inter quos insignis Arminius manu voce vulnere sustentabat pugnam. incubueratque sagittariis, illa rupturus, ni Raetorum Vindelicorumque et Gallicae cohortes signa obiecissent. nisu tamen corporis et impetu equi pervasit, oblitus faciem suo cruore, ne nosceretur. quidam adgnitum a Chaucis inter auxilia Romana agentibus emissumque tradiderunt. virtus seu fraus eadem Inguiomero effugium dedit: ceteri passim trucidati. et plerosque tranare Visurgim conantes iniecta tela aut vis fluminis, postremo moles ruentium et incidentes ripae operuere. quidam turpi fuga in summa arborum nisi ramisque se occultantes admotis sagittariis per ludibrium figebantur, alios prorutae arbores adflixere.

18. Magna ea victoria neque cruenta nobis fuit. quinta ab hora diei ad noctem caesi hostes decem milia passuum cadaveribus atque armis opplevere, repertis inter spolia eorum catenis, quas in Romanos ut non dubio eventu portaverant. miles in loco proelii Tiberium imperatorem salutavit struxitque aggerem et in modum tropaeorum arma subscriptis victarum gentium nominibus imposuit.

19. Haud perinde Germanos vulnera, luctus, excidia quam

2 ea species dolore et ira adfecit. qui modo abire sedibus,
trans Albim concedere parabant, pugnam volunt, arma ra-
piunt; plebes primores, iuventus senes agmen Romanum
3 repente incursant, turbant. postremo deligunt locum flumine
et silvis clausum, arta intus planitie et umida: silvas quoque
profunda palus ambibat, nisi quod latus unum Angrivarii lato
4 aggere extulerant, quo a Cheruscis dirimerentur. hic pedes
adstitit: equitem propinquis lucis texere, ut ingressis silvam
legionibus a tergo foret.

20. Nihil ex his Caesari incognitum: consilia locos,
prompta occulta noverat, astusque hostium in perniciem ipsis
2 vertebat. Seio Tuberoni legato tradit equitem campumque;
peditum aciem ita instruxit, ut pars aequo in silvam aditu
incederet, pars obiectum aggerem eniteretur; quod arduum
3 sibi, cetera legatis permisit. quibus plana evenerant, facile
inrupere: quis inpugnandus agger, ut si murum succederent,
4 gravibus superne ictibus conflictabantur. sensit dux inparem
comminus pugnam remotisque paulum legionibus funditores
5 libritoresque excutere tela et proturbare hostem iubet. mis-
sae e tormentis hastae, quantoque conspicui magis propugna-
6 tores, tanto pluribus vulneribus deiecti. primus Caesar cum
praetoriis cohortibus capto vallo dedit impetum in silvas;
7 conlato illic gradu certatum. hostem a tergo palus, Romanos
flumen aut montes claudebant: utrisque necessitas in loco,
spes in virtute, salus ex victoria.

21. Nec minor Germanis animus, sed genere pugnae et
armorum superabantur, cum ingens multitudo artis locis prae-
longas hastas non protenderet, non colligeret, neque ad-
sultibus et velocitate corporum uteretur, coacta stabile ad
proelium; contra miles, cui scutum pectori adpressum et in-
sidens capulo manus, latos barbarorum artus, nuda ora fo-
deret viamque strage hostium aperiret, inprompto iam *Ar-
minio* ob continua pericula, sive illum recens acceptum vulnus

tardaverat. quin et Inguiomerum, tota volitantem acie, fortuna 2
magis quam virtus deserebat. et Germanicus quo magis ad- 3
gnosceretur, detraxerat tegimen capiti orabatque insisterent
caedibus: nil opus captivis, solam internicionem gentis finem
bello fore. iamque sero diei subducit ex acie legionem facien- 4
dis castris: ceterae ad noctem cruore hostium satiatae sunt.
equites ambigue certavere.

22. Laudatis pro contione victoribus Caesar congeriem
armorum struxit, superbo cum titulo: debellatis inter Rhe-
num Albimque nationibus exercitum Tiberii Caesaris ea mo-
nimenta Marti et Iovi et Augusto sacravisse. de se nihil ad- 2
didit, metu invidiae an ratus conscientiam facti satis esse.
mox bellum in Angrivarios Stertinio mandat, ni deditionem 3
properavissent. atque illi supplices nihil abnuendo veniam
omnium accepere.

23. Sed aestate iam adulta legionum aliae itinere terrestri
in hibernacula remissae; plures Caesar classi inpositas per
flumen Amisiam Oceano invexit. ac primo placidum aequor 2
mille navium remis strepere aut velis inpelli: mox atro
nubium globo effusa grando, simul variis undique procellis
incerti fluctus prospectum adimere, regimen inpedire; miles-
que pavidus et casuum maris ignarus dum turbat nautas
vel intempestive iuvat, officia prudentium corrumpebat. omne 3
dehinc caelum et mare omne in austrum cessit, qui umi-
dis Germaniae terris, profundis amnibus, immenso nubium
tractu validus et rigore vicini septentrionis horridior rapuit
disiecitque naves in aperta Oceani aut insulas saxis abruptis
vel per occulta vada infestas. quibus paulum aegreque vita- 4
tis, postquam mutabat aestus eodemque quo ventus ferebat,
non adhaerere ancoris, non exhaurire inrumpentis undas
poterant: equi, iumenta, sarcinae, etiam arma praecipitantur,
quo levarentur alvei, manantes per latera et fluctu superur-
gente.

24. Quanto violentior cetero mari Oceanus et truculentia caeli praestat Germania, tantum illa clades novitate et magnitudine excessit, hostilibus circum litoribus aut ita vasto et
2 profundo, ut credatur novissimum ac sine terris mare. pars navium haustae sunt, plures apud insulas longius sitas eiectae; milesque nullo illic hominum cultu fame absumptus, nisi quos
3 corpora equorum eodem elisa toleraverant. sola Germanici triremis Chaucorum terram adpulit; quem per omnes illos dies noctesque apud scopulos et prominentis oras, cum se tanti exitii reum clamitaret, vix cohibuere amici quo minus
4 eodem mari oppeteret. tandem relabente aestu et secundante vento claudae naves raro remigio aut intentis vestibus, et quaedam a validioribus tractae, revertere; quas raptim re-
5 fectas misit ut scrutarentur insulas. collecti ea cura plerique: multos Angrivarii nuper in fidem accepti redemptos ab interioribus reddidere; quidam in Britanniam rapti et re-
6 missi a regulis. ut quis ex longinquo revenerat, miracula narrabant, vim turbinum et inauditas volucres, monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et beluarum formas, visa sive ex metu credita.

25. Sed fama classis amissae ut Germanos ad spem belli,
2 ita Caesarem ad coercendum erexit. C. Silio cum triginta peditum, tribus equitum milibus ire in Chattos imperat; ipse maioribus copiis Marsos inrumpit, quorum dux Mallovendus nuper in deditionem acceptus propinquo luco defossam Varianae legionis aquilam modico praesidio servari indicat.
3 missa extemplo manus quae hostem a fronte eliceret, alii qui terga circumgressi recluderent humum; et utrisque ad-
4 fuit fortuna. eo promptior Caesar pergit introrsus, populatur, excindit non ausum congredi hostem aut, sicubi restiterat, statim pulsum nec umquam magis, ut ex captivis cognitum
5 est, paventem. quippe invictos et nullis casibus superabiles Romanos praedicabant, qui perdita classe, amissis armis,

post constrata equorum virorumque corporibus litora eadem virtute, pari ferocia et velut aucti numero inrupissent.

26. Reductus inde in hiberna miles, laetus animi quod adversa maris expeditione prospera pensavisset. addidit munificentiam Caesar, quantum quis damni professus erat, exsolvendo. nec dubium habebatur labare hostes petendae- 2 que pacis consilia sumere, et si proxima aestas adiceretur, posse bellum patrari. sed crebris epistulis Tiberius monebat 3 rediret ad decretum triumphum: satis iam eventuum, satis casuum. prospera illi et magna proelia: eorum quoque meminisset, quae venti et fluctus, nulla ducis culpa, gravia tamen et saeva damna intulissent. se noviens a divo Augusto in Germaniam missum plura consilio quam vi perfecisse. sic Sugambros in deditionem acceptos, sic Suebos regemque Maroboduum pace obstrictum. posse et Cheruscos ceterasque rebellium gentes, quoniam Romanae ultioni consultum esset, internis discordiis relinqui. precante Germanico annum effi- 4 ciendis coeptis, acrius modestiam eius adgreditur alterum consulatum offerendo, cuius munia praesens obiret. simul 5 adnectebat, si foret adhuc bellandum, relinqueret materiem Drusi fratris gloriae, qui nullo tum alio hoste non nisi apud Germanias adsequi nomen imperatorium et deportare lauream posset. haud cunctatus est ultra Germanicus, quamquam 6 fingi ea seque per invidiam parto iam decori abstrahi intelle- geret.

27. Sub idem tempus e familia Scriboniorum Libo Drusus defertur moliri res novas. eius negotii initium, ordinem, finem curatius disseram, quia tum primum reperta sunt quae per tot annos rem publicam exedere. Firmius Catus senator, 2 ex intima Libonis amicitia, iuvenem inprovidum et facilem inanibus ad Chaldaeorum promissa, magorum sacra, somniorum etiam interpretes impulit, dum proavum Pompeium, amitam Scriboniam, quae quondam Augusti coniunx fuerat,

consobrinos Caesares, plenam imaginibus domum ostentat, hortaturque ad luxum et aes alienum, socius libidinum et necessitatum, quo pluribus indiciis inligaret.

28. Ut satis testium et qui servi eadem noscerent reperit, aditum ad principem postulat, demonstrato crimine et reo per Flaccum Vescularium equitem Romanum, cui propior cum Tiberio usus erat. Caesar indicium haud aspernatus congressus abnuit: posse enim eodem Flacco internuntio sermones commeare. atque interim Libonem ornat praetura, convictibus adhibet, non vultu alienatus, non verbis commotior (adeo iram condiderat); cunctaque eius dicta factaque, cum prohibere posset, scire malebat, donec Iunius quidam, temptatus ut infernas umbras carminibus eliceret, ad Fulcinium Trionem indicium detulit. celebre inter accusatores Trionis ingenium erat avidumque famae malae. statim corripit reum, adit consules, cognitionem senatus poscit. et vocantur patres, addito consultandum super re magna et atroci.

29. Libo interim veste mutata cum primoribus feminis circumire domos, orare adfines, vocem adversum pericula poscere, abnuentibus cunctis, cum diversa praetenderent, eadem formidine. die senatus metu et aegritudine fessus, sive, ut tradidere quidam, simulato morbo, lectica delatus ad fores curiae innisusque fratri et manus ac supplices voces ad Tiberium tendens immoto eius vultu excipitur. mox libellos et auctores recitat Caesar ita moderans, ne lenire neve asperare crimina videretur.

30. Accesserant praeter Trionem et Catum accusatores Fonteius Agrippa et C. Vibius, certabantque cui ius perorandi in reum daretur, donec Vibius, quia nec ipsi inter se concederent et Libo sine patrono introisset, singillatim se crimina obiecturum professus, protulit libellos vaecordes adeo, ut consultaverit Libo, an habiturus foret opes quis viam Appiam Brundisium usque pecunia operiret. inerant

et alia huiusce modi stolida vana, si mollius acciperes, miseranda. uni tamen libello manu Libonis nominibus Caesarum aut senatorum additas atroces vel occultas notas accusator arguebat. negante reo adgnoscentes servos per tormenta 3 interrogari placuit. et quia vetere senatus consulto quaestio in caput domini prohibebatur, callidus et novi iuris repertor Tiberius mancipari singulos actori publico iubet, scilicet ut in Libonem ex servis salvo senatus consulto quaereretur. ob quae posterum diem reus petivit domumque digressus 4 extremas preces P. Quirinio propinquo suo ad principem mandavit.

31. Responsum est ut senatum rogaret. cingebatur interim milite domus, strepebant etiam in vestibulo, ut audiri, ut aspici possent, cum Libo ipsis quas in novissimam voluptatem adhibuerat epulis excruciatus vocare percussorem, prensare servorum dextras, inserere gladium. atque illis, 2 dum trepidant, dum refugiunt, evertentibus adpositum *in* mensa lumen, feralibus iam sibi tenebris duos ictus in viscera derexit. ad gemitum conlabentis adcurrere liberti, et 3 caede visa miles abstitit. accusatio tamen apud patres ad- 4 severatione eadem peracta, iuravitque Tiberius petiturum se vitam quamvis nocenti, nisi voluntariam mortem properavisset.

32. Bona inter accusatores dividuntur, et praeturae extra ordinem datae iis qui senatorii ordinis erant. tunc Cotta 2 Messalinus, ne imago Libonis exsequias posterorum comitaretur, censuit, Cn. Lentulus, ne quis Scribonius cognomentum Drusi adsumeret. supplicationum dies Pomponii 3 Flacci sententia constituti. dona Iovi, Marti, Concordiae, 4 utque iduum Septembrium dies, quo se Libo interfecerat, dies festus haberetur, L. Piso et Gallus Asinius et Papius Mutilus et L. Apronius decrevere; quorum auctoritates adulationesque rettuli, ut sciretur vetus id in re publica malum.

facta et de mathematicis magisque Italia pellendis senatus consulta; quorum e numero L. Pituanius saxo deiectus est, in P. Marcium consules extra portam Esquilinam, cum classicum canere iussissent, more prisco advertere.

33. Proximo senatus die multa in luxum civitatis dicta a Q. Haterio consulari, Octavio Frontone praetura functo; decretumque ne vasa auro solida ministrandis cibis fierent, 2 ne vestis serica viros foedaret. excessit Fronto ac postulavit modum argento, supellectili, familiae: erat quippe adhuc frequens senatoribus, si quid e re publica crederent, loco 3 sententiae promere. contra Gallus Asinius disseruit: auctu imperii adolevisse etiam privatas opes, idque non novum, sed e vetustissimis moribus: aliam apud Fabricios, aliam apud Scipiones pecuniam; et cuncta ad rem publicam referri, qua tenui angustas civium domos, postquam eo magni- 4 ficentiae venerit, gliscere singulos. neque in familia et argento quaeque ad usum parentur nimium aliquid aut 5 modicum nisi ex fortuna possidentis. distinctos senatus et equitum census, non quia diversi natura, sed, ut locis ordinibus dignationibus antistent, ita iis quae ad requiem animi aut salubritatem corporum parentur, nisi forte clarissimo cuique plures curas, maiora pericula subeunda, deleni- 6 mentis curarum et periculorum carendum esse. facilem adsensum Gallo sub nominibus honestis confessio vitiorum et similitudo audientium dedit. adiecerat et Tiberius non id tempus censurae, nec, si quid in moribus labaret, defuturum corrigendi auctorem.

34. Inter quae L. Piso ambitum fori, corrupta iudicia, saevitiam oratorum accusationes minitantium increpans, abire se et cedere urbe, victurum in aliquo abdito et longinquo 2 rure testabatur; simul curiam relinquebat. commotus est Tiberius, et quamquam mitibus verbis Pisonem permulsisset, propinquos quoque eius impulit ut abeuntem auctoritate vel

precibus tenerent. haud minus liberi doloris documentum 3
idem Piso mox dedit vocata in ius Urgulania, quam supra
leges amicitia Augustae extulerat. nec aut Urgulania optem- 4
peravit, in domum Caesaris spreto Pisone vecta, aut ille
abscessit, quamquam Augusta se violari et imminui quereretur.
Tiberius hactenus indulgere matri civile ratus, ut se iturum 5
ad praetoris tribunal, adfuturum Urgulaniae diceret, processit
Palatio, procul sequi iussis militibus. spectabatur occur- 6
sante populo compositus ore et sermonibus variis tempus
atque iter ducens, donec propinquis Pisonem frustra coer-
centibus deferri Augusta pecuniam, quae petebatur, iuberet.
isque finis rei, ex qua neque Piso inglorius et Caesar maiore 7
fama fuit. ceterum Urgulaniae potentia adeo nimia civitati 8
erat, ut testis in causa quadam, quae apud senatum tractaba-
tur, venire dedignaretur: missus est praetor qui domi inter-
rogaret, cum virgines Vestales in foro et iudicio audiri, quo-
tiens testimonium dicerent, vetus mos fuerit.

35. Res eo anno prolatas haud referrem, ni pretium foret
Cn. Pisonis et Asinii Galli super eo negotio diversas sen-
tentias noscere. Piso, quamquam afuturum se dixerat Caesar, 2
ob id magis agendas censebat, ut absente principe senatum
et equites posse sua munia sustinere decorum rei publicae
foret. Gallus, quia speciem libertatis Piso praeceperat, nihil 3
satis inlustre aut ex dignitate populi Romani nisi coram et
sub oculis Caesaris, eoque conventum Italiae et adfluentis
provincias praesentiae eius servanda dicebat. audiente haec 4
Tiberio ac silente magnis utrimque contentionibus acta, sed
res dilatae.

36. Et certamen Gallo adversus Caesarem exortum est.
nam censuit in quinquennium magistratuum comitia habenda,
utque legionum legati, qui ante praeturam ea militia funge-
bantur, iam tum praetores destinarentur, princeps duodecim
candidatos in annos singulos nominaret. haud dubium erat 2

eam sententiam altius penetrare et arcana imperii temptari. Tiberius tamen, quasi augeretur potestas eius, disseruit:
3 grave moderationi suae tot eligere, tot differre. vix per singulos annos offensiones vitari, quamvis repulsam propinqua spes soletur: quantum odii fore ab iis qui ultra quinquen-
4 nium proiciantur. unde prospici posse quae cuique tam longo temporis spatio mens, domus, fortuna? superbire homines etiam annua designatione: quid si honorem per
5 quinquennium agitent? quinquiplicari prorsus magistratus, subverti leges, quae sua spatia exercendae candidatorum industriae quaerendisque aut potiundis honoribus statuerint. favorabili in speciem oratione vim imperii tenuit.

37. Censusque quorundam senatorum iuvit. quo magis mirum fuit, quod preces Marci Hortali, nobilis iuvenis, in pau-
2 pertate manifesta superbius accepisset. nepos erat oratoris Hortensii, inlectus a divo Augusto liberalitate deciens sestertii ducere uxorem, suscipere liberos, ne clarissima familia
3 extingueretur. igitur quattuor filiis ante limen curiae adstantibus, loco sententiae, cum in Palatio senatus haberetur, modo Hortensii inter oratores sitam imaginem modo Augusti intu-
4 ens, ad hunc modum coepit: 'patres conscripti, hos, quorum numerum et pueritiam videtis, non sponte sustuli, sed quia princeps monebat; simul maiores mei meruerant ut posteros
5 haberent. nam ego, qui non pecuniam, non studia populi neque eloquentiam, gentile domus nostrae bonum, varietate temporum accipere vel parare potuissem, satis habebam, si tenues res meae nec mihi pudori nec cuiquam oneri forent. iussus ab imperatore uxorem duxi. en stirps et progenies
6 tot consulum, tot dictatorum. nec ad invidiam ista, sed con-
7 ciliandae misericordiae refero. adsequentur florente te, Caesar, quos dederis honores: interim Q. Hortensii pronepotes, divi Augusti alumnos ab inopia defende.'

38. Inclinatio senatus incitamentum Tiberio fuit quo prom-

tius adversaretur, his ferme verbis usus: 'si quantum paupe- 2
rum est venire huc et liberis suis petere pecunias coeperint,
singuli numquam exsatiabuntur, res publica deficiet. nec sane 3
ideo a maioribus concessum est egredi aliquando relationem
et quod in commune conducat loco sententiae proferre, ut
privata negotia et res familiares nostras hic augeamus, cum
invidia senatus et principum, sive indulserint largitionem sive
abnuerint. non enim preces sunt istud, sed efflagitatio, in- 4
tempestiva quidem et inprovisa, cum aliis de rebus conve-
nerint patres, consurgere et numero atque aetate liberum
suorum urguere modestiam senatus, eandem vim in me trans-
mittere ac velut perfringere aerarium, quod si ambitione ex-
hauserimus, per scelera supplendum erit. dedit tibi, Hortale, 5
divus Augustus pecuniam, sed non conpellatus nec ea lege
ut semper daretur. languescet alioqui industria, intendetur 6
socordia, si nullus ex se metus aut spes, et securi omnes
aliena subsidia exspectabunt, sibi ignavi, nobis graves.' haec 7
atque talia, quamquam cum adsensu audita ab iis, quibus
omnia principum, honesta atque inhonesta, laudare mos est,
plures per silentium aut occultum murmur excepere. sensit- 8
que Tiberius; et cum paulum reticuisset, Hortalo se respon-
disse ait: ceterum si patribus videretur, daturum liberis eius
ducena sestertia singulis, qui sexus virilis essent. egere alii 9
grates: siluit Hortalus, pavore an avitae nobilitatis etiam
inter angustias fortunae retinens. neque miseratus est post- 10
hac Tiberius, quamvis domus Hortensii pudendam ad inopiam
delaberetur.

39. Eodem anno mancipii unius audacia, ni mature sub-
ventum foret, discordiis armisque civilibus rem publicam per-
culisset. Postumi Agrippae servus, nomine Clemens, conperto 2
fine Augusti pergere in insulam Planasiam et fraude aut vi
raptum Agrippam ferre ad exercitus Germanicos non servili
animo concepit. ausa eius inpedivit tarditas onerariae navis; 3

atque interim patrata caede ad maiora et magis praecipitia conversus furatur cineres vectusque Cosam Etruriae promunturium ignotis locis sese abdit, donec crinem barbamque promitteret: nam aetate et forma haud dissimili in dominum
4 erat. tum per idoneos et secreti eius socios crebrescit vivere Agrippam, occultis primum sermonibus, ut vetita solent, mox vago rumore apud inperitissimi cuiusque promptas aures aut
5 rursum apud turbidos eoque nova cupientes. atque ipse adire municipia obscuro diei, neque propalam aspici neque diutius isdem locis, sed quia veritas visu et mora, falsa festinatione et incertis valescunt, relinquebat famam aut praeveniebat.

40. Vulgabatur interim per Italiam servatum munere deum Agrippam, credebatur Romae; iamque Ostiam invectum multitudo ingens, iam in urbe clandestini coetus celebrabant, cum Tiberium anceps cura distrahere, vine militum servum suum coerceret an inanem credulitatem tem-
2 pore ipso vanescere sineret: modo nihil spernendum, modo non omnia metuenda ambiguus pudoris ac metus reputabat.
3 postremo dat negotium Sallustio Crispo. ille e clientibus duos (quidam milites fuisse tradunt) deligit atque hortatur, simulata conscientia adeant, offerant pecuniam, fidem atque pe-
4 ricula polliceantur. exsequuntur ut iussum erat. dein speculati noctem incustoditam, accepta idonea manu, vinctum
5 clauso ore in Palatium traxere. percontanti Tiberio, quo modo Agrippa factus esset, respondisse fertur 'quo modo tu
6 Caesar.' ut ederet socios subigi non potuit. nec Tiberius poenam eius palam ausus, in secreta Palatii parte interfici iussit corpusque clam auferri. et quamquam multi e domo principis equitesque ac senatores sustentasse opibus, iuvisse consiliis dicerentur, haud quaesitum.

41. Fine anni arcus propter aedem Saturni ob recepta signa cum Varo amissa ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii, et aedes Fortis Fortunae Tiberim iuxta in hortis, quos Caesar

dictator populo Romano legaverat, sacrarium genti Iuliae effigiesque divo Augusto apud Bovillas dicantur.

C. Caelio L. Pomponio consulibus Germanicus Caesar 2
a. d. VII. Kal. Iunias triumphavit de Cheruscis Chattisque et
5 Angrivariis quaeque aliae nationes usque ad Albim colunt.
vecta spolia, captivi, simulacra montium, fluminum, proelio- 3
rum; bellumque, quia conficere prohibitus erat, pro confecto
accipiebatur. augebat intuentium visus eximia ipsius species 4
currusque quinque liberis onustus. sed suberat occulta for- 5
10 mido reputantibus haud prosperum in Druso patre eius favo-
rem vulgi, avunculum eiusdem Marcellum flagrantibus plebis
studiis intra iuventam ereptum, breves et infaustos populi
Romani amores.

42. Ceterum Tiberius nomine Germanici trecenos plebi
15 sestertios viritim dedit seque collegam consulatui eius desti-
navit. nec ideo sincerae caritatis fidem adsecutus amoliri
iuvenem specie honoris statuit struxitque causas aut forte
oblatas arripuit. rex Archelaus quinquagensimum annum 2
Cappadocia potiebatur, invisus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi
20 agentem nullo officio coluisset. nec id Archelaus per super- 3
biam omiserat, sed ab intimis Augusti monitus, quia florente
Gaio Caesare missoque ad res Orientis intuta Tiberii amicitia
credebatur. ut versa Caesarum subole imperium adeptus 4
est, elicit Archelaum matris litteris, quae non dissimulatis
25 filii offensionibus clementiam offerebat, si ad precandum ve-
niret. ille ignarus doli vel, si intellegere crederetur, vim 5
metuens in urbem properat; exceptusque immiti a principe et
mox accusatus in senatu, non ob crimina quae fingebantur,
sed angore, simul fessus senio et quia regibus aequa, nedum
30 infima insolita sunt, finem vitae sponte an fato implevit.
regnum in provinciam redactum est, fructibusque eius levari 6
posse centesimae vectigal professus Caesar ducentesimam
in posterum statuit. per idem tempus Antiocho Commageno- 7

rum, Philopatore Cilicum regibus defunctis turbabantur nationes, plerisque Romanum, aliis regium imperium cupientibus; et provinciae Suria atque Iudaea, fessae oneribus, deminutionem tributi orabant.

43. Igitur haec et de Armenia quae supra memoravi apud patres disseruit, nec posse motum Orientem nisi Germanici sapientia conponi: nam suam aetatem vergere, Drusi nondum satis adolevisse. tunc decreto patrum permissae Germanico provinciae quae mari dividuntur, maiusque imperium, quoquo adisset, quam iis qui sorte aut missu principis obtinerent. sed Tiberius demoverat Suria Creticum Silanum, per adfinitatem conexum Germanico, quia Silani filia Neroni vetustissimo liberorum eius pacta erat, praefeceratque Cn. Pisonem, ingenio violentum et obsequii ignarum, insita ferocia a patre Pisone, qui civili bello resurgentes in Africa partes acerrimo ministerio adversus Caesarem iuvit, mox Brutum et Cassium secutus, concesso reditu petitione honorum abstinuit, donec ultro ambiretur delatum ab Augusto consulatum accipere. sed praeter paternos spiritus uxoris quoque Plancinae nobilitate et opibus accendebatur: vix Tiberio concedere, liberos eius ut multum infra despectare. nec dubium habebat se delectum, qui Suriae imponeretur ad spes Germanici coercendas. credidere quidam data et a Tiberio occulta mandata; et Plancinam haud dubie Augusta monuit aemulatione muliebri Agrippinam insectandi. divisa namque et discors aula erat tacitis in Drusum aut Germanicum studiis. Tiberius ut proprium et sui sanguinis Drusum fovebat: Germanico alienatio patrui amorem apud ceteros auxerat, et quia claritudine materni generis anteibat, avum M. Antonium, avunculum Augustum ferens. contra Druso proavus eques Romanus Pomponius Atticus dedecere Claudiorum imagines videbatur: et coniunx Germanici Agrippina fecunditate ac fama Liviam uxorem Drusi praecellebat.

sed fratres egregie concordes et proximorum certaminibus inconcussi.

44. Nec multo post Drusus in Illyricum missus est, ut suesceret militiae studiaque exercitus pararet; simul iuvenem urbano luxu lascivientem melius in castris haberi Tiberius seque tutiorem rebatur utroque filio legiones obtinente. sed Suebi praetendebantur auxilium adversus Cheruscos orantes; nam discessu Romanorum ac vacui externo metu gentis adsuetudine et tum aemulatione gloriae arma in se verterant. vis nationum, virtus ducum in aequo; set Maroboduum regis nomen invisum apud populares, Arminium pro libertate bellantem favor habebat.

45. Igitur non modo Cherusci sociique eorum, vetus Arminii miles, sumpsere bellum, sed e regno etiam Marobodui Suebae gentes, Semnones ac Langobardi, defecere ad eum. quibus additis praepollebat, ni Inguiomerus cum manu clientium ad Maroboduum perfugisset, non aliam ob causam quam quia fratris filio iuveni patruus senex parere dedignabatur. deriguntur acies, pari utrimque spe, nec, ut olim apud Germanos, vagis incursibus aut disiectas per catervas: quippe longa adversum nos militia insueverant sequi signa, subsidiis firmari, dicta imperatorum accipere. ac tunc Arminius equo conlustrans cuncta, ut quosque advectus erat, reciperatam libertatem, trucidatas legiones, spolia adhuc et tela Romanis derepta in manibus multorum ostentabat; contra fugacem Maroboduum appellans, proeliorum expertem, Hercyniae latebris defensum; ac mox per dona et legationes petivisse foedus, proditorem patriae, satellitem Caesaris, haud minus infensis animis exturbandum quam Varum Quintilium interfecerint. meminissent modo tot proeliorum, quorum eventu et ad postremum eiectis Romanis satis probatum, penes utros summa belli fuerit.

46. Neque Maroboduus iactantia sui aut probris in ho-

stem abstinebat, sed Inguiomerum tenens illo in corpore decus omne Cheruscorum, illius consiliis gesta quae prospere ceciderint testabatur: vaecordem Arminium et rerum nescium alienam gloriam in se trahere, quoniam tres vagas legiones et ducem fraudis ignarum perfidia deceperit, magna cum clade Germaniae et ignominia sua, cum coniunx, cum
2 filius eius servitium adhuc tolerent. at se duodecim legionibus petitum duce Tiberio inlibatam Germanorum gloriam servavisse, mox condicionibus aequis discessum; neque paenitere quod ipsorum in manu sit, integrum adversum Roma-
3 nos bellum an pacem incruentam malint. his vocibus instinctos exercitus propriae quoque causae stimulabant, cum a Cheruscis Langobardisque pro antiquo decore aut recenti
4 libertate et contra augendae dominationi certaretur. non alias maiore mole concursum neque ambiguo magis eventu, fusis utrimque dextris cornibus; sperabaturque rursum pugna,
5 ni Maroboduus castra in colles subduxisset. id signum perculsi fuit; et transfugiis paulatim nudatus in Marcomanos concessit misitque legatos ad Tiberium oraturos auxilia.
6 responsum est non iure eum adversus Cheruscos arma Romana invocare, qui pugnantis in eundem hostem Romanos nulla ope iuvisset. missus tamen Drusus, ut rettulimus, paci firmator.

47. Eodem anno duodecim celebres Asiae urbes conlapsae nocturno motu terrae, quo inprovisior graviorque pestis
2 fuit. neque solitum in tali casu effugium subveniebat, in aperta prorumpendi, quia diductis terris hauriebantur. sedisse inmensos montes, visa in arduo quae plana fuerint,
3 effulsisse inter ruinam ignes memorant. asperrima in Sardianos lues plurimum in eosdem misericordiae traxit: nam centiens sestertium pollicitus Caesar, et quantum aerario aut
4 fisco pendebant, in quinquennium remisit. Magnetes a Sipylo proximi damno ac remedio habiti. Temnios, Phila-

delphenos, Aegeatas, Apollonidenses, quique Mosteni aut Macedones Hyrcani vocantur, et Hierocaesariam, Myrinam, Cymen, Tmolum levari idem in tempus tributis mittique ex senatu placuit qui praesentia spectaret refoveretque. delectus est M. Ateius e praetoriis, ne consulari obtinente Asiam aemulatio inter pares et ex eo impedimentum oreretur.

48. Magnificam in publicum largitionem auxit Caesar haud minus grata liberalitate, quod bona Aemiliae Musae, locupletis intestatae, petita in fiscum, Aemilio Lepido, cuius e domo videbatur, et Patulei divitis equitis Romani hereditatem, quamquam ipse heres in parte legeretur, tradidit M. Servilio, quem prioribus neque suspectis tabulis scriptum compererat, nobilitatem utriusque pecunia iuvandam praefatus. neque hereditatem cuiusquam adiit nisi cum amicitia 2 meruisset: ignotos et aliis infensos eoque principem nuncupantes procul arcebat. ceterum ut honestam innocentium 3 paupertatem levavit, ita prodigos et ob flagitia egentes, Vibidium Virronem, Marium Nepotem, Appium Appianum, Cornelium Sullam, Q. Vitellium movit senatu aut sponte cedere passus est.

49. Isdem temporibus deum aedes vetustate aut igni abolitas coeptasque ab Augusto dedicavit, Libero Liberaeque et Cereri iuxta circum maximum, quam A. Postumius dictator voverat, eodemque in loco aedem Florae ab Lucio et Marco Publiciis aedilibus constitutam, et Iano templum, quod apud forum holitorium C. Duilius struxerat, qui primus rem Romanam prospere mari gessit triumphumque navalem de Poenis meruit. Spei aedes a Germanico sacratur: hanc A. Atilius 2 voverat eodem bello.

50. Adolescebat interea lex maiestatis. et Appuleiam Varillam, sororis Augusti neptem, quia probrosis sermonibus divum Augustum ac Tiberium et matrem eius inlusisset Caesarique conexa adulterio teneretur, maiestatis delator

arcessebat. de adulterio satis caveri lege Iulia visum: maiestatis crimen distingui Caesar postulavit damnarique, si qua de Augusto inreligiose dixisset: in se iacta nolle ad cognitionem vocari. interrogatus a consule, quid de iis censeret quae de matre eius locuta secus argueretur, reticuit; dein proximo senatus die illius quoque nomine oravit, ne cui verba in eam quoquo modo habita crimini forent. liberavitque Appuleiam lege maiestatis: adulterii graviorem poenam deprecatus, ut exemplo maiorum propinquis suis ultra ducentesimum lapidem removeretur suasit. adultero Manlio Italia atque Africa interdictum est.

51. De praetore in locum Vipstani Galli, quem mors abstulerat, subrogando certamen incessit. Germanicus atque Drusus (nam etiam tum Romae erant) Haterium Agrippam propinquum Germanici fovebant: contra plerique nitebantur, ut numerus liberorum in candidatis praepolleret, quod lex iubebat. laetabatur Tiberius, cum inter filios eius et leges senatus disceptaret. victa est sine dubio lex, sed neque statim et paucis suffragiis, quo modo etiam, cum valerent, leges vincebantur.

52. Eodem anno coeptum in Africa bellum, duce hostium Tacfarinate. is natione Numida, in castris Romanis auxiliaria stipendia meritus, mox desertor, vagos primum et latrociniis suetos ad praedam et raptus congregare, dein more militiae per vexilla et turmas componere, postremo non inconditae turbae sed Musulamiorum dux haberi. valida ea gens et solitudinibus Africae propinqua, nullo etiam tum urbium cultu, cepit arma Maurosque accolas in bellum traxit: dux et his, Mazippa. divisusque exercitus, ut Tacfarinas lectos viros et Romanum in modum armatos castris attineret, disciplinae et imperiis suesceret, Mazippa levi cum copia incendia et caedes et terrorem circumferret. conpulerantque Cinithios, haud spernendam nationem, in eadem, cum Furius Camillus pro

consule Africae legionem et quod sub signis sociorum in unum conductos ad hostem duxit, modicum manum, si multitudinem Numidarum atque Maurorum spectares: sed nihil aeque cavebatur quam ne bellum metu eluderent: spe victoriae inducti sunt ut vincerentur. igitur legio medio, leves 6
cohortes duaeque alae in cornibus locantur. nec Tacfarinas 7
pugnam detrectavit. fusi Numidae, multosque post annos Furio nomini partum decus militiae. nam post illum recipe- 8
ratorem urbis filiumque eius Camillum penes alias familias imperatoria laus fuerat; atque hic quem memoramus bellorum expers habebatur. eo pronior Tiberius res gestas apud 9
senatum celebravit; et decrevere patres triumphalia insignia, quod Camillo ob modestiam vitae impune fuit.

53. Sequens annus Tiberium tertio, Germanicum iterum consules habuit. sed eum honorem Germanicus iniit apud urbem Achaiae Nicopolim, quo venerat per Illyricam oram, viso fratre Druso in Delmatia agente, Hadriatici ac mox Ionii maris adversam navigationem perpessus. igitur paucos dies 2
insumpsit reficiendae classi: simul sinus Actiaca victoria inclutos et sacratas ab Augusto manubias castraque Antonii cum recordatione maiorum suorum adiit. namque ei, ut me- 3
moravi, avunculus Augustus, avus Antonius erant, magnaque illic imago tristium laetorumque. hinc ventum Athenas, foederique sociae et vetustae urbis datum ut uno lictore uteretur. excepere Graeci quaesitissimis honoribus, vetera 4
suorum facta dictaque praeferentes, quo plus dignationis adulatio haberet.

54. Petita inde Euboea tramisit Lesbum, ubi Agrippina novissimo partu Iuliam edidit. tum extrema Asiae Perin- 2
thumque ac Byzantium, Thraecias urbes, mox Propontidis angustias et os Ponticum intrat, cupidine veteres locos et fama celebratos noscendi: pariterque provincias internis certaminibus aut magistratuum iniuriis fessas refovebat. atque 3

illum in regressu sacra Samothracum visere nitentem obvii aquilones depulere. igitur adito Ilio quaeque ibi varietate fortunae et nostri origine veneranda, relegit Asiam adpellit-
4 que Colophona, ut Clarii Apollinis oraculo uteretur. non femina illic, ut apud Delphos, sed certis e familiis et ferme Mileto accitus sacerdos numerum modo consultantium et nomina audit; tum in specum degressus, hausta fontis arcani aqua, ignarus plerumque litterarum et carminum edit responsa versibus compositis super rebus quas quis mente
5 concepit. et ferebatur Germanico per ambages, ut mos oraculis, maturum exitium cecinisse.

55. At Cn. Piso, quo properantius destinata inciperet, civitatem Atheniensium turbido incessu exterritam oratione saeva increpat, oblique Germanicum perstringens, quod contra decus Romani nominis non Athenienses tot cladibus exstinctos, sed conluviem illam nationum comitate nimia coluisset: hos enim esse Mithridatis adversus Sullam, Antonii
2 adversus divum Augustum socios. etiam vetera obiectabat, quae in Macedones inprospere, violenter in suos fecissent, offensus urbi propria quoque ira, quia Theophilum quendam Areo iudicio falsi damnatum precibus suis non concederent.
3 exim navigatione celeri per Cycladas et compendia maris adsequitur Germanicum apud insulam Rhodum, haud nescium quibus insectationibus petitus foret: sed tanta mansuetudine agebat, ut, cum orta tempestas raperet in abrupta possetque interitus inimici ad casum referri, miserit triremis quarum
4 subsidio discrimini eximeretur. neque tamen mitigatus Piso, et vix diei moram perpessus linquit Germanicum praevenitque. et postquam Suriam ac legiones attigit, largitione, ambitu, infimos manipularium iuvando, cum veteres centuriones, severos tribunos demoveret locaque eorum clientibus suis vel deterrimo cuique attribueret, desidiam in castris, licentiam in urbibus, vagum ac lascivientem per agros militem

sineret, eo usque corruptionis provectus est, ut sermone vulgi parens legionum haberetur. nec Plancina se intra 5
decora feminis tenebat, sed exercitio equitum, decursibus cohortium interesse, in Agrippinam, in Germanicum contumelias
5 iacere, quibusdam etiam bonorum militum ad mala obsequia promptis, quod haud invito imperatore ea fieri occultus rumor incedebat. nota haec Germanico, sed praeverti ad Armenios 6
instantior cura fuit.

56. Ambigua gens ea antiquitus hominum ingeniis et
10 situ terrarum, quoniam nostris provinciis late praetenta penitus ad Medos porrigitur; maximisque imperiis interiecti et saepius discordes sunt, adversus Romanos odio et in Parthum invidia. regem illa tempestate non habebant, amoto 2
Vonone: sed favor nationis inclinabat in Zenonem, Pole-
15 monis regis Pontici filium, quod is prima ab infantia instituta et cultum Armeniorum aemulatus, venatu epulis et quae alia barbari celebrant, proceres plebemque iuxta devinxerat. igi- 3
tur Germanicus in urbe Artaxata, adprobantibus nobilibus, circumfusa multitudine, insigne regium capiti eius imposuit.
20 ceteri venerantes regem Artaxiam consalutavere, quod illi vocabulum indiderant ex nomine urbis. at Cappadoces in 4
formam provinciae redacti Q. Veranium legatum accepere; et quaedam ex regiis tributis deminuta, quo mitius Romanum imperium sperarentur. Commagenis Q. Servaeus praeponitur, 5
25 tum primum ad ius praetoris translatis.

57. Cunctaque socialia prospere composita non ideo laetum Germanicum habebant ob superbiam Pisonis, qui iussus partem legionum ipse aut per filium in Armeniam ducere utrumque neglexerat. Cyrri demum apud hiberna 2
30 decumae legionis convenere, firmato vultu, Piso adversus metum, Germanicus, ne minari crederetur; et erat, ut rettuli, clementior. sed amici accendendis offensionibus callidi in- 3
tendere vera, adgerere falsa ipsumque et Plancinam et filios

4 variis modis criminari. postremo paucis familiarium adhibitis sermo coeptus a Caesare, qualem ira et dissimulatio gignit, responsum a Pisone precibus contumacibus; discesseruntque apertis odiis. post quae rarus in tribunali Caesaris Piso, et si quando adsideret, atrox ac dissentire manifestus. 5 vox quoque eius audita est in convivio, cum apud regem Nabataeorum coronae aureae magno pondere Caesari et Agrippinae, leves Pisoni et ceteris offerrentur, principis Romani, non Parthi regis filio eas epulas dari; abiecitque simul coronam et multa in luxum addidit, quae Germanico quamquam acerba tolerabantur tamen.

58. Inter quae ab rege Parthorum Artabano legati venere. miserat amicitiam ac foedus memoraturos, et cupere renovari dextras, daturumque honori Germanici ut ripam Euphratis accederet: petere interim ne Vonones in Suria haberetur neu proceres gentium propinquis nuntiis ad discordias traheret. 2 ad ea Germanicus de societate Romanorum Parthorumque magnifice, de adventu regis et cultu sui cum decore ac 3 modestia respondit. Vonones Pompeiopolim, Ciliciae maritimam urbem, amotus est. datum id non modo precibus Artabani sed contumeliae Pisonis, cui gratissimus erat ob plurima officia et dona, quibus Plancinam devinxerat.

59. M. Silano L. Norbano consulibus Germanicus Aegy- 2 ptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis. sed cura provinciae praetendebatur, levavitque apertis horreis pretia frugum multaque in vulgus grata usurpavit: sine milite incedere, pedibus intectis et pari cum Graecis amictu, P. Scipionis aemulatione, quem eadem factitavisse apud Siciliam, quamvis 3 flagrante adhuc Poenorum bello, accepimus. Tiberius cultu habituque eius lenibus verbis perstricto, acerrime increpuit quod contra instituta Augusti non sponte principis Alex- 4 andriam introisset. nam Augustus inter alia dominationis arcana, vetitis nisi permissu ingredi senatoribus aut equitibus

Romanis inlustribus, seposuit Aegyptum, ne fame urgueret Italiam, quisquis eam provinciam claustraque terrae ac maris quamvis levi praesidio adversum ingentes exercitus insedisset.

60. Sed Germanicus nondum comperto profectionem eam incusari Nilo subvehebatur, orsus oppido a Canopo. condidere id Spartani ob sepultum illic rectorem navis 2 Canopum, qua tempestate Menelaus Graeciam repetens diversum ad mare terramque Libyam deiectus *est*. inde proximum 3 amnis os dicatum Herculi, quem indigenae ortum apud se et antiquissimum perhibent eosque qui postea pari virtute fuerint in cognomentum eius adscitos; mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia. et manebant structis molibus 4 litterae Aegyptiae, priorem opulentiam complexae; iussusque e senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat habitasse quondam septingenta milia aetate militari, atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamsen Libya Aethiopia Medisque et Persis et Bactriano ac Scytha potitum quasque terras Suri Armeniique et contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bithynum, hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse. legebantur 5 et indicta gentibus tributa, pondus argenti et auri, numerus armorum equorumque et dona templis ebur atque odores, quasque copias frumenti et omnium utensilium quaeque natio penderet, haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana iubentur.

61. Ceterum Germanicus aliis quoque miraculis intendit animum, quorum praecipua fuere Memnonis saxea effigies, ubi radiis solis icta est, vocalem sonum reddens, disiectasque inter et vix pervias arenas instar montium eductae pyramides certamine et opibus regum, lacusque effossa humo, superfluentis Nili receptacula; atque alibi angustiae et profunda altitudo, nullis inquirentium spatiis penetrabilis. exim ventum 2 Elephantinen ac Syenen, claustra olim Romani imperii, quod nunc rubrum ad mare patescit.

62. Dum ea aestas Germanico plures per provincias transigitur, haud leve decus Drusus quaesivit inliciens Germanos ad discordias utque fracto iam Maroboduo usque in
2 exitium insisteretur. erat inter Gotones nobilis iuvenis nomine Catualda, profugus olim vi Marobodui et tunc dubiis
3 rebus eius ultionem ausus. is valida manu fines Marcomanorum ingreditur corruptisque primoribus ad societatem inrum-
4 pit regiam castellumque iuxta situm. veteres illic Sueborum praedae et nostris e provinciis lixae ac negotiatores reperti, quos ius commercii, dein cupido augendi pecuniam, postremum oblivio patriae suis quemque ab sedibus hostilem in agrum transtulerat.

63. Maroboduo undique deserto non aliud subsidium quam misericordia Caesaris fuit. transgressus Danuvium, qua Noricam provinciam praefluit, scripsit Tiberio non ut profugus aut supplex, sed ex memoria prioris fortunae: nam multis nationibus clarissimum quondam regem ad se vocanti-
2 bus Romanam amicitiam praetulisse. responsum a Caesare tutam ei honoratamque sedem in Italia fore, si mancret: sin rebus eius aliud conduceret, abiturum fide qua venisset.
3 ceterum apud senatum disseruit non Philippum Atheniensibus, non Pyrrhum aut Antiochum populo Romano perinde me-
4 tuendos fuisse. extat oratio, qua magnitudinem viri, violentiam subiectarum ei gentium et quam propinquus Italia hostis,
5 suaque in destruendo eo consilia extulit. et Maroboduus quidem Ravennae habitus, si quando insolescerent Suebi, quasi rediturus in regnum ostentabatur: sed non excessit Italia per duodeviginti annos consenuitque multum imminuta
6 claritate ob nimiam vivendi cupidinem. idem Catualdae casus neque aliud perfugium. pulsus haud multo post Hermundurorum opibus et Vibilio duce receptusque, Fo-
7 rum Iulium, Narbonensis Galliae coloniam, mittitur. barbari utrumque comitati ne quietas provincias immixti turbarent,

Danuvium ultra inter flumina Marum et Cusum locantur, dato rege Vannio gentis Quadorum.

64. Simul nuntiato regem Artaxian Armeniis a Germanico datum, decrevere patres ut Germanicus atque Drusus ovantes urbem introirent. structi et arcus circum latera templi Martis Ultoris cum effigie Caesarum, laetiore Tiberio, quia pacem sapientia firmaverat, quam si bellum per acies confecisset. igitur Rhescuporim quoque, Thraeciae regem, astu adgreditur. omnem eam nationem Rhoemetalces tenuerat; quo defuncto Augustus partem Thraecum Rhescuporidi fratri eius, partem filio Cotyi permisit. in ea divisione arva et urbes et vicina Graecis Cotyi, quod incultum, ferox, adnexum hostibus, Rhescuporidi cessit: ipsorumque regum ingenia, illi mite et amoenum, huic atrox, avidum et societatis inpatiens erat. sed primo subdola concordia egere: mox Rhescuporis egredi fines, vertere in se Cotyi data et resistenti vim facere, cunctanter sub Augusto, quem auctorem utriusque regni, si sperneretur, vindicem metuebat. enimvero audita mutatione principis inmittere latronum globos, excindere castella, causas bello.

65. Nihil aeque Tiberium anxium habebat quam ne composita turbarentur. deligit centurionem, qui nuntiaret regibus ne armis disceptarent; statimque a Cotye dimissa sunt quae paraverat auxilia. Rhescuporis ficta modestia postulat eundem in locum coiretur: posse de controversiis conloquio transigi. nec diu dubitatum de tempore, loco, dein condicionibus, cum alter facilitate, alter fraude cuncta inter se concederent acciperentque. Rhescuporis sanciendo, ut dictitabat, foederi convivium adicit, tractaque in multam noctem laetitia per epulas ac vinolentiam incautum Cotyn et, postquam dolum intellexerat, sacra regni, eiusdem familiae deos et hospitalis mensas obtestantem catenis onerat. Thraeciaque omni potitus scripsit ad Tiberium structas sibi insidias,

praeventum insidiatorem; simul bellum adversus Bastarnas Scythasque praetendens novis peditum et equitum copiis
6 sese firmabat. molliter rescriptum, si fraus abesset, posse eum innocentiae fidere; ceterum neque se neque senatum nisi cognita causa ius et iniuriam discreturos: proinde tradito Cotye veniret transferretque invidiam criminis.

66. Eas litteras Latinius Pandusa pro praetore Moesiae cum militibus, quis Cotys traderetur, in Thraeciam misit.
2 Rhescuporis inter metum et iram cunctatus maluit patrati quam incepti facinoris reus esse: occidi Cotyn iubet mortem-
3 que sponte sumptam ementitur. nec tamen Caesar placitas semel artes mutavit, sed defuncto Pandusa, quem sibi infensum Rhescuporis arguebat, Pomponium Flaccum, veterem stipendiis et arta cum rege amicitia eoque accommodatiorem ad fallendum, ob id maxime Moesiae praefecit.

67. Flaccus in Thraeciam transgressus per ingentia promissa quamvis ambiguum et scelera sua reputantem perpu-
2 lit ut praesidia Romana intraret. circumdata hinc regi specie honoris valida manus, tribunique et centuriones monendo, suadendo, et quanto longius abscedebatur, apertiore custodia,
3 postremo gnarum necessitatis in urbem traxere. accusatus in senatu ab uxore Cotyis damnatur, ut procul regno tene-
4 retur. Thraecia in Rhoemetalcen filium, quem paternis consiliis adversatum constabat, inque liberos Cotyis dividitur; iisque nondum adultis Trebellenus Rufus praetura functus datur, qui regnum interim tractaret, exemplo quo maiores M. Lepidum Ptolemaei liberis tutorem in Aegyptum miserant.
5 Rhescuporis Alexandriam devectus atque illic fugam temptans an ficto crimine interficitur.

68. Per idem tempus Vonones, quem amotum in Ciliciam memoravi, corruptis custodibus effugere ad Armenios, inde Albanos Heniochosque et consanguineum sibi regem Scy-
2 tharum conatus est. specie venandi omissis maritimis locis

avia saltuum petiit, mox pernicitate equi ad amnem Pyramum contendit, cuius pontes accolae ruperant audita regis fuga; neque vado penetrari poterat. igitur in ripa fluminis a Vibio 3 Frontone praefecto equitum vincitur, mox Remmius evocatus, priori custodiae regis adpositus, quasi per iram gladio eum transigit. unde maior fides conscientia sceleris et metu 4 indicii mortem Vononi inlatam.

69. At Germanicus Aegypto remeans cuncta, quae apud legiones aut urbes iusserat, abolita vel in contrarium versa cognoscit. hinc graves in Pisonem contumeliae, nec minus 2 acerba quae ab illo in Caesarem intentabantur. dein Piso 3 abire Suria statuit. mox adversa Germanici valetudine detentus, ubi recreatum accepit votaque pro incolumitate solvebantur, admotas hostias, sacrificalem apparatum, festam Antiochensium plebem per lictores proturbat. tum Seleu- 4 ciam degreditur, opperiens aegritudinem, quae rursum Germanico acciderat. saevam vim morbi augebat persuasio 5 veneni a Pisone accepti; et reperiebantur solo ac parietibus erutae humanorum corporum reliquiae, carmina et devotiones et nomen Germanici plumbeis tabulis insculptum, semusti cineres ac tabo obliti aliaque malefica, quis creditur animas numinibus infernis sacrari. simul missi a Pisone incusabantur ut valetudinis adversa rimantes.

70. Ea Germanico haud minus ira quam per metum accepta. si limen obsideretur, si effundendus spiritus sub ocu- 2 lis inimicorum foret, quid deinde miserrimae coniugi, quid infantibus liberis eventurum? lenta videri veneficia: festinare et urguere, ut provinciam, ut legiones solus habeat. sed non 3 usque eo defectum Germanicum, neque praemia caedis apud interfectorem mansura. componit epistulas, quis amicitiam ei renuntiabat: addunt plerique iussum provincia decedere. nec 4 Piso moratus ultra navis solvit, moderabaturque cursui, quo propius regrederetur, si mors Germanici Suriam aperuisset.

71. Caesar paulisper ad spem erectus, dein fesso corpore, ubi finis aderat, adsistentes amicos in hunc modum adlo-
2 quitur: 'si fato concederem, iustus mihi dolor etiam adversus deos esset, quod me parentibus liberis patriae intra iuventam
3 praematuro exitu raperent: nunc scelere Pisonis et Plancinae interceptus ultimas preces pectoribus vestris relinquo: referatis patri ac fratri, quibus acerbitatibus dilaceratus, quibus insidiis circumventus miserrimam vitam pessima morte fini-
4 erim. si quos spes meae, si quos propinquus sanguis, etiam quos invidia erga viventem movebat, inlacrimabunt quondam florentem et tot bellorum superstitem muliebri fraude cecidisse. erit vobis locus querendi apud senatum, invocandi
5 leges. non hoc praecipuum amicorum munus est, prosequi defunctum ignavo questu, sed quae voluerit meminisse, quae
6 mandaverit exsequi. flebunt Germanicum etiam ignoti: vindicabitis vos, si me potius quam fortunam meam fovebatis. ostendite populo Romano divi Augusti neptem eandemque
7 coniugem meam, numerate sex liberos. misericordia cum accusantibus erit, fingentibusque scelesta mandata aut non
8 credent homines aut non ignoscent.' iuravere amici, dextram morientis contingentes, spiritum ante quam ultionem amissuros.

72. Tum ad uxorem versus per memoriam sui, per communes liberos oravit, exueret ferociam, saevienti fortunae submitteret animum, neu regressa in urbem aemulatione
2 potentiae validiores inritaret. haec palam et alia secreto, per quae ostendere credebatur metum ex Tiberio. neque multo post extinguitur, ingenti luctu provinciae et circumiacentium
3 populorum. indoluere exterae nationes regesque: tanta illi comitas in socios, mansuetudo in hostis; visuque et auditu iuxta venerabilis, cum magnitudinem et gravitatem summae fortunae retineret, invidiam et adrogantiam effugerat.

73. Funus sine imaginibus et pompa per laudes ac me-

moriam virtutum eius celebre fuit. et erant qui formam, ae- 2
tatem, genus mortis, ob propinquitatem etiam locorum, in
quibus interiit, magni Alexandri fatis adaequarent. nam 3
utrumque corpore decoro, genere insigni, haud multum tri-
ginta annos egressum, suorum insidiis externas inter gentes
occidisse: sed hunc mitem erga amicos, modicum volup-
tatum, uno matrimonio, certis liberis egisse, neque minus
proeliatorem, etiam si temeritas afuerit praepeditusque sit
perculsas tot victoriis Germanias servitio premere. quod si 4
solus arbiter rerum, si iure et nomine regio fuisset, tanto
promptius adsecuturum gloriam militiae, quantum clementia,
temperantia, ceteris bonis artibus praestitisset. corpus ante- 5
quam cremaretur nudatum in foro Antiochensium, qui locus
sepulturae destinabatur, praetuleritne veneficii signa, parum
constitit; nam ut quis misericordia in Germanicum et prae- 6
sumpta suspicione aut favore in Pisonem pronior, diversi
interpretabantur.

74. Consultatum inde inter legatos quique alii senatorum
aderant, quisnam Suriae praeficeretur. et ceteris modice
nisis, inter Vibium Marsum et Cn. Sentium diu quaesitum:
dein Marsus seniori et acrius tendenti Sentio concessit.
isque infamem veneficiis ea in provincia et Plancinae per- 2
caram, nomine Martinam, in urbem misit, postulantibus
Vitellio ac Veranio ceterisque qui crimina et accusationem
tamquam adversus receptos iam reos instruebant.

75. At Agrippina, quamquam defessa luctu et corpore
aegro, omnium tamen quae ultionem morarentur intolerans,
ascendit classem cum cineribus Germanici et liberis, mise-
rantibus cunctis, quod femina nobilitate princeps, pulcher-
rimo modo matrimonio inter venerantis gratantisque aspici
solita, tunc feralis reliquias sinu ferret, incerta ultionis,
anxia sui et infelici fecunditate fortunae totiens obnoxia.
Pisonem interim apud Coum insulam nuntius adsequitur 2

3 excessisse Germanicum. quo intemperanter accepto caedit victimas, adit templa, neque ipse gaudium moderans et magis insolescente Plancina, quae luctum amissae sororis tum primum laeto cultu mutavit.

76. Adfluebant centuriones monebantque prompta illi legionum studia: repeteret provinciam non iure ablatam et 2 vacuam. igitur quid agendum consultanti M. Piso filius properandum in urbem censebat: nihil adhuc inexpiabile admissum, neque suspiciones inbecillas aut inania famae 3 pertimescenda. discordiam erga Germanicum odio fortasse dignam, non poena; et ademptione provinciae satis factum 4 inimicis. quod si regrederetur, obsistente Sentio civile bellum incipi; nec duraturos in partibus centuriones militesque, apud quos recens imperatoris sui memoria et penitus infixus in Caesares amor praevaleret.

77. Contra Domitius Celer, ex intima eius amicitia, disseruit utendum eventu: Pisonem, non Sentium Suriae praepositum; huic fasces et ius praetoris, huic legiones datas. 2 si quid hostile ingruat, quem iustius arma oppositurum *quam* 3 qui legati auctoritatem et propria mandata acceperit? relinquendum etiam rumoribus tempus quo senescant: plerumque 4 innocentes recenti invidiae inpares. at si teneat exercitum, augeat vires, multa, quae provideri non possint, fortuito in 5 melius casura. 'an festinamus cum Germanici cineribus adpellere, ut te inauditum et indefensum planctus Agrippinae 6 ac vulgus imperitum primo rumore rapiant? est tibi Augustae conscientia, est Caesaris favor, sed in occulto; et perisse Germanicum nulli iactantius maerent quam qui maxime laetantur.'

78. Haud magna mole Piso, promptus ferocibus, in sententiam trahitur missisque ad Tiberium epistulis incusat Germanicum luxus et superbiae; seque pulsum, ut locus rebus novis patefieret, curam exercitus eadem fide qua tenuerit

repetivisse. simul Domitium inpositum triremi vitare litorum oram praeterque insulas lato mari pergere in Suriam iubet. concurrentes desertores per manipulos conponit, armat lixas traiectisque in continentem navibus vexillum tironum in Suriam euntium intercipit, regulis Cilicum ut se auxiliis iuvarent scribit, haud ignavo ad ministeria belli iuvene Pisone, quamquam suscipiendum bellum abnuisset. 2 3

79. Igitur oram Lyciae ac Pamphyliae praelegentes, obviis navibus quae Agrippinam vehebant, utrimque infensi arma primo expediere: dein mutua formidine non ultra iurgium processum est, Marsusque Vibius nuntiavit Pisoni Romam ad dicendam causam veniret. ille eludens respondit adfuturum, ubi praetor, qui de veneficiis quaereret, reo atque accusatoribus diem prodixisset. interim Domitius Laodiciam urbem Suriae adpulsus, cum hiberna sextae legionis peteret, quod eam maxime novis consiliis idoneam rebatur, a Pacuvio legato praevenitur. id Sentius Pisoni per litteras aperit monetque ne castra corruptoribus, ne provinciam bello temptet. quosque Germanici memores aut inimicis eius adversos cognoverat, contrahit, magnitudinem imperatoris identidem ingerens et rem publicam armis peti; ducitque validam manum et proelio paratam. 2 3 4 5

80. Nec Piso, quamquam coepta secus cadebant, omisit tutissima e praesentibus, sed castellum Ciliciae munitum admodum, cui nomen Celenderis, occupat; nam admixtis desertoribus et tirone nuper intercepto suisque et Plancinae servitiis auxilia Cilicum, quae reguli miserant, in numerum legionis composuerat. Caesarisque se legatum testabatur provincia, quam is dedisset, arceri, non a legionibus (earum quippe accitu venire), sed a Sentio privatum odium falsis criminibus tegente. consisterent in acie, non pugnaturis militibus, ubi Pisonem ab ipsis parentem quondam appellatum, si iure ageretur, potiorem, si armis, non invalidum 2 3 4

5 vidissent. tum pro munimentis castelli manipulos explicat,
6 colle arduo et derupto; nam cetera mari cinguntur. contra
veterani ordinibus ac subsidiis instructi: hinc militum, inde
locorum asperitas, sed non animus, non spes, ne tela quidem
7 nisi agrestia aut subitum *in* usum properata. ut venere in
manus, non ultra dubitatum, quam dum Romanae cohortes
in aequum eniterentur: vertunt terga Cilices seque castello
claudunt.

81. Interim Piso classem haud procul opperientem ad-
pugnare frustra temptavit; regressusque et pro muris, modo
semet adflictando, modo singulos nomine ciens, praemiis vo-
cans, seditionem coeptabat, adeoque commoverat, ut signifer
2 legionis sextae signum ad eum transtulerit. tum Sentius
occanere cornua tubasque et peti aggerem, erigi scalas iussit,
ac promptissimum quemque succedere, alios tormentis hastas
3 saxa et faces ingerere. tandem victa pertinacia Piso oravit
ut traditis armis maneret in castello, dum Caesar, cui Suriam
4 permitteret, consulitur. non receptae condiciones, nec aliud
quam naves et tutum in urbem iter concessum est.

82. At Romae, postquam Germanici valetudo percrebruit
cunctaque ut ex longinquo aucta in deterius adferebantur,
2 dolor ira: et erumpebant questus. ideo nimirum in extremas
terras relegatum, ideo Pisoni permissam provinciam; hoc
3 egisse secretos Augustae cum Plancina sermones. vera pror-
sus de Druso seniores locutos: displicere regnantibus civilia
filiorum ingenia, neque ob aliud interceptos, quam quia po-
pulum Romanum aequo iure complecti reddita libertate agi-
4 taverint. hos vulgi sermones audita mors adeo incendit, ut
ante edictum magistratuum, ante senatus consultum sumpto
5 iustitio desererentur fora, clauderentur domus. passim silen-
tia et gemitus, nihil compositum in ostentationem; et quam-
quam neque insignibus lugentium abstinerent, altius animis
6 maerebant. forte negotiatores, vivente adhuc Germanico

Suria egressi, lactiora de valetudine eius attulere. statim 7
credita, statim vulgata sunt: ut quisque obvius, quamvis leviter audita in alios atque illi in plures cumulata gaudio transferunt. cursant per urbem, moliuntur templorum fores; iuvat 8
credulitatem nox et promptior inter tenebras adfirmatio. nec obstitit falsis Tiberius, donec tempore ac spatio vanescerent: et populus quasi rursum ereptum acrius doluit.

83. Honores, ut quis amore in Germanicum aut ingenio validus, reperti decretique: ut nomen eius Saliari carmine 2
caneretur; sedes curules sacerdotum Augustalium locis superque eas querceae coronae statuerentur; ludos circenses eburna effigies praeiret, neve quis flamen aut augur in locum Germanici nisi gentis Iuliae crearetur. arcus additi Romae 3
et apud ripam Rheni et in monte Suriae Amano, cum inscriptione rerum gestarum ac mortem ob rem publicam obisse, sepulchrum Antiochiae, ubi crematus, tribunal Epidaphnae, quo in loco vitam finierat. statuarum locorumve, in quis coleretur, haud facile quis numerum inierit. cum censeretur 4
clipeus auro et magnitudine insignis inter auctores eloquentiae, adseveravit Tiberius solitum paremque ceteris dicaturum: neque enim eloquentiam fortuna discerni, et satis inlustre, si veteres inter scriptores haberetur. equester ordo 5
cuneum Germanici appellavit qui iuniorum dicebatur, instituitque uti turmae idibus Iuliis imaginem eius sequerentur. pleraque manent: quaedam statim omissa sunt aut vetustas oblitteravit.

84. Ceterum recenti adhuc maestitia soror Germanici Livia, nupta Druso, duos virilis sexus simul enixa est. quod 2
rarum laetumque etiam modicis penatibus tanto gaudio principem adfecit, ut non temperaverit quin iactaret apud patres, nulli ante Romanorum eiusdem fastigii viro geminam stirpem editam; nam cuncta, etiam fortuita, ad gloriam vertebat. sed populo tali in tempore id quoque dolorem 3

tulit, tamquam auctus liberis Drusus domum Germanici magis urgueret.

85. Eodem anno gravibus senatus decretis libido feminarum coercita cautumque, ne quaestum corpore faceret cui
2 avus aut pater aut maritus eques Romanus fuisset. nam Vistilia praetoria familia genita licentiam stupri apud aediles vulgaverat, more inter veteres recepto, qui satis poenarum adversum inpudicas in ipsa professione flagitii credebant.
3 exactum et a Titidio Labeone Vistiliae marito, cur in uxore
4 delicti manifesta ultionem legis omisisset. atque illo praetendente sexaginta dies ad consultandum datos necdum praeterisse, satis visum de Vistilia statuere; eaque in insulam
5 Seriphon abdita est. actum et de sacris Aegyptiis Iudaicisque pellendis factumque patrum consultum, ut quattuor milia libertini generis ea superstitione infecta, quis idonea aetas, in insulam Sardiniam veherentur, coercendis illic latrociniis et, si ob gravitatem caeli interissent, vile damnum; ceteri cederent Italia, nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuissent.

86. Post quae rettulit Caesar capiendam virginem in locum Occiae, quae septem et quinquaginta per annos summa sanctimonia Vestalibus sacris praesederat; egitque grates Fonteio Agrippae et Domitio Pollioni, quod offerendo filias de officio
2 in rem publicam certarent. praelata est Pollionis filia, non ob aliud quam quod mater eius in eodem coniugio manebat; nam Agrippa discidio domum imminuerat. et Caesar quamvis posthabitam deciens sestertii dote solatus est.

87. Saevitiam annonae incusante plebe statuit frumento pretium, quod emptor penderet, binosque nummos se addi-
2 turum negotiatoribus in singulos modios. neque tamen ob ea parentis patriae delatum et antea vocabulum adsumsit, acerbeque increpuit eos, qui divinas occupationes ipsumque dominum dixerant. unde angusta et lubrica oratio sub principe, qui libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat.

88. Reperio apud scriptores senatoresque eorundem temporum Adgandestrii principis Chattorum lectas in senatu litteras, quibus mortem Arminii promittebat, si patrandae neci venenum mitteretur; responsumque esse non fraude neque occultis, sed palam et armatum populum Romanum hostes suos ulcisci. qua gloria aequabat se Tiberius priscis imperatoribus, qui venenum in Pyrrhum regem vetuerant prodiderantque. ceterum Arminius abscedentibus Romanis et pulso Maroboduo regnum adfectans libertatem popularium adversam habuit, petitusque armis cum varia fortuna certaret, dolo propinquorum cecidit: liberator haud dubie Germaniae, et qui non primordia populi Romani, sicut alii reges ducesque, sed florentissimum imperium lacessierit, proeliis ambiguus, bello non victus. septem et triginta annos vitae, duodecim potentiae explevit, caniturque adhuc barbaras apud gentes, Graecorum annalibus ignotus, qui sua tantum mirantur, Romanis haud perinde celebris, dum vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi.

LIBER III.

1. Nihil intermissa navigatione hiberni maris Agrippina Corcyram insulam advehitur, litora Calabriae contra sitam. illic paucos dies conponendo animo insumit, violenta luctu
2 et nescia tolerandi. interim adventu eius audito intimus quisque amicorum et plerique militares, ut quique sub Germanico stipendia fecerant, multique etiam ignoti vicinis e municipiis, pars officium in principem rati, plures illos secuti, ruere ad oppidum Brundisium, quod naviganti celerrimum fidissimum-
3 que adpulsu erat. atque ubi primum ex alto visa classis, complentur non modo portus et proxima maris, sed moenia ac tecta, quaque longissime prospectari poterat, maerentium turba et rogitantium inter se, silentione an voce aliqua egre-
4 dientem exciperent. neque satis constabat quid pro tempore foret, cum classis paulatim successit, non alacri, ut adsolet,
5 remigio, sed cunctis ad tristitiam compositis. postquam duobus cum liberis, feralem urnam tenens, egressa navi defixit oculos, idem omnium gemitus; neque discerneres proximos alienos, virorum feminarumve planctus, nisi quod comitatum Agrippinae longo maerore fessum obvii et recentes in dolore anteibant.

2. Miserat duas praetorias cohortes Caesar, addito ut magistratus Calabriae Apulique et Campani suprema erga
2 memoriam filii sui munia fungerentur. igitur tribunorum centurionumque umeris cineres portabantur; praecedebant incompta signa, versi fasces; atque ubi colonias transgrede-
3 rentur, atrata plebes, trabeati equites pro opibus loci vestem odores aliaque funerum sollemnia cremabant. etiam quorum diversa oppida, tamen obvii et victimas atque aras dis manibus statuentes lacrimis et conclamationibus dolorem testabantur.

Drusus Tarracinam progressus est cum Claudio fratre liberis- 4
que Germanici, qui in urbe fuerant. consules M. Valerius 5
et M. Aurelius (iam enim magistratum occeperant) et senatus
ac magna pars populi viam conplevere, disiecti et ut cuique
libitum flentes; aberat quippe adulatio, gnaris omnibus laetam
Tiberio Germanici mortem male dissimulari.

3. Tiberius atque Augusta publico abstinuere, inferius
maiestate sua rati, si palam lamentarentur, an ne omnium
oculis vultum eorum scrutantibus falsi intellegerentur. matrem 2
Antoniam non apud auctores rerum, non diurna actorum
scriptura reperio ullo insigni officio functam, cum super Agrip-
pinam et Drusum et Claudium ceteri quoque consanguinei
nominatim perscripti sint, seu valetudine praepediebatur, seu
victus luctu animus magnitudinem mali perferre visu non
toleravit. facilius crediderim Tiberio et Augusta, qui domo 3
non excedebant, cohibitam, ut par maeror et matris exemplo
avia quoque et patruus attineri viderentur.

4. Dies, quo reliquiae tumulo Augusti inferebantur, modo
per silentium vastus, modo ploratibus inquies; plena urbis
itinera, conlucentes per campum Martis faces. illic miles 2
cum armis, sine insignibus magistratus, populus per tribus
concidisse rem publicam, nihil spei reliquum clamitabant,
promptius apertiusque quam ut meminisse imperitantium
crederes. nihil tamen Tiberium magis penetravit quam 3
studia hominum accensa in Agrippinam, cum decus patriae,
solum Augusti sanguinem, unicum antiquitatis specimen ap-
pellarent versique ad caelum ac deos integram illi subolem
ac superstitem iniquorum precarentur.

5. Fuere qui publici funeris pompam requirerent com-
pararentque quae in Drusum patrem Germanici honora et
magnifica Augustus fecisset. ipsum quippe asperrimo hiemis 2
Ticinum usque progressum neque abscedentem a corpore
simul urbem intravisse; circumfusas lecto Claudiorum Iulio-

rumque imagines; defletum in foro, laudatum pro rostris, cuncta a maioribus reperta aut quae posteri invenerint cumu-
3 lata: at Germanico ne solitos quidem et cuicumque nobili
4 debitos honores contigisse. sane corpus ob longinquitatem itinerum externis terris quoquo modo crematum: sed tanto
plura decora mox tribui par fuisse, quanto prima fors nega-
5 visset. non fratrem, nisi unius diei via, non patruum saltem
6 porta tenus obvium. ubi illa veterum instituta, propositam toro effigiem, meditata ad memoriam virtutis carmina et laudationes, et lacrimas vel doloris imitamenta?

6. Gnarum id Tiberio fuit; utque premeret vulgi sermones, monuit edicto multos inlustrium Romanorum ob rem publicam obisse, neminem tam flagranti desiderio celebratum.
2 idque et sibi et cunctis egregium, si modus adiceretur. non enim eadem decora principibus viris et imperatori populo,
3 quae modicis domibus aut civitatibus. convenisse recenti dolori luctum et ex maerore solacia; sed referendum iam animum ad firmitudinem, ut quondam divus Iulius amissa unica filia, ut divus Augustus ereptis nepotibus abstruserint
4 tristitiam. nil opus vetustioribus exemplis, quotiens populus Romanus clades exercituum, interitum ducum, funditus amissas
5 nobiles familias constanter tulerit. principes mortales, rem publicam aeternam esse. proin repeterent sollemnia, et quia ludorum Megalesium spectaculum suberat, etiam voluptates resumerent.

7. Tum exuto iustitio reditum ad munia, et Drusos Illyricos ad exercitus profectus est, erectis omnium animis *spe* petendae e Pisone ultionis et crebro questu, quod vagus interim per amoena Asiae atque Achaiae adroganti et subdola
2 mora scelerum probationes subverteret. nam vulgatum erat missam, ut dixi, a Cn. Sentio famosam veneficiis Martinam subita morte Brundisii extinctam, venenumque nodo crinium eius occultatum, nec ulla in corpore signa sumpti exitii reperta.

8. At Piso praemisso in urbem filio datisque mandatis per quae principem molliret ad Drusum pergit, quem haud fratris interitu trucem quam remoto aemulo aequiorem sibi sperabat. Tiberius quo integrum iudicium ostentaret, ex- 2
ceptum comiter iuvenem sueta erga filios familiarum nobiles liberalitate auget. Drusus Pisoni, si vera forent quae iace- 3
rentur, praecipuum in dolore suum locum respondit: sed malle falsa et inania nec cuiquam mortem Germanici exitiosam esse. haec palam et vitato omni secreto; neque dubi- 4
tabantur praescripta ei a Tiberio, cum incallidus alioqui et facilis iuventa senilibus tum artibus uteretur.

9. Piso Delmatico mari tramisso relictisque apud Anconam navibus per Picenum ac mox Flaminiam viam adsequitur legionem, quae e Pannonia in urbem, dein praesidio Africae ducebatur: eaque res agitata rumoribus, ut in agmine atque itinere crebro se militibus ostentavisset. ab Narnia, vitandae 2
suspicionis an quia pavidis consilia in incerto sunt, Nare ac mox Tiberi devectus auxit vulgi iras, quia navem tumulo Caesarum adpulerat dieque et ripa frequenti, magno clien- tium agmine ipse, feminarum comitatu Plancina et vultu alacres incessere. fuit inter inritamenta invidiae domus foro 3
inminens festa ornatu conviviumque et epulae et celebritate loci nihil occultum.

10. Postera die Fulcinius Trio Pisonem apud consules postulavit. contra Vitellius ac Veranius ceterique Germani- 2
cum comitati tendebant, nullas esse partis Trioni; neque se accusatores, sed rerum indices et testes mandata Germanici perlaturos. ille dimissa eius causae delatione, ut priorem 3
vitam accusaret obtinuit, petitumque est a principe cognitionem exciperet. quod ne reus quidem abnuebat, studia populi 4
et patrum metuens: contra Tiberium spernendis rumoribus validum et conscientiae matris innexum esse; veraque aut in deterius credita iudice ab uno facilius discerni, odium et

5 invidiam apud multos valere. haud fallebat Tiberium moles
6 cognitionis quaque ipse fama distraheretur. igitur paucis familiarium adhibitis minas accusantium et hinc preces audit integramque causam ad senatum remittit.

11. Atque interim Drusus rediens Illyrico, quamquam patres censuissent ob receptum Maroboduum et res priore aestate gestas ut ovans iniret, prolato honore urbem intravit.
2 post quae reo L. Arruntium, P. Vinicium, Asinium Gallum, Aeserninum Marcellum, Sex. Pompeium patronos petenti iisque diversa excusantibus M'. Lepidus et L. Piso et Livineius Regulus adfuere, adrecta omni civitate, quanta fides amicis Germanici, quae fiducia reo; satin cohiberet ac premeret
3 sensus suos Tiberius. haud alias intentior populus plus sibi in principem occultae vocis aut suspicacis silentii permisit.

12. Die senatus Caesar orationem habuit meditato tem-
2 peramento. patris sui legatum atque amicum Pisonem fuisse adiutoremque Germanico datum a se auctore senatu rebus
3 apud Orientem administrandis. illic contumacia et certaminibus asperasset iuvenem exituque eius laetatus esset, an sce-
4 lere extinxisset, integris animis diiudicandum. 'nam si legatus officii terminos, obsequium erga imperatorem exuit eiusdemque morte et luctu meo laetatus est, odero seponamque a domo mea et privatas inimicitias non vi principis ulciscar:
5 sin facinus in cuiuscumque mortalium nece vindicandum detegitur, vos vero et liberos Germanici et nos parentes iustis
6 solaciis adficite. simulque illud reputate, turbide et seditiose tractaverit exercitus Piso, quaesita sint per ambitionem studia militum, armis repetita provincia, an falsa haec in maius vulgaverint accusatores, quorum ego nimiis studiis iure suscen-
7 seo. nam quo pertinuit nudare corpus et contrectandum vulgi oculis permittere differrique etiam per externos tamquam veneno interceptus esset, si incerta adhuc ista et scrutanda

sunt? defleo equidem filium meum semperque deflebo: sed 8
neque reum prohibeo quo minus cuncta proferat, quibus innocentia eius sublevari aut, si qua fuit iniquitas Germanici, coargui possit, vosque oro ne, quia dolori meo causa conexa est, obiecta crimina pro adprobatis accipiatis. si quos 9
propinquus sanguis aut fides sua patronos dedit, quantum quisque eloquentia et cura valet, iuvate periclitantem: ad eundem laborem, eandem constantiam accusatores hortor. id solum Germanico super leges praestiterimus, quod in curia 10
potius quam in foro, apud senatum quam apud iudices de morte eius anquiritur: cetera pari modestia tractentur. nemo 11
Drusi lacrimas, nemo maestitiam meam spectet, nec si qua in nos adversa finguntur.'

13. Exim biduum criminibus obiciendis statuitur utque sex dierum spatio interiecto reus per triduum defenderetur. tum Fulcinius vetera et inania orditur, ambitiose avareque 2
habitam Hispaniam; quod neque convictum noxae reo, si recentia purgaret, neque defensum absolutioni erat, si teneretur maioribus flagitiis. post quem Servaeus et Veranius et 3
Vitellius consimili studio, et multa eloquentia Vitellius, obiecere odio Germanici et rerum novarum studio Pisonem vulgus militum per licentiam et sociorum iniurias eo usque conrupisse, ut parens legionum a deterrimis appellaretur; contra in optimum quemque, maxime in comites et amicos Germanici saevisse; postremo ipsum devotionibus et veneno peremisse; sacra hinc et immolationes nefandas ipsius atque Plancinae, petitam armis rem publicam, utque reus agi posset, acie victum.

14. Defensio in ceteris trepidavit; nam neque ambitionem militarem neque provinciam pessimo cuique obnoxiam, ne contumelias quidem adversum imperatorem infitiari poterat: solum veneni crimen visus est diluisse, quod ne accusatores 2
quidem satis firmabant, in convivio Germanici, cum super

eum Piso discumberet, infectos manibus eius cibos argu-
3 entes. quippe absurdum videbatur inter aliena servitia et
tot adstantium visu, ipso Germanico coram, id ausum; offere-
4 batque familiam reus et ministros in tormenta flagitabat. sed
iudices per diversa inplacabiles erant, Caesar ob bellum pro- 5
vinciae inlatum, senatus numquam satis credito sine fraude
Germanicum interisse. ** scripsissent expostulantes, quod
5 haud minus Tiberius quam Piso abnuere. simul populi ante
curiam voces audiebantur: non temperaturos manibus, si
6 patrum sententias evasisset. effigiesque Pisonis traxerant in 10
Gemonias ac divellebant, ni iussu principis protectae repo-
7 sitaeque forent. igitur inditus lecticae et a tribuno praetoriae
cohortis deductus est, vario rumore, custos saluti an mortis
exactor sequeretur.

15. Eadem Plancinae invidia, maior gratia; eoque ambi- 15
2 guum habebatur quantum Caesari in eam liceret. atque
ipsa, donec mediae Pisoni spes, sociam se cuiuscumque for-
3 tunae et, si ita ferret, comitem exitii promittebat: ut secretis
Augustae precibus veniam obtinuit, paulatim segregari a ma-
4 rito, dividere defensionem coepit. quod reus postquam sibi 20
exitiabile intellegit, an adhuc experiretur dubitans, hortan-
tibus filiis durat mentem senatumque rursum ingreditur; red-
integratamque accusationem, infensas patrum voces, adversa
et saeva cuncta perpessus, nullo magis exterritus est quam
quod Tiberium sine miseratione, sine ira, obstinatum clau- 25
5 sumque vidit, ne quo adfectu perrumperetur. relatus domum,
tamquam defensionem in posterum meditaretur, pauca con-
scribit obsignatque et liberto tradit; tum solita curando cor-
6 pori exsequitur. dein multam post noctem, egressa cubiculo
uxore, operiri fores iussit; et coepta luce perfosso iugulo, 30
iacente humi gladio, repertus est.

16. Audire me memini ex senioribus visum saepius inter
manus Pisonis libellum, quem ipse non vulgaverit; sed ami-

cos eius dictitavisse, litteras Tiberii et mandata in Germanicum contineri, ac destinatum promere apud patres principemque arguere, ni elusus a Seiano per vana promissa foret; nec illum sponte extinctum, verum inmisso percussore. quo- 2
rum neutrum adseveraverim: neque tamen occulere debui narratum ab iis qui nostram ad iuventam duraverunt. Caesar 3
flexo in maestitiam ore suam invidiam tali morte quaesitam apud senatum *conquestus M. Pisonem vocari iubet* crebrisque interrogationibus exquirit, qualem Piso diem supremum nocte exegisset. atque illo pleraque sapienter, quaedam 4
inconsultius respondente, recitat codicillos a Pisone in hunc ferme modum compositos: 'conspiratione inimicorum et in- 5
vidia falsi criminis oppressus, quatenus veritati et innocentiae meae nusquam locus est, deos inmortales testor vixisse me, Caesar, cum fide adversum te, neque alia in matrem tuam pietate; vosque oro liberis meis consulatis, ex quibus Cn. Piso qualicumque fortunae meae non est adiunctus. cum omne hoc tempus in urbe egerit, M. Piso repetere Suriam dehortatus est. atque utinam ego potius filio iuveni quam 6
ille patri seni cessisset. eo inpensius precor ne meae pravitatis poenas innoxius luat. per quinque et quadraginta an- 7
norum obsequium, per collegium consulatus, quondam divo Augusto parenti tuo probatus et tibi amicus nec quicquam post haec rogaturus salutem infelicis filii rogo.' de Plancina nihil addidit.

17. Post quae Tiberius adulescentem crimine civilis belli purgavit (patris quippe iussa, nec potuisse filium detrectare), simul nobilitatem domus, etiam ipsius quoquo modo meriti gravem casum miseratus. pro Plancina cum pudore et fla- 2
gitio disseruit, matris preces obtendens, in quam optimi cuiusque secreti questus magis ardescebant. id ergo fas aviae, 3
interfectricem nepotis adspicere, adloqui, eripere senatui. quod pro omnibus civibus leges obtineant, uni Germanico

4 non contigisse. Vitellii et Veranii voce defletum Caesarem, ab
5 imperatore et Augusta defensam Plancinam. proinde venena
et artes tam feliciter expertas verteret in Agrippinam, in li-
beros eius, egregiamque aviam ac patruum sanguine miser-
6 rimae domus exsatiaret. biduum super hac imagine cogni- 5
tionis absumptum, urguente Tiberio liberos Pisonis matrem
7 uti tuerentur. et cum accusatores ac testes certatim perora-
rent respondente nullo, miseratio quam invidia augebatur.
8 primus sententiam rogatus Aurelius Cotta consul (nam refe-
rente Caesare magistratus eo etiam munere fungebantur) 10
nomen Pisonis eradendum fastis censuit, partem bonorum
publicandam, pars ut Cn. Pisoni filio concederetur isque
praenomen mutaret; M. Piso exuta dignitate et accepto
quinquagiens sestertio in decem annos relegaretur, concessa
Plancinae incolumitate ob preces Augustae. 15

18. Multa ex ea sententia mitigata sunt a principe: ne
nomen Pisonis fastis eximeretur, quando M. Antonii, qui
bellum patriae fecisset, Iulli Antonii, qui domum Augusti
2 violasset, manerent. et M. Pisonem ignominiae exemit con-
cessitque ei paterna bona, satis firmus, ut saepe memoravi, 20
adversum pecuniam et tum pudore absolutae Plancinae placa-
3 bilior. atque idem, cum Valerius Messalinus signum aureum
in aede Martis Ultoris, Caecina Severus aram ultionis statu-
endam censuissent, prohibuit, ob externas ea victorias sacrari
4 dictitans, domestica mala tristitia operienda. addiderat Mes- 25
salinus Tiberio et Augustae et Antoniae et Agrippinae
Drusoque ob vindictam Germanici grates agendas omi-
5 seratque Claudii mentionem. et Messalinum quidem L.
Asprenas senatu coram percontatus est an prudens practer-
6 isset; ac tum demum nomen Claudii adscriptum est. mihi, 30
quanto plura recentium seu veterum revolvo, tanto magis
ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obversantur.
7 quippe fama spe veneratione potius omnes destinabantur

imperio quam quem futurum principem fortuna in occulto tenebat.

19. Paucis post diebus Caesar auctor senatui fuit Vitellio atque Veranio et Servaeo sacerdotia tribuendi: Fulcinio suffragium ad honores pollicitus monuit, ne facundiam violentia praecipitaret. is finis fuit ulciscenda Germanici morte, non 2 modo apud illos homines qui tum agebant, etiam secutis temporibus vario rumore iactata. adeo maxima quaeque am- 3 bigua sunt, dum alii quoquo modo audita pro conpertis habent, alii vera in contrarium vertunt, et gliscit utrumque posteritate. at Drusus urbe egressus repetendis auspiciis, 4 mox ovans introiit. paucosque post dies Vipsania mater eius excessit, una omnium Agrippae liberorum miti obitu. nam 5 ceteros manifestum ferro vel creditum est veneno aut fame extinctos.

20. Eodem anno Tacfarinas, quem priore aestate pulsum a Camillo memoravi, bellum in Africa renovat, vagis primum populationibus et ob pernicitatem inultis, dein vicos excindere, trahere graves praedas; postremo haud procul Pagyda flumine cohortem Romanam circumsedit. praeerat castello 2 Decrius impiger manu, exercitus militia et illam obsidionem flagitii ratus. is cohortatus milites ut copiam pugnae in aperto facerent, aciem pro castris instruit. primoque impetu pulsa 3 cohorte promptus inter tela occursat fugientibus, increpat signiferos, quod inconditis aut desertoribus miles Romanus terga daret; simul exceptat vulnera et quamquam transfosso oculo adversum os in hostem intendit, neque proelium omisit, donec desertus suis caderet.

21. Quae postquam L. Apronio (nam Camillo successerat) comperta, magis dedecore suorum quam gloria hostis anxius, raro ea tempestate et e vetere memoria facinore decumum quemque ignominiosae cohortis sorte ductos fusti necat. tantumque severitate profectum, ut vexillum veteranorum, 2

non amplius quam quingenti numero, easdem Tacfarinatis
3 copias praesidium cui Thala nomen adgressas fuderint. quo
proelio Rufus Helvius gregarius miles servati civis decus
4 rettulit donatusque est ab Apronio torquibus et hasta. Caesar
addidit civicam coronam, quod non eam quoque Apronius
5 iure proconsulis tribuisset, questus magis quam offensus. sed
Tacfarinas perculsis Numidis et obsidia aspernantibus spargit
6 bellum, ubi instaretur, cedens ac rursum in terga remeans. et
dum ea ratio barbaro fuit, inritum fessumque Romanum
impune ludificabatur: postquam deflexit ad maritimos locos
et inligatus praeda stativis castris adhaerebat, missu patris
Apronius Caesianus cum equite et cohortibus auxiliariis, quis
velocissimos legionum addiderat, prosperam adversum Numi-
das pugnam facit pellitque in deserta.

22. At Romae Lepida, cui super Aemiliorum decus L.
Sulla et Cn. Pompeius proavi erant, defertur simulavisse
2 partum ex P. Quirinio divite atque orbo. adiciebantur adul-
teria, venena, quaesitumque per Chaldaeos in domum Cae-
3 saris, defendente ream Manio Lepido fratre. Quirinius post
dictum repudium adhuc infensus quamvis infami ac nocenti
miserationem addiderat. haud facile quis dispexerit illa in
cognitione mentem principis: adeo vertit ac miscuit irae et
4 clementiae signa. deprecatus primo senatum, ne maiestatis
crimina tractarentur, mox M. Servilium e consularibus alios-
que testes inlexit ad proferenda quae velut reicere voluerat.
5 idemque servos Lepidae, cum militari custodia haberentur,
transtulit ad consules neque per tormenta interrogari passus
6 est de iis quae ad domum suam pertinerent. exemit etiam
Drusum consulem designatum dicendae primo loco sententiae:
quod alii civile rebantur, ne ceteris adsentiendi necessitas
fieret, quidam ad saevitiam trahebant: neque enim cessurum
nisi damnandi officio.

23. Lepida ludorum diebus, qui cognitionem intervenerant,

theatrum cum claris feminis ingressa, lamentatione flebili maiores suos ciens ipsumque Pompeium, cuius ea monimenta et adstantes imagines visebantur, tantum misericordiae permovit, ut effusi in lacrimas saeva et detestanda Quirinio clamitarent, cuius senectae atque orbitati et obscurissimae domui destinata quondam uxor L. Caesari ac divo Augusto nurus dederetur. dein tormentis servorum patefacta sunt flagitia 2 itumque in sententiam Rubelli Blandi, a quo aqua atque igni arcebatur. huic Drusus adsensit, quamquam alii mitius cen- 3 suissent. mox Scauro, qui filiam ex ea genuerat, datum ne bona publicarentur. tum demum aperuit Tiberius conpertum 4 sibi etiam ex P. Quirinii servis veneno eum a Lepida petitum.

24. Inlustrium domuum adversa (etenim haud multum distanti tempore Calpurnii Pisonem, Aemilii Lepidam amiserant) solacio adfecit D. Silanus Iuniae familiae redditus. ca- 2 sum eius paucis repetam. ut valida divo Augusto in rem publicam fortuna, ita domi inprospera fuit ob inpudicitiam filiae ac neptis, quas urbe depulit adulterosque earum morte aut fuga punivit. nam culpam inter viros ac feminas vulgatam 3 gravi nomine laesarum religionum ac violatae maiestatis appellando clementiam maiorum suasque ipse leges egrediebatur. sed aliorum exitus, simul cetera illius aetatis memo- 4 rabo, si effectis in quae tetendi plures ad curas vitam produxero. D. Silanus in nepti Augusti adulter, quamquam non 5 ultra foret saevitum quam ut amicitia Caesaris prohiberetur, exilium sibi demonstrari intellexit, nec nisi Tiberio imperitante deprecari senatum ac principem ausus est M. Silani fratris potentia, qui per insignem nobilitatem et eloquentiam praecellebat. sed Tiberius gratis agenti Silano patribus coram 6 respondit se quoque laetari, quod frater eius e peregrinatione longinqua revertisset; idque iure licitum, quia non senatus consulto, non lege pulsus foret: sibi tamen adversus eum 7 integras parentis sui offensiones, neque reditu Silani dissoluta

quae Augustus voluisset. fuit posthac in urbe neque honores adeptus est.

25. Relatum dein de moderanda Papia Poppaea, quam senior Augustus post Iulias rogationes incitandis caelibum
2 poenis et augendo aerario sanxerat. nec ideo coniugia et educationes liberum frequentabantur, praevalida orbitate: ceterum multitudo periclitantium gliscebat, cum omnis domus delatorum interpretationibus subverteretur, utque antehac
3 flagitiis, ita tunc legibus laborabatur. ea res admonet ut de principiis iuris, et quibus modis ad hanc multitudinem infinitam ac varietatem legum perventum sit, altius disseram.

26. Vetustissimi mortalium, nulla adhuc mala libidine, sine probro, scelere, eoque sine poena aut coercitionibus agebant.
2 neque praemiis opus erat, cum honesta suopte ingenio peterentur; et ubi nihil contra morem cuperent, nihil per metum
3 vetabantur. at postquam exui aequalitas et pro modestia ac pudore ambitio et vis incedebat, provenere dominationes multosque apud populos aeternum mansere. quidam statim,
4 aut postquam regum pertaesum, leges maluerunt. hae primo rudibus hominum animis simplices erant; maximeque fama celebravit Cretensium, quas Minos, Spartanorum, quas Lycurgus, ac mox Atheniensibus quaesitiores iam et plures Solo
5 perscripsit. nobis Romulus, ut libitum, imperitaverat: dein Numa religionibus et divino iure populum devinxit, reperta-
6 que quaedam a Tullo et Anco. sed praecipuus Servius Tullius sanctor legum fuit, quis etiam reges obtemperarent.

27. Pulso Tarquinio adversum patrum factiones multa populus paravit tuendae libertatis et firmandae concordiae; creatique decemviri et accitis quae usquam egregia compo-
2 sitae duodecim tabulae, finis aequi iuris. nam secutae leges etsi aliquando in maleficos ex delicto, saepius tamen dissensione ordinum et apiscendi inlicitos honores aut pellendi
3 claros viros aliaque ob prava per vim latae sunt. hinc

Gracchi et Saturnini turbatores plebis, nec minor largitor nomine senatus Drusus; corrupti spe aut inlusi per intercessionem socii. ac ne bello quidem Italico, mox civili 4 omissum quin multa et diversa sciscerentur, donec L. Sulla dictator abolitis vel conversis prioribus, cum plura addidisset, otium eius rei haud in longum paravit, statim turbidis Lepidi rogationibus, neque multo post tribunis reddita licentia quoquo vellent populum agitandi. iamque non modo in com- 5 mune, sed in singulos homines latae quaestiones, et corruptissima re publica plurimae leges.

28. Tum Cn. Pompeius tertium consul corrigendis moribus delectus, set gravior remediis quam delicta erant suarumque legum auctor idem ac subversor, quae armis tuebatur, armis amisit. exim continua per viginti annos discordia, non 2 mos, non ius; deterrima quaeque inpune ac multa honesta exitio fuere. sexto demum consulatu Caesar Augustus, po- 3 tentiae securus, quae triumviratu iusserat abolevit deditque iura, quis pace et principe uteremur. acriora ex eo vincla, 4 inditi custodes et lege Papia Poppaea praemiis inducti, ut, si a privilegiis parentum cessaretur, velut parens omnium populus vacantia teneret. sed altius penetrabant urbemque et 5 Italiam et quod usquam civium corripuerant, multorumque excisi status. et terror omnibus intentabatur, ni Tiberius 6 statuendo remedio quinque consularium, quinque e praetoriis, totidem e cetero senatu sorte duxisset, apud quos exsoluti plerique legis nexus modicum in praesens levamentum fuere.

29. Per idem tempus Neronem e liberis Germanici, iam ingressum iuventam, commendavit patribus, utque munere capessendi vigintiviratus solveretur et quinquennio maturius quam per leges quaesturam peteret, non sine inrisu audientium postulavit. praetendebat sibi atque fratri decreta eadem 2 petente Augusto. sed neque tum fuisse dubitaverim, qui

eius modi preces occulti inluderent: ac tamen initia fastigii Caesaribus erant magisque in oculis vetus mos, et privignis cum vitrico levior necessitudo quam avo adversum nepotem. 3 additur pontificatus et quo primum die forum ingressus est congiarium plebi admodum laetae, quod Germanici 4 stirpem iam puberem aspiciebat. auctum dehinc gaudium 5 nuptiis Neronis et Iuliae Drusi filiae. utque haec secundo rumore, ita adversis animis acceptum, quod filio Claudii 6 socer Seianus destinaretur. polluisse nobilitatem familiae videbatur suspectumque iam nimiae spei Seianum ultra extulisse.

30. Fine anni concessere vita insignes viri L. Volusius 2 et Sallustius Crispus. Volusio vetus familia neque tamen praeturam egressa: ipse consulatum intulit, censoria etiam potestate legendis equitum decuriis functus, opumque, quis 3 domus illa inmensum viguit, primus adcumulator. Crispum equestri ortum loco C. Sallustius, rerum Romanarum floren- 4 tissimus auctor, sororis nepotem in nomen adscivit. atque ille, quamquam prompto ad capessendos honores aditu, Maecenatem aemulatus sine dignitate senatoria multos trium- phalium consulariumque potentia anteiit, diversus a veterum instituto per cultum et munditias copiaque et affluentia luxu 5 propior. suberat tamen vigor animi ingentibus negotiis par, 6 eo acrior, quo somnum et inertiam magis ostentabat. igitur incolumi Maecenate proximus, mox praecipuus cui secreta imperatorum inniterentur et interficiendi Postumi Agrippae conscius, aetate provecta speciem magis in amicitia prin- 7 cipis quam vim tenuit. idque et Maecenati acciderat, fato potentiae raro sempiternae, an satias capit aut illos, cum omnia tribuerunt, aut hos, cum iam nihil reliquum est quod cupiant.

31. Sequitur Tiberi quartus, Drusi secundus consulatus, patris atque filii collegio insignis. nam triennio ante Ger-

manici cum Tiberio idem honor neque patruo laetus neque natura tam conexus fuerat. eius anni principio Tiberius 2 quasi firmandae valetudini in Campaniam concessit, longam et continuam absentiam paulatim meditans, sive ut amoto patre Drusus munia consulatus solus impleret. ac forte parva 3 res magnum ad certamen progressa praebuit iuveni materiem apiscendi favoris. Domitius Corbulo praetura functus de L. 4 Sulla nobili iuvene questus est apud senatum, quod sibi inter spectacula gladiatorum loco non decessisset. pro Corbu- 5 lone aetas, patrius mos, studia seniorum erant: contra Mamercus Scaurus et L. Arruntius aliique Sullae propinqui nitebantur. certabantque orationibus et memorabantur ex- 6 empla maiorum, qui iuventutis inreverentiam gravibus decretis notavissent, donec Drusus apta temperandis animis disseruit; et satisfactum Corbuloni per Mamercum, qui patruus simul ac vitricus Sullae et oratorum *ea* aetate uberrimus erat. idem Corbulo plurima per Italiam itinera fraude mancipum 7 et incuria magistratuum interrupta et inpervia clamitando, exsecutionem eius negotii libens suscepit; quod haud perinde publice usui habitum quam exitiosum multis, quorum in pecuniam atque famam damnationibus et hasta saeviebat.

32. Neque multo post missis ad senatum litteris Tiberius motam rursum Africam incursu Tacfarinatis docuit, iudicioque patrum deligendum pro consule gnarum militiae, corpore validum et bello suffecturum. quod initium Sex. Pompeius 2 agitandi adversus Marcum Lepidum odii nanctus, ut socordem, inopem et maioribus suis dedecorum eoque etiam Asiae sorte depellendum incusavit, adverso senatu, qui Lepidum mitem magis quam ignavum, paternas ei angustias et nobilitatem sine probro actam honori quam ignominiae habendam ducebat. igitur missus in Asiam, et de Africa decretum ut 3 Caesar legeret cui mandanda foret.

33. Inter quae Severus Caecina censuit ne quem magi-

stratum, cui provincia obvenisset, uxor comitaretur, multum ante repetito concordem sibi coniugem et sex partus enixam, seque quae in publicum statueret domi servavisse, cohibita intra Italiam, quamquam ipse pluris per provincias quadra-
2 ginta stipendia explevisset. haud enim frustra placitum olim ne feminae in socios aut gentes externas traherentur: inesse mulierum comitatui quae pacem luxu, bellum formidine morentur et Romanum agmen ad similitudinem barbari
3 incessus convertant. non inbecillum tantum et inparem laboribus sexum, sed si licentia adsit, saevum, ambitiosum, potestatis avidum; incedere inter milites, habere ad manum centuriones; praesedisse nuper feminam exercitio cohortium,
4 decursu legionum. cogitarent ipsi, quotiens repetundarum aliqui arguerentur, plura uxoribus obiectari; his statim adhaerescere deterrimum quemque provincialium, ab his negotia suscipi, transigi; duorum egressus coli, duo esse praetoria, pervicacibus magis et inpotentibus mulierum iussis, quae Oppiis quondam aliisque legibus constrictae, nunc vinclis exsolutis domos, fora, iam et exercitus regerent.

34. Paucorum haec adsensu audita: plures obturbabant, neque relatum de negotio neque Caecinam dignum tantae rei
2 censorem. mox Valerius Messalinus, cui parens Messalla ineratque imago paternae facundiae, respondit multa duritiae veterum *in* melius et laetius mutata; neque enim, ut olim,
3 obsideri urbem bellis aut provincias hostilis esse. et pauca feminarum necessitatibus concedi, quae ne coniugum quidem penates, adeo socios non onerent; cetera promisca cum
4 marito, nec ullum in eo pacis impedimentum. bella plane accinctis obeunda: sed revertentibus post laborem quod honestius quam uxorium levamentum? at quasdam in ambi-
5 tionem aut avaritiam prolapsas. quid? ipsorum magistratuum nonne plerosque variis libidinibus obnoxios? non tamen ideo
6 neminem in provinciam mitti. corruptos saepe pravitatibus

uxorum maritos: num ergo omnis caelibes integros? placuisse quondam Oppias leges, sic temporibus rei publicae postulantibus: remissum aliquid postea et mitigatum, quia expedierit. frustra nostram ignaviam alia ad vocabula transferri: 7 nam viri in eo culpam, si femina modum excedat. porro ob 8 unius aut alterius inbecillum animum male eripi maritis consortia rerum secundarum adversarumque. simul sexum natura 9 invalidum deseri et exponi suo luxu, cupidinibus alienis. vix 10 praesenti custodia manere inlaesa coniugia: quid fore, si per plures annos in modum discidii oblitterentur? sic obviam irent iis quae alibi peccarentur, ut flagitiorum urbis meminissent. addidit pauca Drusus de matrimonio suo; nam princi- 11 pibus adeunda saepius longinqua imperii. quotiens divum 12 Augustum in Occidentem atque Orientem meavisse comite Livia! se quoque in Illyricum profectum et, si ita conducat, 13 alias ad gentes iturum, haud semper aequo animo, si ab uxore carissima et tot communium liberorum parente divelleretur. sic Caecinae sententia elusa est.

35. Proximo senatus die Tiberius per litteras, castigatis oblique patribus quod cuncta curarum ad principem reicerent, M'. Lepidum et Iunium Blaesum nominavit, ex quis pro consule Africae legeretur. tum audita amborum verba, in- 2 tentius excusante se Lepido, cum valetudinem corporis, aetatem liberum, nubilem filiam obtenderet, intellegereturque etiam quod silebat, avunculum esse Seiani Blaesum atque eo praevalidum. respondit Blaesus specie recusantis, sed neque eadem 3 adseveratione, et consensu adulantium haud adiutus est.

36. Exim promptum quod multorum intimis questibus tegebatur. incedebat enim deterrimo cuique licentia impune probra et invidiam in bonos excitandi arrepta imagine Caesaris; libertique etiam ac servi patrono vel domino, cum voces, cum manus intentarent, ultro metuebantur. igitur C. 2 Cestius senator disseruit principes quidem instar deorum

esse, sed neque a dis nisi iustas supplicum preces audiri, neque quemquam in Capitolium aliave urbis templa perfu-
3 gere, ut eo subsidio ad flagitia utatur. abolitas leges et funditus versas, ubi in foro, in limine curiae ab Annia Rufilla, quam fraudis sub iudice damnavisset, probra sibi et minae intendantur, neque ipse audeat ius experiri ob effigiem im-
4 peratoris oppositam. haud dissimilia alii et quidam atrociora circumstrepebant, precabanturque Drusum daret ultionis exemplum, donec accitam convictamque attineri publica custodia iussit.

37. Et Considius Aequus et Caelius Cursor equites Romani, quod fictis maiestatis criminibus Magium Caecilianum practorem petivissent, auctore principe ac decreto senatus
2 puniti. utrumque in laudem Drusi trahebatur: ab eo in urbe, inter coetus et sermones hominum obversante, secreta patris
3 mitigari. neque luxus in iuvene adeo displicebat: huc potius intenderet, diem aedificationibus, noctem conviviis traheret, quam solus et nullis voluptatibus avocatus maestam vigilantiam et malas curas exerceret.

38. Non enim Tiberius, non accusatores fatiscebant. et Ancharius Priscus Caesium Cordum pro consule Cretae postulaverat repetundis, addito maiestatis crimine, quod tum
2 omnium accusationum complementum erat. Caesar Antistium Veterem e primoribus Macedoniae, absolutum adulterii, increpitis iudicibus ad dicendam maiestatis causam retraxit, ut turbidum et Rhescuporidis consiliis permixtum, qua tempestate
3 Cotye [fratre] interfecto bellum adversus nos volverat. igitur aqua et igni interdictum reo, adpositumque ut teneretur insula
4 neque Macedoniae neque Thraeciae opportuna. nam Thraecia diviso imperio in Rhoemetalcen et liberos Cotyis, quis ob in-
fantiam tutor erat Trebellenus Rufus, insolentia nostri discors agebat neque minus Rhoemetalcen quam Trebellenum in-
5 cusans popularium iniurias inultas sinere. Coelaletae Odrusae-

que et Dii, validae nationes, arma cepere, ducibus diversis et paribus inter se per ignobilitatem; quae causa fuit ne in bellum atrox coalescerent. pars turbant praesentia, alii montem Haemum transgrediuntur, ut remotos populos concirent; plurimi ac maxime compositi regem urbemque Philippopolim, a Macedone Philippo sitam, circumsidunt. 6

39. Quae ubi cognita P. Vellaeo (is proximum exercitum praesidebat), alarios equites ac levis cohortium mittit in eos qui praedabundi aut adsumendis auxiliis vagabantur, ipse robur peditum ad exsolvendum obsidium ducit. simulque 2 cuncta prospere acta, caesis populatoribus et dissensione orta apud obsidentes regisque opportuna eruptione et adventu legionis. neque aciem aut proelium dici decuerit, in 3 quo semermi ac palantes trucidati sunt sine nostro sanguine.

40. Eodem anno Galliarum civitates ob magnitudinem aeris alieni rebellionem coeptavere, cuius exstimulator acerrimus inter Treveros Iulius Florus, apud Aeduos Iulius Sacrovir. nobilitas ambobus et maiorum bona facta, eoque 2 Romana civitas olim data, cum id rarum nec nisi virtuti pretium esset. ii secretis conloquiis, ferocissimo quoque 3 adsumpto aut quibus ob egestatem ac metum ex flagitiis maxima peccandi necessitudo, componunt Florus Belgas, Sacrovir propiores Gallos concire. igitur per conciliabula 4 et coetus seditiosa disserebant de continuatione tributorum, gravitate faenoris, saevitia ac superbia praesidentium; et discordare militem audito Germanici exitio. egregium resu- 5 mendae libertati tempus, si ipsi florentes, quam inops Italia, quam inbellis urbana plebes, nihil validum in exercitibus nisi quod externum, cogitarent.

41. Haud ferme ulla civitas intacta seminibus eius motus fuit: sed erupere primi Andecavi ac Turoni. quorum Ande- 2 cavos Acilius Aviola legatus, excita cohorte quae Lugduni praesidium agitabat, coercuit. Turoni legionario milite, quem 3

Visellius Varro inferioris Germaniae legatus miserat, oppressi eodem Aviola duce et quibusdam Galliarum primoribus, qui tulere auxilium, quo dissimularent defectionem magisque in
4 tempore efferrent. spectatus et Sacrovir intecto capite pugnam pro Romanis ciens, ostentandae, ut ferebat, virtutis: sed captivi, ne incesseretur telis, adgnoscendum se praebuisse arguebant. consultus super eo Tiberius aspernatus est indicium aluitque dubitatione bellum.

42. Interim Florus insistere destinatis, pellicere alam equitum, quae conscripta e Treveris militia disciplinaque nostra habebatur, ut caesis negotiatoribus Romanis bellum inciperet;
2 paucique equitum corrupti, plures in officio mansere. aliud vulgus obaeratorum aut clientium arma cepit; petebantque saltus quibus nomen Arduenna, cum legiones utroque ab exercitu, quas Visellius et C. Silius adversis itineribus obiece-
3 rant, arcuerunt. praemissusque cum delecta manu Iulius Indus e civitate eadem, discors Floro et ob id navandae operae avidior, inconditam multitudinem adhuc disiecit.
4 Florus incertis latebris victores frustratus, postremo visis militibus qui effugia insederant, sua manu cecidit. isque Treverici tumultus finis.

43. Apud Aeduos maior moles exorta, quanto civitas opulentior et comprimendi procul praesidium. Augustodunum caput gentis armatis cohortibus Sacrovir occupaverat, *ut* nobilissimam Galliarum subolem liberalibus studiis ibi oper-
2 atam, et eo pignore parentes propinquosque eorum adiungeret; simul arma occulte fabricata iuventuti dispertit. quadraginta milia fuere, quinta sui parte legionariis armis, ceteri cum venabulis et cultris quaeque alia venantibus tela sunt.
3 adduntur e servitiis gladiaturae destinati, quibus more gentico continuum ferri tegimen: cruppellarios vocant, inferendis
4 ictibus inhabiles, accipiendis inpenetrabiles. augebantur eae copiae vicinarum civitatum ut nondum aperta consensione,

ita viritim promptis studiis, et certamine ducum Romanorum, quos inter ambigebatur utroque bellum sibi poscente. mox Varro invalidus senecta vigenti Silio concessit.

44. At Romae non Treveros modo et Aeduos, sed quattuor et sexaginta Galliarum civitates descivisse, adsumptos in societatem Germanos, dubias Hispanias, cuncta, ut mos famae, in maius credita. optumus quisque rei publicae cura 2 maerebat: multi odio praesentium et cupidine mutationis suis quoque periculis laetabantur, increpabantque Tiberium, quod in tanto rerum motu libellis accusatorum insumeret operam. an Sacrovirum maiestatis crimine reum in senatu fore? 3 extitisse tandem viros qui cruentas epistulas armis cohiberent. miseram pacem vel bello bene mutari. tanto inpensius 4 in securitatem conpositus, neque loco neque vultu mutato, sed ut solitum per illos dies egit, altitudine animi, an conpererat modica esse et vulgatis leviora.

45. Interim Silius cum legionibus duabus incedens, praemissa auxiliari manu vastat Sequanorum pagos, qui finium extremi et Aeduis contermini sociique in armis erant. mox 2 Augustodunum petit propero agmine, certantibus inter se signiferis, fremente etiam gregario milite, ne suetam requiem, ne spatia noctium opperiretur: viderent modo adversos et aspicerentur; id satis ad victoriam. duodecimum apud lapi- 3 dem Sacrovir copiaeque patentibus locis apparuere. in fronte statuerat ferratos, in cornibus cohortes, a tergo semermos. ipse inter primores equo insigni adire, memorare veteres 4 Gallorum glorias quaeque Romanis adversa intulissent; quam decora victoribus libertas, quanto intolerantior servitus iterum victis.

46. Non diu haec nec apud laetos: etenim propinquabat legionum acies, inconditique ac militiae nescii oppidani neque oculis neque auribus satis conpetebant. contra Silius, etsi 2 praesumpta spes hortandi causas exemerat, clamitabat tamen,

pudendum ipsis quod Germaniarum victores adversum Gallos
3 tamquam in hostem ducerentur. 'una nuper cohors rebellem
Turonum, una ala Treverum, paucae huius ipsius exercitus
4 turmae profligavere Sequanos. quanto pecunia dites et
voluptatibus opulentos, tanto magis inbelles Aeduos evin-
5 cite et fugientibus consulite.' ingens ad ea clamor, et cir-
cumfudit eques frontemque pedites invasere; nec cunctatum
6 apud latera. paulum morae attulere ferrati restantibus lam-
minis adversum pila et gladios; set miles correptis securibus
et dolabris, ut si murum perrumperet, caedere tegmina et
corpora; quidam trudibus aut furcis inertem molem proster-
nere, iacentesque nullo ad resurgendum nisu quasi exanimes
7 linquebantur. Sacrovir primo Augustodunum, dein metu de-
ditionis in villam propinquam cum fidissimis pergit. illic sua
manu, reliqui mutuis ictibus occidere: incensa super villa
omnes cremavit.

47. Tum demum Tiberius ortum patratumque bellum se-
natu scripsit; neque dempsit aut addidit vero, sed fide ac
2 virtute legatos, se consiliis superfuisse. simul causas, cur
non ipse, non Drusus profecti ad id bellum forent, adiunxit,
magnitudinem imperii extollens, neque decorum principibus,
si una alterave civitas turbet * * omissa urbe, unde in omnia
3 regimen. nunc quia non metu ducatur, iturum, ut prae-
sentia spectaret componeretque. decrevere patres vota pro
4 reditu eius supplicationesque et alia decora. solus Dolabella
Cornelius, dum anteire ceteros parat, absurdam in adulatio-
nem progressus, censuit ut ovans e Campania urbem introiret.
5 igitur secutae Caesaris litterae, quibus se non tam vacuum
gloria praedicabat, ut post ferocissimas gentes perdomitas,
tot receptos in iuventa aut spretos triumphos, iam senior pe-
regrinationis suburbanae inane praemium peteret.

48. Sub idem tempus, ut mors Sulpicii Quirini publicis
2 exsequiis frequentaretur, petivit a senatu. nihil ad veterem

et patriciam Sulpiciorum familiam Quirinius pertinuit, ortus apud municipium Lanuvium: sed impiger militiae et acribus ministeriis consulatum sub divo Augusto, mox expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium castellis insignia triumphi adeptus, datusque rector Gaio Caesari Armeniam optinenti. Tiberium 3 quoque Rhodi agentem coluerat: quod tunc patefecit in senatu, laudatis in se officiis et incusato M. Lollio, quem auctorem Gaio Caesari pravitatis et discordiarum arguebat. 4 sed ceteris haud laeta memoria Quirini erat ob intenta, ut memoravi, Lepidae pericula sordidamque et praepotentem senectam.

49. Fine anni Clutorium Priscum equitem Romanum, post celebre carmen, quo Germanici suprema defleverat, pecunia donatum a Caesare, corripuit delator, obiectans aegro Druso composuisse quod, si extinctus foret, maiore praemio vulgaretur. id Clutorius in domo P. Petronii, socru eius Vitellia 2 coram multisque inlustribus feminis, per vaniloquentiam legerat. ut delator extitit, ceteris ad dicendum testimonium 3 exterritis, sola Vitellia nihil se audivisse adseveravit. sed 4 arguentibus ad perniciem plus fidei fuit, sententiaque Haterii Agrippae consulis designati indictum reo ultimum supplicium.

50. Contra M'. Lepidus in hunc modum exorsus est: 'si, patres conscripti, unum id spectamus, quam nefaria voce Clutorius Priscus mentem suam et aures hominum polluerit, neque carcer neque laqueus, ne serviles quidem cruciatus in eum suffecerint. sin flagitia et facinora sine modo sunt, 2 suppliciis ac remediis principis moderatio maiorumque et vestra exempla temperant, et vana a scelestis, dicta a maleficiis differunt, est locus sententiae, per quam neque huic delictum impune sit et nos clementiae simul ac severitatis non paeniteat. saepe audivi principem nostrum conquerentem, 3 si quis sumpta morte misericordiam eius praevenisset. vita 4

Clutorii in integro est, qui neque servatus in periculum rei publicae neque interfectus in exemplum ibit. studia illi, ut plena vaecordiae, ita inania et fluxa sunt; nec quicquam grave ac serium ex eo metuas, qui suorum ipse flagitiorum proditor non virorum animis sed muliercularum adrepit. cedat tamen urbe et bonis amissis aqua et igni arceatur: quod perinde censeo ac si lege maiestatis teneretur.'

51. Solus Lepido Rubellius Blandus e consularibus adsensit: ceteri sententiam Agrippae secuti, ductusque in carcerem Priscus ac statim exanimatus. id Tiberius solitis sibi ambagibus apud senatum incusavit, cum extolleret pietatem quamvis modicas principis iniurias acriter ulciscentium, deprecaretur tam praecipitis verborum poenas; laudaret Lepidum, neque Agrippam argueret. igitur factum senatus consultum, ne decreta patrum ante diem *decimum* ad aerarium deferrentur idque vitae spatium damnatis prorogaretur. sed non senatui libertas ad paenitendum erat, neque Tiberius interiectu temporis mitigabatur.

52. C. Sulpicius D. Haterius consules sequuntur, inturbidus externis rebus annus, domi suspecta severitate adversum luxum, qui inmensum proruperat ad cuncta quis pecunia prodigitur. sed alia sumptuum, quamvis graviora, dissimulatis plerumque pretiis occultabantur; ventris et ganeae paratus adsiduis sermonibus vulgati fecerant curam, ne princeps antiquae parsimoniae durius adverteret. nam incipiente C. Bibulo ceteri quoque aediles disseruerant, sperni sumptuarium legem vetitaque utensilium pretia augeri in dies, nec mediocribus remediis sisti posse. et consulti patres integrum id negotium ad principem distulerant. sed Tiberius saepe apud se pensitato, an coerceri tam profusae cupidines possent, num coercitio plus damni in rem publicam ferret, quam indecorum adtrectare quod non obtineret vel retentum ignominiam et infamiam virorum inlustrium posceret,

postremo litteras ad senatum composuit, quarum sententia in hunc modum fuit.

53. 'Ceteris forsitan in rebus, patres conscripti, magis expediat me coram interrogari et dicere quid e re publica censeam: in hac relatione subtrahi oculos meos melius fuit, ne denotantibus vobis ora ac metum singulorum, qui pudendi luxus arguerentur, ipse etiam viderem eos ac velut deprenderem. quod si mecum ante viri strenui, aediles, consilium habuissent, nescio an suasurus fuerim omittere potius praevalida et adulta vitia quam hoc adsequi, ut palam fieret quibus flagitiis impares essemus. sed illi quidem officio functi sunt, ut ceteros quoque magistratus sua munia implere velim: mihi autem neque honestum silere neque proloqui expeditum, quia non aedilis aut praetoris aut consulis partis sustineo. maius aliquid et excelsius a principe postulatur: et cum recte factorum sibi quisque gratiam trahant, unius invidia ab omnibus peccatur. quid enim primum prohibere et prīscum ad morem recidere adgrediar? villarumne infinita spatia? familiarum numerum et nationes? argenti et auri pondus? aeris tabularumque miracula? promiscas viris et feminis vestes atque illa feminarum propria, quis lapidum causa pecuniae nostrae ad externas aut hostilis gentes transferuntur?

54. Nec ignoro in conviviis et circulis incusari ista et modum posci: set si quis legem sanciat, poenas indicat, īdem illi civitatem verti, splendidissimo cuique exitium parari, neminem criminis expertem clamitabunt. atqui ne corporis quidem morbos veteres et diu auctos nisi per dura et aspera coerceas: corruptus simul et corruptor, aeger et flagrans animus haud levioribus remediis restinguendus est quam libidinibus ardescit. tot a maioribus repertae leges, tot quas divus Augustus tulit, illae oblivione, hae, quod flagitiosius est, contemptu abolitae securiorem luxum fecere. nam si velis

quod nondum vetitum est, timeas ne vetere: at si prohibita impune transcenderis, neque metus ultra neque pudor est.
5 cur ergo olim parsimonia pollebat? quia sibi quisque moderabatur, quia unius urbis cives eramus; ne inritamenta quidem eadem intra Italiam dominantibus. externis victoriis
6 aliena, civilibus etiam nostra consumere didicimus. quantulum istud est de quo aediles admonent! quam, si cetera respicias, in levi habendum! at hercule nemo refert, quod Italia externae opis indiget, quod vita populi Romani per
7 incerta maris et tempestatum cotidie volvitur. ac nisi provinciarum copiae et dominis et servitiis et agris subvenerint,
8 nostra nos scilicet nemora nostraeque villae tuebuntur. hanc, patres conscripti, curam sustinet princeps; haec omissa fun-
9 ditus rem publicam trahet. reliquis intra animum medendum est: nos pudor, pauperes necessitas, divites satias in melius
10 mutet. aut si quis ex magistratibus tantam industriam ac severitatem pollicetur, ut ire obviam queat, hunc ego et laudo
11 et exonerari laborum meorum partem fateor: sin accusare vitia volunt, dein, cum gloriam eius rei adepti sunt, simultates faciunt ac mihi relinquunt, credite, patres conscripti, me quoque non esse offensionum avidum; quas cum graves et plerumque iniquas pro re publica suscipiam, inanes et inritas neque mihi aut vobis usui futuras iure deprecor.'

55. Auditis Caesaris litteris remissa aedilibus talis cura; luxusque mensae, a fine Actiaci belli ad ea arma, quis Ser-
2 vius Galba rerum adeptus est, per annos centum profusis sumptibus exerciti paulatim exolevere. causas eius mutatio-
3 nis quaerere libet. dites olim familiae nobilium aut claritudine insignes studio magnificentiae prolabebantur. nam etiam tum plebem socios regna colere et coli licitum; ut quisque opibus domo paratu speciosus, per nomen et clientelas inlustrior habebatur. postquam caedibus saevitum et magni-
4 tudo famae exitio erat, ceteri ad sapientiora convertere. simul

novi homines e municipiis et coloniis atque etiam provinciis in senatum crebro adsumpti domesticam parsimoniam intulerunt, et quamquam fortuna vel industria plerique pecuniosam ad senectam pervenirent, mansit tamen prior animus. sed 5
praecipuus adstricti moris auctor Vespasianus fuit, antiquo ipse cultu victuque. obsequium inde in principem et aemulandi amor validior quam poena ex legibus et metus. nisi 6
forte rebus cunctis inest quidam velut orbis, ut quem ad modum temporum vices, ita morum vertantur; nec omnia apud priores meliora, sed nostra quoque aetas multa laudis et artium imitanda posteris tulit. verum haec nobis *in* maiores certamina ex honesto maneant.

56. Tiberius fama moderationis parta, quod ingruentis accusatores represserat, mittit litteras ad senatum, quis potestatem tribuniciam Druso petebat. id summi fastigii vocabulum 2
Augustus repperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen adsumeret ac tamen appellatione aliqua cetera imperia praemineret. Marcum deinde Agrippam socium eius potestatis, quo de- 3
functo Tiberium Neronem delegit, ne successor in incerto foret. sic cohiberi pravas aliorum spes rebatur; simul 4
modestiae Neronis et suae magnitudini fidebat. quo tunc 5
exemplo Tiberius Drusum summae rei admovit, cum incolumi Germanico integrum inter duos iudicium tenuisset. sed prin- 6
cipio litterarum veneratus deos, ut consilia sua rei publicae prosperarent, modica de moribus adulescentis neque in falsum aucta rettulit. esse illi coniugem et tres liberos eamque 7
aetatem, qua ipse quondam a divo Augusto ad capessendum hoc munus vocatus sit. neque nunc propere, sed per octo 8
annos capto experimento, compressis seditionibus, compositis bellis, triumphalem et bis consulem noti laboris participem sumi.

57. Praeceperant animis orationem patres, quo quaesitior adulatio fuit. nec tamen repertum nisi ut effigies principum, 2

aras deum, templa et arcus aliaque solita censerent, nisi quod M. Silanus ex contumelia consulatus honorem principibus petivit dixitque pro sententia, ut publicis privatisve monimentis ad memoriam temporum non consulum nomina praescribe-
3 rentur, sed eorum qui tribuniciam potestatem gererent. at Q. Haterius cum eius diei senatus consulta aureis litteris figenda in curia censuisset, deridiculo fuit senex foedissimae adulationis tantum infamia usurus.

58. Inter quae provincia Africa Iunio Blaeso prorogata, Servius Maluginensis flamen Dialis ut Asiam sorte haberet postulavit, frustra vulgatum dictitans non licere Dialibus egredi Italia, neque aliud ius suum quam Martialium Quirinaliumque flaminum: porro, si hi duxissent provincias, cur Dialibus id vetitum? nulla de eo populi scita, non in libris
2 caerimoniarum reperiri. saepe pontifices Dialia sacra fecisse, si flamen valetudine aut munere publico impediretur. quinque et septuaginta annis post Cornelii Merulae caedem neminem
3 suffectum, neque tamen cessavisse religiones. quod si per tot annos possit non creari nullo sacrorum damno, quanto
4 facilius afuturum ad unius anni proconsulare imperium? privatis olim simultatibus effectum, ut a pontificibus maximis ire in provincias prohiberentur: nunc deum munere summum pontificum etiam summum hominum esse, non aemulationi, non odio aut privatis adfectionibus obnoxium.

59. Adversus quae cum augur Lentulus aliique varie dissererent, eo decursum est ut pontificis maximi sententiam
2 opperirentur. Tiberius dilata notione de iure flaminis, decretas ob tribuniciam Drusi potestatem caerimonias temperavit, nominatim arguens insolentiam sententiae aureasque litteras
3 contra patrium morem. recitatae et Drusi epistulae quamquam ad modestiam flexae pro superbissimis accipiuntur. huc decidisse cuncta, ut ne iuvenis quidem tanto honore accepto adiret urbis deos, ingrederetur senatum, auspicia

saltem gentile apud solum inciperet. bellum scilicet aut diverso 4
terrarum distineri, litora et lacus Campaniae cum maxime
peragrantem. sic imbui rectorem generis humani, id primum 5
e paternis consiliis discere. sane gravaretur aspectum civium 6
senex imperator fessamque aetatem et actos labores prae-
tenderet: Druso quod nisi ex adrogantia impedimentum?

60. Sed Tiberius, vim principatus sibi firmans, imagi-
nem antiquitatis senatui praebebat, postulata provinciarum
ad disquisitionem patrum mittendo. crebrescebat enim Grae- 2
cas per urbes licentia atque impunitas asyla statuendi; con-
plebantur templa pessimis servitiorum; eodem subsidio ob-
aerati adversum creditores suspectique capitalium criminum
receptabantur. nec ullum satis validum imperium erat coer- 3
cendis seditionibus populi, flagitia hominum ut caerimonias
deum protegentis. igitur placitum ut mitterent civitates iura 4
atque legatos. et quaedam quod falso usurpaverant sponte 5
omisere; multae vetustis superstitionibus aut meritis in po-
pulum Romanum fidebant. magnaque eius diei species fuit, 6
quo senatus maiorum beneficia, sociorum pacta, regum etiam
qui ante vim Romanam valuerant decreta ipsorumque numi-
num religiones introspexit, libero, ut quondam, quid firmaret
mutaretve.

61. Primi omnium Ephesii adiere, memorantes non, ut
vulgus crederet, Dianam atque Apollinem Delo genitos: esse
apud se Cenchreum amnem, lucum Ortygiam, ubi Latonam
partu gravidam et oleae, quae tum etiam maneat, adnisam
edidisse ea numina, deorumque monitu sacratum nemus.
atque ipsum illic Apollinem post interfectos Cyclopas Iovis 2
iram vitavisse. mox Liberum patrem, bello victorem, suppli-
cibus Amazonum, quae aram insederant, ignovisse. auctam 3
hinc concessu Herculis, cum Lydia poteretur, caerimoniam
templo, neque Persarum dicione deminutum ius; post Mace-
donas, dein nos servavisse.

62. Proximi hos Magnetes L. Scipionis et L. Sullae constitutis nitebantur, quorum ille Antiocho, hic Mithridate pulsis fidem atque virtutem Magnetum decoravere, uti Dianae
2 Leucophrynae perfugium inviolabile foret. Aphrodisienses posthac et Stratonicenses dictatoris Caesaris ob vetusta in partis merita et recens divi Augusti decretum adtulere, laudati quod Parthorum inruptionem nihil mutata in populum
3 Romanum constantia pertulissent. sed Aphrodisiensium civitas Veneris, Stratonicensium Iovis et Triviae religionem
4 tuebantur. altius Hierocaesarienses exposuere, Persicam apud se Dianam, delubrum rege Cyro dicatum; et memorabantur Perpennae, Isaurici multaque alia imperatorum nomina, qui non modo templo sed duobus milibus passuum
5 eandem sanctitatem tribuerant. exim Cyprii tribus *de* delubris, quorum vetustissimum Paphiae Veneri auctor Aërias, post filius eius Amathus Veneri Amathusiae et Iovi Salaminio Teucer, Telamonis patris ira profugus, posuissent.

2 63. Auditae aliarum quoque civitatium legationes. quorum copia fessi patres, et quia studiis certabatur, consulibus permisere, ut perspecto iure, et si qua iniquitas involvere-
3 tur, rem integram rursum ad senatum referrent. consules super eas civitates, quas memoravi, apud Pergamum Aesculapii conpertum asylum rettulerunt: ceteros obscuris ob
4 vetustatem initiis niti. nam Zmyrnaeos oraculum Apollinis, cuius imperio Stratonicidi Veneri templum dicaverint, Tenios eiusdem carmen referre, quo sacrare Neptuni effigiem aedem-
5 que iussi sint. propiora Sardianos: Alexandri victoris id donum. neque minus Milesios Dareo rege niti; set cultus numinum
6 utrisque Dianam aut Apollinem venerandi. petere et Cre-
7 tenses simulacro divi Augusti. factaque senatus consulta, quis multo cum honore modus tamen praescribebatur, iussique ipsis in templis figere aera sacrandam ad memoriam, neu specie religionis in ambitionem delaberentur.

64. Sub idem tempus Iuliae Augustae valetudo atrox necessitudinem principi fecit festinati in urbem reditus, sincera adhuc inter matrem filiumque concordia sive occultis odiis. neque enim multo ante, cum haud procul theatro 2
5 Marcelli effigiem divo Augusto Iulia dicaret, Tiberi nomen suo postscripserat, idque ille credebatur ut inferius maiestate principis gravi et dissimulata offensione abdidisse. set tum 3 supplicia dis ludique magni ab senatu decernuntur, quos pontifices et augures et quindecimviri septemviris simul et
10 sodalibus Augustalibus ederent. censuerat L. Apronius ut 4 fetiales quoque iis ludis praesiderent. contra dixit Caesar, distincto sacerdotiorum iure et repetitis exemplis : neque enim umquam fetialibus hoc maiestatis fuisse. ideo Augustales 5 adiectos, quia proprium eius domus sacerdotium esset, pro
15 qua vota persolverentur.

65. Exsequi sententias haud institui nisi insignes per honestum aut notabili dedecore, quod praecipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit. ceterum tempora 2
20 illa adeo infecta et adulatione sordida fuere, ut non modo primores civitatis, quibus claritudo sua obsequiis protegenda erat, sed omnes consulares, magna pars eorum qui praetura functi, multique etiam pedarii senatores certatim exsurgerent foedaque et nimia censerent. memoriae proditur Tiberium, 3
25 quotiens curia egrederetur, Graecis verbis in hunc modum eloqui solitum 'o homines ad servitutem paratos!' scilicet 4 etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam proiectae servientium patientiae taedebat.

66. Paulatim dehinc ab indecoris ad infesta transgredie-
30 bantur. C. Silanum pro consule Asiae, repetundarum a 2 sociis postulatum, Mamercus Scaurus e consularibus, Iunius Otho praetor, Bruttedius Niger aedilis simul corripiunt obiectantque violatum Augusti numen, spretam Tiberii maiestatem,

Mamercus antiqua exempla iaciens, L. Cottam a Scipione Africano, Servium Galbam a Catone censorio, P. Rutilium a
3 M. Scauro accusatos. videlicet Scipio et Cato talia ulciscebantur, aut ille Scaurus, quem proavum suum obprobrium
4 maiorum Mamercus infami opera dehonestabat. Iunio Othoni litterarium ludum exercere vetus ars fuit: mox Seiani potentia senator obscura initia impudentibus ausis propolluebat.
5 Bruttedium artibus honestis copiosum et, si rectum iter pergeret, ad clarissima quaeque iturum festinatio exstimulabat, dum aequalis, dein superiores, postremo suasmet ipse spes
6 antire parat: quod multos etiam bonos pessum dedit, qui spretis quae tarda cum securitate, praematura vel cum exitio properant.

67. Auxere numerum accusatorum Gellius Publicola et
2 M. Paconius, ille quaestor Silani, hic legatus. nec dubium habebatur saevitiae captarumque pecuniarum teneri reum: sed multa adgerebantur etiam insontibus periculosa, cum super tot senatores adversos facundissimis totius Asiae eoque ad accusandum delectis responderet solus et orandi nescius, proprio in metu, qui exercitam quoque eloquentiam debilitat, non temperante Tiberio quin premeret voce vultu, eo quod ipse creberrime interrogabat, neque refellere aut eludere dabatur, ac saepe etiam confitendum erat, ne frustra
3 quaesivisset. Servos quoque Silani, ut tormentis interrogarentur, actor publicus mancipio acceperat. et ne quis necessariorum iuvaret periclitantem, maiestatis crimina subdebantur,
4 vinclum et necessitas silendi. igitur petito paucorum dierum interiectu defensionem sui deseruit, ausis ad Caesarem codicillis, quibus invidiam et preces miscuerat.

68. Tiberius quae in Silanum parabat, quo excusatius sub exemplo acciperentur, libellos divi Augusti de Voleso Messalla eiusdem Asiae pro consule factumque in eum senatus consultum recitari iubet. tum L. Pisonem sententiam

rogat. ille multum de clementia principis praefatus aqua 2
atque igni Silano interdicendum censuit ipsumque in insulam
Gyarum relegandum. eadem ceteri, nisi quod Cn. Lentulus 3
separanda Silani materna bona, quippe Atia parente geniti,
reddendaque filio dixit, adnuente Tiberio.

69. At Cornelius Dolabella dum adulationem longius
sequitur, increpitis C. Silani moribus addidit, ne quis vita
probrosus et opertus infamia provinciam sortiretur, idque
princeps diiudicaret. nam a legibus delicta puniri: quanto 2
fore mitius in ipsos, melius in socios, provideri ne peccaretur?
adversum quae disseruit Caesar: non quidem sibi ignara 3
quae de Silano vulgabantur, sed non ex rumore statuendum.
multos in provinciis contra quam spes aut metus de illis
fuerit egisse: excitari quosdam ad meliora magnitudine rerum,
hebescere alios. neque posse principem sua scientia cuncta 4
complecti, neque expedire ut ambitione aliena trahatur.
ideo leges in facta constitui, quia futura in incerto sint. sic 5
a maioribus institutum, ut, si antissent delicta, poenae seque-
rentur. ne verterent sapienter reperta et semper placita; 6
satis onerum principibus, satis etiam potentiae. minui iura,
quotiens gliscat potestas, nec utendum imperio, ubi legibus
agi possit. quanto rarior apud Tiberium popularitas, tanto 7
laetioribus animis accepta. atque ille prudens moderandi, 8
si propria ira non impelleretur, addidit insulam Gyarum
inmitem et sine cultu hominum esse: darent Iuniae fami-
liae et viro quondam ordinis eiusdem, ut Cythnum potius
concederet. id sororem quoque Silani Torquatam, pris- 9
cae sanctimoniae virginem, expetere. in hanc sententiam
facta discessio.

70. Post auditi Cyrenenses, et accusante Anchario Prisco
Caesius Cordus repetundarum damnatur. L. Ennium equitem 2
Romanum, maiestatis postulatum, quod effigiem principis
promiscum ad usum argenti vertisset, recipi Caesar inter reos

vetuit, palam aspernante Ateio Capitone quasi per liber-
3 tatem. non enim debere eripi patribus vim statuendi, neque
tantum maleficium impune habendum. sane lentus in suo
4 dolore esset: rei publicae iniurias ne largiretur. intellexit
haec Tiberius, ut erant magis quam ut dicebantur, perstitit- 5
que intercedere. Capito insignitior infamia fuit, quod humani
divinique iuris sciens egregium publicum et bonas domi artes
dehonestavisset.

71. Incessit dein religio, quonam in templo locandum
foret donum, quod pro valetudine Augustae equites Romani 10
voverant equestri Fortunae: nam etsi delubra eius deae
2 multa in urbe, nullum tamen tali cognomento erat. repertum
est aedem esse apud Antium, quae sic nuncuparetur, cunct-
asque caerimonias Italicis in oppidis templaque et numinum
effigies iuris atque imperii Romani esse. ita donum apud 15
3 Antium statuitur. et quoniam de religionibus tractabatur,
dilatum nuper responsum adversus Servium Maluginensem
flaminem Dialem prompsit Caesar recitavitque decretum
pontificum, quotiens valetudo adversa flaminem Dialem in-
cessisset, ut pontificis maximi arbitrio plus quam binoctium 20
abesset, dum ne diebus publici sacrificii neu saepius quam
bis eundem in annum; quae principe Augusto constituta
satis ostendebant annuam absentiam et provinciarum admi-
4 nistrationem Dialibus non concedi. memorabaturque L.
Metelli pontificis maximi exemplum, qui Aulum Postumium 25
flaminem attinuisset. ita sors Asiae in eum, qui consularium
Maluginensi proximus erat, conlata.

72. Isdem diebus Lepidus ab senatu petivit ut basilicam
Pauli, Aemilia monumenta, propria pecunia firmaret ornaret-
2 que. erat etiam tum in more publica munificentia; nec 30
Augustus arcuerat Taurum, Philippum, Balbum hostiles exu-
vias aut exundantis opes ornatum ad urbis et posterum gloriam
3 conferre. quo tum exemplo Lepidus, quamquam pecuniae

modicus, avitum decus recoluit. at Pompei theatrum igne 4
fortuito haustum Caesar extructurum pollicitus est, eo quod
nemo e familia restaurando sufficeret, manente tamen nomine
Pompei. simul laudibus Seianum extulit, tamquam labore
vigilantiaque eius tanta vis unum intra damnum stetisset. et 5
censuere patres effigiem Seiano, quae apud theatrum Pompei
locaretur. neque multo post Caesar, cum Iunium Blaesum, 6
pro consule Africae, triumphi insignibus attolleret, dare id se
dixit honori Seiani, cuius ille avunculus erat. ac tamen res
Blaesi dignae decore tali fuere.

73. Nam Tacfarinas, quamquam saepius depulsus, repa-
ratis per intima Africae auxiliis huc adrogantiae venerat, ut
legatos ad Tiberium mitteret sedemque ultro sibi atque exer-
citui suo postularet, aut bellum inexplicabile minitaretur.
non alias magis sua populique Romani contumelia indoluisse 2
Caesarem ferunt, quam quod desertor et praedo hostium more
ageret. ne Spartaco quidem post tot consularium exerci- 3
tuum clades inultam Italiam urenti, quamquam Sertorii atque
Mithridatis ingentibus bellis labaret res publica, datum ut
pacto in fidem acciperetur; nedum pulcherrimo populi
Romani fastigio latro Tacfarinas pace et concessione agro-
rum redimeretur. dat negotium Blaeso, ceteros quidem ad 4
spem proliceret arma sine noxa ponendi, ipsius autem ducis
quoquo modo poteretur. et recepti ea venia plerique. mox 5
adversum artes Tacfarinatis haud dissimili modo belliger-
atum.

74. Nam quia ille robore exercitus inpar, furandi melior,
pluris per globos incursaret eluderetque et insidias simul
temptaret, tres incessus, totidem agmina parantur. ex quis 2
Cornelius Scipio legatus praefuit qua praedatio in Leptitanos
et suffugia Garamantum; alio latere, ne Cirtensium pagi
impune traherentur, propriam manum Blaesus filius duxit.
medio cum delectis, castella et munitiones idoneis locis in- 3

ponens, dux ipse arta et infensa hostibus cuncta fecerat, quia, quoquo inclinarent, pars aliqua militis Romani in ore, in latere et saepe a tergo erat; multique eo modo caesi aut
4 circumventi. tunc tripertitum exercitum pluris in manus
5 dispergit praeponitque centuriones virtutis expertae. nec, 5 ut mos fuerat, acta aestate retrahit copias aut in hibernaculis veteris provinciae componit, sed ut in limine belli dispositis castellis per expeditos et solitudinum gnaros mutantem mapalia Tacfarinatem proturbabat, donec fratre eius capto regressus est, properantius tamen quam ex utilitate sociorum, 10
6 relictis per quos resurgeret bellum. sed Tiberius pro confecto interpretatus id quoque Blaeso tribuit, ut imperator a legionibus salutaretur, prisco erga duces honore, qui bene gesta re publica gaudio et impetu victoris exercitus conclamabantur; erantque plures simul imperatores nec super 15
7 ceterorum aequalitatem. concessit quibusdam et Augustus id vocabulum, ac tunc Tiberius Blaeso postremum.

75. Obiere eo anno viri inlustres Asinius Saloninus, M. Agrippa et Pollione Asinio avis, fratre Druso insignis Caesarique progener destinatus, et Capito Ateius, de quo memoravi, principem in civitate locum studiis civilibus adsecutus, 20
2 sed avo centurione Sullano, patre praetorio. consulatum ei adceleraverat Augustus, ut Labeonem Antistium isdem artibus praecellentem dignatione eius magistratus anteiret.
3 namque illa aetas duo pacis decora simul tulit: sed Labeo 25 incorrupta libertate, et ob id fama celebratior, Capitonis
4 obsequium dominantibus magis probabatur. illi, quod praeturam intra stetit, commendatio ex iniuria, huic, quod consulatum adeptus est, odium ex invidia oriebatur.

76. Et Iunia sexagensimo quarto post Philippensem 30 aciem anno supremum diem explevit, Catone avunculo ge-
2 nita, C. Cassii uxor, M. Bruti soror. testamentum eius multo apud vulgum rumore fuit, quia in magnis opibus, cum ferme

cunctos proceres cum honore nominavisset, Caesarem omisit. quod civiliter acceptum, neque prohibuit quo minus 3
laudatione pro rostris ceterisque sollemnibus funus cohonestaretur. viginti clarissimarum familiarum imagines antelatae 4
sunt, Manlii, Quinctii aliaque eiusdem nobilitatis nomina. sed praefulgebant Cassius atque Brutus eo ipso, quod effigies 5
eorum non visebantur.

LIBER IV.

1. C. Asinio C. Antistio consulibus nonus Tiberio annus erat compositae rei publicae, florentis domus (nam Germanici mortem inter prospera ducebat), cum repente turbare fortuna coepit, saevire ipse aut saevientibus vires praebere. 2 initium et causa penes Aelium Seianum cohortibus praetoriis praefectum, cuius de potentia supra memoravi: nunc originem, mores, et quo facinore dominationem raptum ierit, 3 expediam. genitus Vulsiniis patre Seio Strabone equite Romano, et prima iuventa Gaium Caesarem divi Augusti nepotem sectatus, non sine rumore Apicio diviti et prodigo stuprum veno dedisse, mox Tiberium variis artibus devinxit, adeo ut obscurum adversum alios sibi uni incautum intectumque efficeret, non tam sollertia (quippe isdem artibus victus est) quam deum ira in rem Romanam, cuius pari exitio 4 viguit ceciditque. corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax; sui obtegens, in alios criminator; iuxta adulatio et superbia; palam compositus pudor, intus summa apiscendi libido, eiusque causa modo largitio et luxus, saepius industria ac vigilantia, haud minus noxiae, quotiens parando regno finguntur.

2. Vim praefecturae modicam antea intendit, dispersas per urbem cohortes una in castra conducendo, ut simul imperia acciperent, numeroque et robore et visu inter se fiducia 2 ipsis, in ceteros metus oreretur. praetendebat lascivire militem diductum; si quid subitum ingruat, maiore auxilio pariter subveniri; et severius acturos, si vallum statuatur 3 procul urbis inlecebris. ut perfecta sunt castra, inrepere paulatim militares animos adeundo, appellando; simul cen- 4 turiones ac tribunos ipse deligere. neque senatorio ambitu

abstinebat clientes suos honoribus aut provinciis ornandi, facili Tiberio atque ita prono, ut socium laborum non modo in sermonibus, sed apud patres et populum celebraret colique per theatra et fora effigies eius interque principia legionum sineret.

3. Ceterum plena Caesarum domus, iuvenis filius, nepotes adulti moram cupitis adferebant; et quia vi tot simul corripere intutum, dolus intervalla scelerum poscebat. placuit tamen occultior via et a Druso incipere, in quem recenti ira ferebatur. nam Drusus inpatiens aemuli et animo com- 2
motior orto forte iurgio intenderat Seiano manus et contra tendentis os verberaverat. igitur cuncta temptanti promptis- 3
simum visum ad uxorem eius Liviam convertere, quae soror Germanici, formae initio aetatis indecorae, mox pulchritudine praecellebat. hanc ut amore incensus adulterio pellexit, et postquam primi flagitii potitus est (neque femina amissa pudicitia alia abnuerit), ad coniugii spem, consortium regni et necem mariti impulit. atque illa, cui avunculus Augustus, 4
socer Tiberius, ex Druso liberi, seque ac maiores et posteros municipali adultero foedabat, ut pro honestis et praesentibus flagitiosa et incerta exspectaret. sumitur in conscientiam 5
Eudemus, amicus ac medicus Liviae, specie artis frequens secretis. pellit domo Seianus uxorem Apicatam, ex qua tres liberos genuerat, ne paelici suspectaretur. sed magni- 6
tudo facinoris metum, prolationes, diversa interdum consilia adferebat.

4. Interim anni principio Drusus ex Germanici liberis togam virilem sumpsit, quaeque fratri eius Neroni decreverat senatus repetita. addidit orationem Caesar, multa cum laude 2
filii sui, quod patria benevolentia in fratris liberos foret. nam 3
Drusus, quamquam arduum sit eodem loci potentiam et concordiam esse, aequus adulescentibus aut certe non adversus habebatur. exim vetus et saepe simulatum proficiscendi in 4

provincias consilium refertur. multitudinem veteranorum praetexebat imperator et dilectibus supplendos exercitus: nam voluntarium militem deesse, ac si suppeditet, non eadem virtute ac modestia agere, quia plerumque inopes ac vagi
5 sponte militiam sumant. percensuitque cursim numerum 5
6 legionum et quas provincias tutarentur. quod mihi quoque exsequendum reor, quae tunc Romana copia in armis, qui socii reges, quanto sit angustius imperitatum.

5. Italiam utroque mari duae classes, Misenum apud et Ravennam, proximumque Galliae litus rostratae naves prae- 10
sidebant, quas Actiaca victoria captas Augustus in oppidum
2 Foroiuliense miserat valido cum remige. sed praecipuum robur Rhenum iuxta, commune in Germanos Gallosque sub-
3 sidium, octo legiones erant. Hispaniae recens perdomitae tribus habebantur. Mauros Iuba rex acceperat donum 15
4 populi Romani. cetera Africae per duas legiones parique numero Aegyptus, dehinc initio ab Suriae usque ad flumen Euphraten, quantum ingenti terrarum sinu ambitur, quattuor legionibus coercita, accolis Hibero Albanoque et aliis regibus, qui magnitudine nostra proteguntur adversum externa 20
5 imperia. et Thraeciam Rhoemetalces ac liberi Cotyis, ripamque Danuvii legionum duae in Pannonia, duae in Moesia attinebant, totidem apud Delmatiam locatis, quae positu regionis a tergo illis, ac si repentinum auxilium Italia posceret, haud procul accirentur, quamquam insideret urbem proprius 25
miles, tres urbanae, novem praetoriae cohortes, Etruria ferme Umbriaque delectae aut vetere Latio et coloniis antiquitus
6 Romanis. at apud idonea provinciarum sociae triremes alaeque et auxilia cohortium, neque multo secus in iis virium: sed persequi incertum fuit, cum ex usu temporis huc 30
illuc mearent, gliscerent numero et aliquando minuerentur.

6. Congruens crediderim recensere ceteras quoque rei publicae partes, quibus modis ad eam diem habitae sint,

quoniam Tiberio mutati in deterius principatus initium ille annus attulit. iam primum publica negotia et privatorum 2
maxima apud patres tractabantur, dabaturque primoribus disserere, et in adulationem lapsos cohibebat ipse; manda-
batque honores, nobilitatem maiorum, claritudinem militiae, inlustres domi artes spectando, ut satis constaret non alios potiores fuisse. sua consulibus, sua praetoribus species; mi- 3
norum quoque magistratuum exercita potestas; legesque, si maiestatis quaestio eximeretur, bono in usu. at frumenta et 4
pecuniae vectigales, cetera publicorum fructuum societatibus equitum Romanorum agitabantur. res suas Caesar specta- 5
tissimo cuique, quibusdam ignotis ex fama mandabat, semelque adsumpti tenebantur prorsus sine modo, cum plerique isdem negotiis insenescerent. plebes acri quidem annona 6
fatigabatur, sed nulla in eo culpa ex principe: quin infecunditati terrarum aut asperis maris obviam iit, quantum impendio diligentiaque poterat. et ne provinciae novis oneribus 7
turbarentur utque vetera sine avaritia aut crudelitate magistratuum tolerarent, providebat: corporum verbera, adempliones bonorum aberant. rari per Italiam Caesaris agri, modesta servitia, intra paucos libertos domus; ac si quando cum privatis disceptaret, forum et ius.

7. Quae cuncta non quidem comi via, sed horridus ac plerumque formidatus, retinebat tamen, donec morte Drusi verterentur: nam dum superfuit, mansere, quia Seianus in- 2
cipiente adhuc potentia bonis consiliis notescere volebat, et ultor metuebatur non occultus odii, set crebro querens incolumi filio adiutorem imperii alium vocari. et quantum superesse ut collega dicatur? primas dominandi spes in arduo: ubi sis ingressus, adesse studia et ministros. exstructa iam 3
sponte praefecti castra, datos in manum milites; cerni effigiem eius in monimentis Cn. Pompei; communes illi cum familia Drusorum fore nepotes: precandam post haec mo-

4 destiam, ut contentus esset. neque raro neque apud paucos talia iaciebat, et secreta quoque eius corrupta uxore prodebantur.

8. Igitur Seianus maturandum ratus deligit venenum, quo paulatim inrepente fortuitus morbus adsimularetur. Id Druso datum per Lygdum spadonem, ut octo post annos cognitum
2 est. ceterum Tiberius per omnes valetudinis eius dies, nullo metu an ut firmitudinem animi ostentaret, etiam defuncto
3 necdum sepulto, curiam ingressus est. consulesque sede vulgari per speciem maestitiae sedentes honoris locique admonuit, et effusum in lacrimas senatum victo gemitu simul oratione continua erexit: non quidem sibi ignarum posse argui, quod tam recenti dolore subierit oculos senatus: vix propinquorum adloquia tolerari, vix diem aspici a plerisque
4 lugentium. neque illos inbecillitatis damnandos: se tamen
5 fortiora solacia e complexu rei publicae petivisse. miseratusque Augustae extremam senectam, rudem adhuc nepotum et vergentem aetatem suam, ut Germanici liberi, unica praesentium malorum levamenta, inducerentur petivit. egressi
6 consules firmatos adloquio adulescentulos deductosque ante Caesarem statuunt. quibus adprensis 'patres conscripti, hos,' inquit 'orbatos parente tradidi patruo ipsorum precatusque sum, quamquam esset illi propria suboles, ne secus quam suum sanguinem foveret, attolleret, sibique et posteris
7 conformaret. erepto Druso preces ad vos converto disque et patria coram obtestor: Augusti pronepotes, clarissimis maioribus genitos, suscipite, regite, vestram meamque vicem
8 explete. hi vobis, Nero et Druse, parentum loco. ita nati estis, ut bona malaque vestra ad rem publicam pertineant.'

9. Magno ea fletu et mox precationibus faustis audita; ac si modum orationi posuisset, misericordia sui gloriaque animos audientium impleverat: ad vana et totiens inrisa revolutus, de reddenda re publica utque consules seu quis alius

regimen susciperent, vero quoque et honesto fidem dempsit. memoriae Drusi eadem quae in Germanicum decernuntur, 2 plerisque additis, ut ferme amat posterior adulatio. funus 3 imaginum pompa maxime inlustre fuit, cum origo Iuliae gentis Aeneas omnesque Albanorum reges et conditor urbis Romulus, post Sabina nobilitas, Attus Clausus ceteraeque Claudiorum effigies longo ordine spectarentur.

10. In tradenda morte Drusi quae plurimis maximaeque fidei auctoribus memorata sunt rettuli: set non omiserim eorundem temporum rumorem, validum adeo ut nondum exolescat. corrupta ad scelus Livia Seianum Lygdi quoque 2 spadonis animum stupro vinxisse, quod is aetate atque forma carus domino interque primores ministros erat; deinde inter conscios ubi locus veneficii tempusque conposita sint, eo audaciae provectum, ut verteret et occulto indicio Drusum veneni in patrem arguens moneret Tiberium, vitandam potionem quae prima ei apud filium epulanti offerretur. ea 3 fraude captum senem, postquam convivium inierat, exceptum poculum Druso tradidisse; atque illo ignaro et iuveniliter hauriente auctam suspicionem, tamquam metu et pudore sibimet inrogaret mortem, quam patri struxerat.

11. Haec vulgo iactata, super id quod nullo auctore certo firmantur, prompte refutaveris. quis enim mediocri pru- 2 dentia, nedum Tiberius tantis rebus exercitus, inaudito filio exitium offerret, idque sua manu et nullo ad paenitendum regressu? quin potius ministrum veneni excruciaret, auctorem exquireret, insita denique etiam in extraneos cunctatione et mora adversum unicum et nullius ante flagitii conpertum uteretur? sed quia Seianus facinorum omnium repertor 3 habebatur, ex nimia caritate in eum Caesaris et ceterorum in utrumque odio quamvis fabulosa et immania credebantur, atrociore semper fama erga dominantium exitus. ordo alio- 4 qui sceleris per Apicatam Seiani proditus, tormentis Eudemi

ac Lygdi patefactus est. neque quisquam scriptor tam infensus extitit, ut Tiberio obiectaret, cum omnia alia conqui-
5 rerent intenderentque. mihi tradendi arguendique rumoris causa fuit, ut claro sub exemplo falsas auditiones depellerem peteremque ab iis, quorum in manus cura nostra venerit, *ne* 5 divulgata atque incredibilia avide accepta veris neque in miraculum corruptis antehabeant.

12. Ceterum laudante filium pro rostris Tiberio senatus populusque habitum ac voces dolentum simulatione magis quam libens induebat, domumque Germanici revirescere 10
2 occulti laetabantur. quod principium favoris et mater Agrip-
3 pina spem male tegens perniciem adceleravere. nam Seianus ubi videt mortem Drusi inultam interfectoribus, sine maerore publico esse, ferox scelerum, et quia prima provenerant, volutare secum, quonam modo Germanici liberos 15
4 perverteret, quorum non dubia successio. neque spargi venenum in tres poterat, egregia custodum fide et pudicitia
5 Agrippinae inpenetrabili. igitur contumaciam eius insectari, vetus Augustae odium, recentem Liviae conscientiam exagitare, ut superbam fecunditate, subnixam popularibus studiis 20
6 inhiare dominationi apud Caesarem arguerent. atque haec callidis criminatoribus, inter quos delegerat Iulium Postumum, per adulterium Mutiliae Priscae inter intimos aviae et consiliis suis peridoneum, quia Prisca in animo Augustae valida, anum suapte natura potentiae anxiam insociabilem 25
7 nurui efficiebat. Agrippinae quoque proximi inliciebantur pravis sermonibus tumidos spiritus perstimulare.

13. At Tiberius nihil intermissa rerum cura, negotia pro solaciis accipiens, ius civium, preces sociorum tractabat; factaque auctore eo senatus consulta, ut civitati Cibyraticae 30
apud Asiam, Aegiensi apud Achaiam, motu terrae labefac-
2 tis, subveniretur remissione tributi in triennium. et Vibius Serenus, pro consule ulterioris Hispaniae, de vi publica

damnatus, ob atrocitatem morum in insulam Amorgum deportatur. Carsidius Sacerdos, reus tamquam frumento hostem Tacfarinatem iuvisset, absolvitur, eiusdemque criminis C. Gracchus. hunc comitem exilii admodum infantem pater Sempronius in insulam Cercinam tulerat. illic adultus inter extorres et liberalium artium nescios, mox per Africam ac Siciliam mutando sordidas merces sustentabatur; neque tamen effugit magnae fortunae pericula. ac ni Aelius Lamia et L. Apronius, qui Africam obtinuerant, insontem protexissent, claritudine infausti generis et paternis adversis foret abstractus.

14. Is quoque annus legationes Graecarum civitatium habuit, Samiis Iunonis, Cois Aesculapii delubro vetustum asyli ius ut firmaretur petentibus. Samii decreto Amphictyonum nitebantur, quis praecipuum fuit rerum omnium iudicium, qua tempestate Graeci conditis per Asiam urbibus ora maris potiebantur. neque dispar apud Coos antiquitas, et accedebat meritum ex loco: nam cives Romanos templo Aesculapii induxerant, cum iussu regis Mithridatis apud cunctas Asiae insulas et urbes trucidarentur. variis dehinc et saepius inritis praetorum questibus, postremo Caesar de inmodestia histrionum rettulit: multa ab iis in publicum seditiose, foeda per domos temptari; Oscum quondam ludicrum, levissimae apud vulgum oblectationis, eo flagitiorum et virium venisse, *ut* auctoritate patrum coercendum sit. pulsi tum histriones Italia.

15. Idem annus alio quoque luctu Caesarem adfecit, alterum ex geminis Drusi liberis extinguendo, neque minus morte amici. is fuit Lucilius Longus, omnium illi tristium lactorumque socius unusque e senatoribus Rhodii secessus comes. ita, quamquam novo homini, censorium funus, effigiem apud forum Augusti publica pecunia patres decrevere, apud quos etiam tum cuncta tractabantur, adeo ut procura-

tor Asiae Lucilius Capito accusante provincia causam dixerit, magna cum adseveratione principis, non se ius nisi in servitia et pecunias familiares dedisse: quod si vim praetoris usurpasset manibusque militum usus foret, spreta in eo man-
4 data sua: audirent socios. ita reus cognito negotio dam- 5
natur. ob quam ultionem, et quia priore anno in C. Silanum vindicatum erat, decrevere Asiae urbes templum Tiberio ma-
5 trique eius ac senatui. et permissum statuere; egitque Nero grates ea causa patribus atque avo, laetas inter audientium adfectiones, qui recenti memoria Germanici illum aspici, 10
6 illum audiri rebantur. aderantque iuveni modestia ac forma principe viro digna, notis in eum Seiani odiis ob periculum gratiora.

16. Sub idem tempus de flamine Diali in locum Servi Maluginensis defuncti legendo, simul roganda nova lege dis- 15
2 seruit Caesar. nam patricios confarreatis parentibus genitos tres simul nominari, ex quis unus legeretur, vetusto more: neque adesse, ut olim, eam copiam, omissa confarreandi
3 adsuetudine aut inter paucos retenta: (pluresque eius rei causas adferebat, potissimam penes incuriam virorum femi- 20
narumque; accedere ipsius caerimoniae difficultates, quae consulto vitarentur) et quod exiret e iure patrio qui id flamonium apisceretur quaeque in manum flaminis conveniret.
4 ita medendum senatus decreto aut lege, sicut Augustus quae- 25
5 dam ex horrida illa antiquitate ad praesentem usum flexisset. igitur tractatis religionibus placitum instituto flaminum nihil demutari: sed lata lex, qua flaminica Dialis sacrorum causa in potestate viri, cetera promisco feminarum iure
6 ageret. et filius Maluginensis patri suffectus. utque glisceret dignatio sacerdotum atque ipsis promptior animus foret ad 30 capessendas caerimonias, decretum Corneliae virgini, quae in locum Scantiae capiebatur, sestertium viciens, et quotiens Augusta theatrum introisset, ut sedes inter Vestalium consideret.

17. Cornelio Cethego Visellio Varrone consulibus pontifices eorumque exemplo ceteri sacerdotes, cum pro incolumitate principis vota susciperent, Neronem quoque et Drusum isdem dis commendavere, non tam caritate iuvenum quam adulatione, quae moribus corruptis perinde anceps, si nulla et ubi nimia est. nam Tiberius haud umquam domui Germanici mitis, tum vero aequari adulescentes senectae suae inpatienter indoluit; accitosque pontifices percontatus est, num id precibus Agrippinae aut minis tribuissent. et illi quidem, quamquam abnuerent, modice perstricti; etenim pars magna e propinquis ipsius aut primores civitatis erant: ceterum in senatu oratione monuit in posterum, ne quis mobiles adulescentium animos praematuris honoribus ad superbiam extolleret. instabat quippe Seianus incusabatque diductam civitatem ut civili bello; esse qui se partium Agrippinae vocent, ac ni resistatur, fore pluris; neque aliud gliscentis discordiae remedium quam si unus alterve maxime prompti subverterentur.

18. Qua causa C. Silium et Titium Sabinum adgreditur. amicitia Germanici perniciosa utrique, Silio et quod ingentis exercitus septem per annos moderator partisque apud Germaniam triumphalibus Sacroviriani belli victor, quanto maiore mole procideret, plus formidinis in alios dispergebatur. credebant plerique auctam offensionem ipsius intemperantia, immodice iactantis suum militem in obsequio duravisse, cum alii ad seditiones prolaberentur; neque mansurum Tiberio imperium, si iis quoque legionibus cupido novandi fuisset. destrui per haec fortunam suam Caesar inparemque tanto merito rebatur. nam beneficia eo usque laeta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse: ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur.

19. Erat uxor Silio Sosia Galla, caritate Agrippinae invisa principi. hos corripi dilato ad tempus Sabino placitum, in-

missusque Varro consul, qui paternas inimicitias obtendens
2 odiis Seiani per dedecus suum gratificabatur. precante reo
brevem moram, dum accusator consulatu abiret, adversatus
est Caesar: solitum quippe magistratibus diem privatis di-
cere; nec infringendum consulis ius, cuius vigiliis niteretur
3 ne quod res publica detrimentum caperet. proprium id
Tiberio fuit scelera nuper reperta priscis verbis obtegere.
igitur multa adseveratione, quasi aut legibus cum Silio age-
retur aut Varro consul aut illud res publica esset, coguntur
4 patres. silente reo, vel si defensionem coeptaret, non oc-
cultante cuius ira premeretur, conscientia belli Sacrovir diu
dissimulatus, victoria per avaritiam foedata et uxor Sosia
5 arguebantur. nec dubie repetundarum criminibus haerebant,
sed cuncta quaestione maiestatis exercita, et Silius immi-
nentem damnationem voluntario fine praevertit.

20. Saevitum tamen in bona, non ut stipendiariis pecuniae
redderentur, quorum nemo repetebat, sed liberalitas Augusti
2 avulsa, conputatis singillatim quae fisco petebantur. ea prima
Tiberio erga pecuniam alienam diligentia fuit. Sosia in
exilium pellitur Asinii Galli sententia, qui partem bonorum
3 publicandam, pars ut liberis relinqueretur censuerat. contra
M'. Lepidus quartam accusatoribus secundum necessitudinem
4 legis, cetera liberis concessit. hunc ego Lepidum temporibus
illis gravem et sapientem virum fuisse comperior: nam plera-
que ab saevis adulationibus aliorum in melius flexit. neque
tamen temperamenti egebat, cum aequabili auctoritate et
5 gratia apud Tiberium viguerit. unde dubitare cogor, fato et
sorte nascendi, ut cetera, ita principum inclinatio in hos,
offensio in illos, an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis liceatque
inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obsequium pergere
6 iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum. at Messalinus Cotta haud
minus claris maioribus, sed animo diversus, censuit cavendum
senatus consulto, ut quamquam insontes magistratus et culpae

alienae nescii provincialibus uxorum criminibus proinde quam suis plecterentur.

21. Actum dehinc de Calpurnio Pisone, nobili ac feroci viro. is namque, ut rettuli, cessurum se urbe ob factiones accusatorum in senatu clamitaverat et spreta potentia Augustae trahere in ius Urgulaniam domoque principis excire ausus erat. quae in praesens Tiberius civiliter habuit: sed 2 in animo revolvente iras, etiam si impetus offensionis languerat, memoria valebat. Pisonem Q. Granius secreti sermonis 3 incusavit adversum maiestatem habiti, adiecitque in domo eius venenum esse eumque gladio accinctum introire curiam. quod ut atrocius vero tramissum: ceterorum, quae multa 4 cumulabantur, receptus est reus, neque peractus ob mortem opportunam. relatum et de Cassio Severo exule, qui sordidae 5 originis, maleficae vitae, sed orandi validus, per immodicas inimicitias ut iudicio iurati senatus Cretam amoveretur effecerat; atque illic eadem actitando recentia veteraque odia advertit, bonisque exutus, interdicto igni atque aqua, saxo Seripho consenuit.

22. Per idem tempus Plautius Silvanus praetor incertis causis Aproniam coniugem in praeceps iecit, tractusque ad Caesarem ab L. Apronio socero turbata mente respondit, tamquam ipse somno gravis atque eo ignarus, et uxor sponte mortem sumpsisset. non cunctanter Tiberius pergit in do- 2 mum, visit cubiculum, in quo reluctantis et impulsae vestigia cernebantur. refert ad senatum, datisque iudicibus Urgulania 3 Silvani avia pugionem nepoti misit. quod perinde creditum quasi principis monitu ob amicitiam Augustae cum Urgulania. reus frustra temptato ferro venas praebuit exsolvendas. mox 4 Numantina, prior uxor eius, accusata iniecisse carminibus et veneficiis vaecordiam marito, insons iudicatur.

23. Is demum annus populum Romanum longo adversum Numidam Tacfarinatem bello absolvit. nam priores duces

ubi impetrando triumphalium insigni sufficere res suas crediderant, hostem omittebant; iamque tres laureatae in urbe statuae, et adhuc raptabat Africam Tacfarinas, auctus Maurorum auxiliis, qui, Ptolemaeo Iubae filio iuventa incurioso,
2 libertos regios et servilia imperia bello mutaverant. erat illi praedarum receptor ac socius populandi rex Garamantum, non ut cum exercitu incederet, sed missis levibus copiis, quae ex longinquo in maius audiebantur; ipsaque e provincia, ut quis fortuna inops, moribus turbidus, promptius ruebant, quia Caesar post res a Blaeso gestas, quasi nullis iam in Africa hostibus, reportari nonam legionem iusserat, nec pro consule eius anni P. Dolabella retinere ausus erat, iussa principis magis quam incerta belli metuens.

24. Igitur Tacfarinas disperso rumore rem Romanam aliis quoque ab nationibus lacerari eoque paulatim Africa decedere, ac posse reliquos circumveniri, si cuncti quibus libertas servitio potior incubuissent, auget vires positisque castris Thu-
2 buscum oppidum circumsidet. at Dolabella contracto quod erat militum, terrore nominis Romani et quia Numidae peditum aciem ferre nequeunt, primo sui incessu solvit obsidium locorumque opportuna permunivit; simul principes Musula-
3 miorum defectionem coeptantes securi percutit. dein quia pluribus adversum Tacfarinatem expeditionibus cognitum, non gravi nec uno incursu consectandum hostem vagum, excito cum popularibus rege Ptolemaeo quattuor agmina parat, quae legatis aut tribunis data; et praedatorias manus delecti Maurorum duxere: ipse consultor aderat omnibus.

25. Nec multo post adfertur Numidas apud castellum semirutum, ab ipsis quondam incensum, cui nomen Auzea, positis mapalibus consedisse, fisos loco, quia vastis circum
2 saltibus claudebatur. tum expeditae cohortes alaeque, quam in partem ducerentur ignarae, cito agmine rapiuntur. simulque coeptus dies et concentu tubarum ac truci clamore

aderant semisomnos in barbaros, praepeditis Numidarum equis aut diversos pastus pererrantibus. ab Romanis confertus 3 pedes, dispositae turmae, cuncta proelio provisa: hostibus contra omnium nesciis non arma, non ordo, non consilium, sed pecorum modo trahi, occidi, capi. infensus miles memoria 4 laborum et adversum eludentis optatae totiens pugnae se quisque ultione et sanguine explebant. differtur per mani- 5 pulos, Tacfarinatem omnes, notum tot proeliis, consectentur: non nisi duce interfecto requiem belli fore. at ille deiectis 6 circum stipatoribus vinctoque iam filio et effusis undique Romanis, ruendo in tela captivitatem haud inulta morte effugit; isque finis armis impositus.

26. Dolabellae petenti abnuit triumphalia Tiberius, Seiano tribuens, ne Blaesi avunculi eius laus obsolesceret. sed neque 2 Blaesus ideo inlustrior, et huic negatus honor gloriam intendit: quippe minore exercitu insignis captivos, caedem ducis bellique confecti famam deportarat. sequebantur et 3 Garamantum legati, raro in urbe visi, quos Tacfarinate caeso perculsa gens, set culpae nescia, ad satis faciendum populo Romano miserat. cognitis dehinc Ptolemaei per id bellum 4 studiis repetitus ex vetusto more honos, missusque e senatoribus qui scipionem eburnum, togam pictam, antiqua patrum munera, daret regemque et socium atque amicum appellaret.

27. Eadem aestate mota per Italiam servilis belli semina fors oppressit. auctor tumultus T. Curtisius, quondam praetoriae cohortis miles, primo coetibus clandestinis apud Brundisium et circumiecta oppida, mox positis propalam libellis ad libertatem vocabat agrestia per longinquos saltus et ferocia servitia, cum velut munere deum tres biremes adpulere ad usus commeantium illo mari. et erat isdem 2 regionibus Cutius Lupus quaestor, cui provincia vetere ex more calles evenerant: is disposita classiariorum copia coep-

3 tantem cum maxime coniurationem disiecit. missusque a Caesare propere Staius tribunus cum valida manu ducem ipsum et proximos audacia in urbem traxit, iam trepidam ob multitudinem familiarum, quae gliscebat inmensum, minore in dies plebe ingenua.

28. Isdem consulibus miseriarum ac saevitiae exemplum atrox, reus pater, accusator filius (nomen utrique Vibius 2 Serenus) in senatum inducti sunt. ab exilio retractus inluvieque ac squalore obsitus et tum catena vinctus pater oranti filio comparatur. adulescens multis munditiis, alacri vultu, structas principi insidias, missos in Galliam concitores belli index idem et testis dicebat, adnectebatque Caecilium Cornutum praetorium ministravisse pecuniam; qui taedio curarum, et quia periculum pro exitio habebatur, mortem in se festi- 3 navit. at contra reus nihil infracto animo obversus in filium quatere vincla, vocare ultores deos, ut sibi quidem redderent exilium, ubi procul tali more ageret, filium autem quandoque 4 supplicia sequerentur. adseverabatque innocentem Cornutum et falso exterritum; idque facile intellectu, si proderentur alii: non enim se caedem principis et res novas uno socio cogitasse.

29. Tum accusator Cn. Lentulum et Seium Tuberonem nominat, magno pudore Caesaris, cum primores civitatis, intimi ipsius amici, Lentulus senectutis extremae, Tubero defecto corpore, tumultus hostilis et turbandae rei publicae accerserentur. sed hi quidem statim exempti: in patrem ex 2 servis quaesitum, et quaestio adversa accusatori fuit. qui scelere vaecors, simul vulgi rumore territus, robur et saxum 3 aut parricidarum poenas minitantium, cessit urbe. ac retractus Ravenna exsequi accusationem adigitur, non occult- 4 ante Tiberio vetus odium adversum exulem Serenum. nam post damnatum Libonem missis ad Caesarem litteris exprobraverat suum tantum studium sine fructu fuisse, addideratque

quaedam contumacius quam tutum apud aures superbas et offensioni proniores. ea Caesar octo post annos rettulit, medium tempus varie arguens, etiam si tormenta pervicacia servorum contra evenissent.

30. Dictis dein sententiis ut Serenus more maiorum puniretur, quo molliret invidiam, intercessit. Gallus Asinius *cum* Gyaro aut Donusa claudendum censeret, id quoque aspernatus est, egenam aquae utramque insulam referens dandosque vitae usus cui vita concederetur. ita Serenus Amorgum reportatur. et quia Cornutus sua manu ceciderat, actum de praemiis accusatorum abolendis, si quis maiestatis postulatus ante perfectum iudicium se ipse vita privavisset. ibaturque in eam sententiam, ni durius contraque morem suum palam pro accusatoribus Caesar inritas leges, rem publicam in praecipiti conquestus esset: subverterent potius iura quam custodes eorum amoverent. sic delatores, genus hominum publico exitio repertum et *ne* poenis quidem umquam satis coercitum, per praemia eliciebantur.

31. His tam adsiduis tamque maestis modica laetitia intericitur, quod C. Cominium equitem Romanum, probrosi in se carminis convictum, Caesar precibus fratris, qui senator erat, concessit. quo magis mirum habebatur gnarum meliorum, et quae fama clementiam sequeretur, tristiora malle. neque enim socordia peccabat; nec occultum est, quando ex veritate, quando adumbrata laetitia facta imperatorum celebrentur. quin ipse, compositus alias et velut eluctantium verborum, solutius promptiusque eloquebatur, quotiens subveniret. at P. Suillium quaestorem quondam Germanici, cum Italia arceretur convictus pecuniam ob rem iudicandam cepisse, amovendum in insulam censuit, tanta contentione animi, ut iure iurando obstringeret e re publica id esse. quod aspere acceptum ad praesens mox in laudem vertit regresso Suillio; quem vidit sequens aetas praepotentem, venalem et

Claudii principis amicitia diu prospere, numquam bene
7 usum. eadem poena in Catum Firmium senatorem statuitur, tamquam falsis maiestatis criminibus sororem petivisset. Catus, ut rettuli, Libonem inlexerat insidiis, deinde indicio
8 perculerat. eius operae memor Tiberius, sed alia praetendens, exilium deprecatus est: quo minus senatu pelleretur non obstitit.

32. Pleraque eorum, quae rettuli quaeque referam, parva forsitan et levia memoratu videri non nescius sum: sed nemo annales nostros cum scriptura eorum contenderit, qui veteres
2 populi Romani res conposuere. ingentia illi bella, expugnationes urbium, fusos captosque reges, aut si quando ad interna praeverterent, discordias consulum adversum tribunos, agrarias frumentariasque leges, plebis et optimatium certa-
3 mina libero egressu memorabant: nobis in arto et inglorius labor; immota quippe aut modice lacessita pax, maestae
4 urbis res, et princeps proferendi imperi incuriosus erat. non tamen sine usu fuerit introspicere illa primo aspectu levia, ex quis magnarum saepe rerum motus oriuntur.

33. Nam cunctas nationes et urbes populus aut primores aut singuli regunt: delecta ex iis et consociata rei publicae forma laudari facilius quam evenire, vel si evenit, haud
2 diuturna esse potest. igitur ut olim plebe valida, vel cum patres pollerent, noscenda vulgi natura et quibus modis temperanter haberetur, senatusque et optimatium ingenia qui maxime perdidicerant, callidi temporum et sapientes credebantur, sic converso statu, neque alia re Romana quam si unus imperitet, haec conquiri tradique in rem fuerit, quia pauci prudentia honesta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis
3 discernunt, plures aliorum eventis docentur. ceterum ut profutura, ita minimum oblectationis adferunt. nam situs gentium, varietates proeliorum, clari ducum exitus retinent ac redintegrant legentium animum: nos saeva iussa, continuas

accusationes, fallaces amicitias, perniciem innocentium et eas-
dem exitu causas coniungimus, obvia rerum similitudine et
satietate. tum quod antiquis scriptoribus rarus obtrectator, 4
neque refert cuiusquam Punicas Romanasne acies laetius ex-
tuleris: at multorum, qui Tiberio regente poenam vel in- 5
famias subiere, posteri manent. utque familiae ipsae iam 5
extinctae sint, reperies qui ob similitudinem morum aliena
malefacta sibi obiectari putent. etiam gloria ac virtus infen- 6
sos habet, ut nimis ex propinquo diversa arguens. sed ad
inceptum redeo.

34. Cornelio Cosso Asinio Agrippa consulibus Cremu-
tius Cordus postulatur, novo ac tunc primum audito crimine,
quod editis annalibus laudatoque M. Bruto C. Cassium Ro-
manorum ultimum dixisset. accusabant Satrius Secundus et 2
Pinarius Natta, Seiani clientes. id perniciabile reo, et Caesar
truci vultu defensionem accipiens, quam Cremutius, relin-
quendae vitae certus, in hunc modum exorsus est: 'verba 3
mea, patres conscripti, arguuntur: adeo factorum innocens
sum. sed neque haec in principem aut principis parentem,
quos lex maiestatis amplectitur: Brutum et Cassium laudavisse
dicor, quorum res gestas cum plurimi composuerint, nemo
sine honore memoravit. Titus Livius, eloquentiae ac fidei 4
praeclarus in primis, Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit, ut
Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret; neque id amicitiae
eorum offecit. Scipionem, Afranium, hunc ipsum Cassium, 5
hunc Brutum nusquam latrones et parricidas, quae nunc vo-
cabula inponuntur, saepe ut insignis viros nominat. Asinii 6
Pollionis scripta egregiam eorundem memoriam tradunt; Mes-
salla Corvinus imperatorem suum Cassium praedicabat: et
uterque opibus atque honoribus perviguere. Marci Ciceronis 7
libro, quo Catonem caelo aequavit, quid aliud dictator Cae-
sar quam rescripta oratione, velut apud iudices, respondit?
Antonii epistulae, Bruti contiones falsa quidem in Augustum 8

probra, set multa cum acerbitate habent; carmina Bibaculi et Catulli referta contumeliis Caesarum leguntur: sed ipse divus Iulius, ipse divus Augustus et tulere ista et reliquere, haud facile dixerim, moderatione magis an sapientia. namque spreta exolescunt: si irascare, adgnita videntur.'

35. 'Non attingo Graecos, quorum non modo libertas, etiam libido impunita; aut si quis advertit, dictis dicta ultus
2 est. sed maxime solutum et sine obtrectatore fuit prodere de
3 iis, quos mors odio aut gratiae exemisset. num enim armatis Cassio et Bruto ac Philippenses campos optinentibus belli civilis causa populum per contiones incendo? an illi quidem septuagensimum ante annum peremti, quo modo imaginibus suis noscuntur, quas ne victor quidem abolevit, sic partem
4 memoriae apud scriptores retinent? suum cuique decus posteritas rependit; nec deerunt, si damnatio ingruit, qui non modo
5 Cassii et Bruti, set etiam mei meminerint.' egressus dein senatu vitam abstinentia finivit. libros per aediles cremando
6 censuere patres: set manserunt, occultati et editi. quo magis socordiam eorum inridere libet, qui praesenti potentia
7 credunt extingui posse etiam sequentis aevi memoriam. nam contra punitis ingeniis gliscit auctoritas, neque aliud externi reges aut qui eadem saevitia usi sunt, nisi dedecus sibi atque illis gloriam peperere.

36. Ceterum postulandis reis tam continuus annus fuit, ut feriarum Latinarum diebus praefectum urbis Drusum, auspicandi gratia tribunal ingressum, adierit Calpurnius Salvianus in Sextum Marium: quod a Caesare palam increpitum
2 causa exilii Salviano fuit. obiecta publice Cyzicenis incuria caerimoniarum divi Augusti, additis violentiae criminibus ad-
3 versum cives Romanos. et amisere libertatem, quam bello Mithridatis meruerant, circumsessi nec minus sua constantia
4 quam praesidio Luculli pulso rege. at Fonteius Capito, qui pro consule Asiam curaverat, absolvitur, conperto ficta in

cum crimina per Vibium Serenum. neque tamen id Sereno 5
noxae fuit, quem odium publicum tutiorem faciebat. nam ut
quis destrictior accusator, velut sacrosanctus erat: leves,
ignobiles poenis adficiebantur.

37. Per idem tempus Hispania ulterior missis ad senatum
legatis oravit, ut exemplo Asiae delubrum Tiberio matrique
eius exstrueret. qua occasione Caesar, validus alioqui sper- 2
nendis honoribus et respondendum ratus iis quorum rumore
arguebatur in ambitionem flexisse, huiusce modi orationem
coepit: 'scio, patres conscripti, constantiam meam a pleris- 3
que desideratam, quod Asiae civitatibus nuper idem istud
petentibus non sim adversatus. ergo et prioris silentii de-
fensionem, et quid in futurum statuerim, simul aperiam. cum 4
divus Augustus sibi atque urbi Romae templum apud Perga-
mum sisti non prohibuisset, qui omnia facta dictaque eius
vice legis observem, placitum iam exemplum promptius se-
cutus sum, quia cultui meo veneratio senatus adiungebatur.
ceterum ut semel recepisse veniam habuerit, ita per omnes 5
provincias effigie numinum sacrari ambitiosum, superbum; et
vanescet Augusti honor, si promiscis adulationibus vulgatur.

38. Ego me, patres conscripti, mortalem esse et homi-
num officia fungi satisque habere, si locum principem im-
pleam, et vos testor et meminisse posteros volo; qui satis
superque memoriae meae tribuent, ut maioribus meis dignum,
rerum vestrarum providum, constantem in periculis, offen-
sionum pro utilitate publica non pavidum credant. haec mihi 2
in animis vestris templa, hae pulcherrimae effigies et man-
surae. nam quae saxo struuntur, si iudicium posterorum in
odium vertit, pro sepulchris spernuntur. proinde socios 3
cives et deos ipsos precor, hos ut mihi ad finem usque vitae
quietam et intellegentem humani divinique iuris mentem duint,
illos ut, quandoque concessero, cum laude et bonis recorda-
tionibus facta atque famam nominis mei prosequantur.' per- 4

stititque posthac secretis etiam sermonibus aspernari talem sui cultum. quod alii modestiam, multi, quia diffideret, quidam ut degeneris animi interpretabantur. optumos quippe mortalium altissima cupere: sic Herculem et Liberum apud Graecos, Quirinum apud nos deum numero additos: melius Augustum, qui speraverit. cetera principibus statim adesse: unum insatiabiliter parandum, prosperam sui memoriam; nam contemptu famae contemni virtutes.

39. At Seianus nimia fortuna socors et muliebri insuper cupidine incensus, promissum matrimonium flagitante Livia, componit ad Caesarem codicillos: moris quippe tum erat quamquam praesentem scripto adire. eius talis forma fuit: benevolentia patris Augusti et mox plurimis Tiberii iudiciis ita insuevisse, ut spes votaque sua non prius ad deos quam ad principum aures conferret. neque fulgorem honorum umquam precatum: excubias ac labores, ut unum e militibus, pro incolumitate imperatoris malle. ac tamen quod pulcherrimum adeptum, ut coniunctione Caesaris dignus crederetur: hinc initium spei. et quoniam audiverit Augustum in conlocanda filia non nihil etiam de equitibus Romanis consultavisse, ita, si maritus Liviae quaereretur, haberet in animo amicum sola necessitudinis gloria usurum. non enim exuere inposita munia: satis aestimare firmari domum adversum iniquas Agrippinae offensiones, idque liberorum causa; nam sibi multum superque vitae fore, quod tali cum principe explevisset.

40. Ad ea Tiberius laudata pietate Seiani suisque in eum beneficiis modice percursis, cum tempus tamquam ad integram consultationem petivisset, adiunxit: ceteris mortalibus in eo stare consilia, quid sibi conducere putent; principum diversam esse sortem, quibus praecipua rerum ad famam derigenda. ideo se non illuc decurrere quod promptum rescriptu, posse ipsam Liviam statuere, nubendum post Drusum an in

penatibus isdem tolerandum haberet; esse illi matrem et aviam, propiora consilia. simplicius acturum, de inimicitiis primum Agrippinae, quas longe acrius arsuras, si matrimonium Liviae velut in partes domum Caesarum distraxisset. sic quoque erumpere aemulationem feminarum, eaque discordia nepotes suos convelli: quid si intendatur certamen tali coniugio? 'falleris enim, Seiane, si te mansurum in eodem ordine putas, et Liviam, quae Gaio Caesari, mox Druso nupta fuerit, ea mente acturam, ut cum equite Romano senescat. ego ut sinam, credisne passuros qui fratrem eius, qui patrem maioresque nostros in summis imperiis videre? vis tu quidem istum intra locum sistere: sed illi magistratus et primores, qui te invitum perrumpunt omnibusque de rebus consulunt, excessisse iam pridem equestre fastigium longeque antisse patris mei amicitias non occulti ferunt perque invidiam tui me quoque incusant. at enim Augustus filiam suam equiti Romano tradere meditatus est. mirum hercule, si cum in omnis curas distraheretur immensumque attolli provideret quem coniunctione tali super alios extulisset, C. Proculeium et quosdam in sermonibus habuit insigni tranquillitate vitae, nullis rei publicae negotiis permixtos. sed si dubitatione Augusti movemur, quanto validius est quod Marco Agrippae, mox mihi conlocavit? atque ego haec pro amicitia non occultavi: ceterum neque tuis neque Liviae destinatis adversabor. ipse quid intra animum volutaverim, quibus adhuc necessitudinibus inmiscere te mihi parem, omittam ad praesens referre: id tantum aperiam, nihil esse tam excelsum, quod non virtutes istae tuusque in me animus mereantur, datoque tempore vel in senatu vel in contione non reticebo.'

41. Rursum Seianus, non iam de matrimonio, sed altius metuens, tacita suspicionum, vulgi rumorem, ingruentem invidiam deprecatur. ac ne adsiduos in domum coetus arcendo infringeret potentiam aut receptando facultatem criminantibus

praeberet, huc flexit, ut Tiberium ad vitam procul Roma
3 amoenis locis degendam impelleret. multa quippe providebat:
sua in manu aditus litterarumque magna ex parte se arbitrum
fore, cum per milites commearent; mox Caesarem vergente
iam senecta secretoque loci mollitum munia imperii facilius
tramissurum; et minui sibi invidiam adempta salutantum turba,
4 sublatisque inanibus veram potentiam augeri. igitur paulatim
negotia urbis, populi adcursus, multitudinem adfluentium in-
crepat, extollens laudibus quietem et solitudinem, quis abesse
taedia et offensiones ac praecipua rerum maxime agitari.

42. Ac forte habita per illos dies de Votieno Montano,
celebris ingenii viro, cognitio cunctantem iam Tiberium per-
pulit ut vitandos crederet patrum coetus vocesque, quae ple-
2 rumque verae et graves coram ingerebantur. nam postulato
Votieno ob contumelias in Caesarem dictas, testis Aemilius
e militaribus viris dum studio probandi cuncta refert et quam-
quam inter obstrepentes magna adseveratione nititur, audivit
Tiberius probra quis per occultum lacerabatur, adeoque per-
culsus est, ut se vel statim vel in cognitione purgaturum cla-
mitaret precibusque proximorum, adulatione omnium aegre
3 componeret animum. et Votienus quidem maiestatis poenis
adfectus est: Caesar obiectam sibi adversus reos inclemen-
tiam eo pervicacius amplexus, Aquiliam adulterii delatam
cum Vario Ligure, quamquam Lentulus Gaetulicus consul
designatus lege Iulia damnasset, exilio punivit Apidiumque
Merulam, quod in acta divi Augusti non iuraverat, albo sena-
torio erasit.

43. Auditae dehinc Lacedaemoniorum et Messeniorum
legationes de iure templi Dianae Limnatidis, quod suis a ma-
ioribus suaque in terra dicatum Lacedaemonii firmabant anna-
lium memoria vatumque carminibus, sed Macedonis Philippi,
cum quo bellassent, armis ademptum ac post C. Caesaris
2 et M. Antonii sententia redditum. contra Messenii veterem

inter Herculis posteros divisionem Peloponnesi protulere, suoque regi Denthaliatem agrum, in quo id delubrum, cessisse; monimentaque eius rei sculpta saxis et aere prisco manere. quod si vatum, annalium ad testimonia vocentur, plures 3
sibi ac locupletiores esse; neque Philippum potentia, sed ex 4
vero statuisse: idem regis Antigoni, idem imperatoris Mummii iudicium; sic Milesios permisso publice arbitrio, postremo 5
Atidium Geminum praetorem Achaiae decrevisse. ita secundum Messenios datum. et Segestani aedem Veneris montem 6
apud Erycum, vetustate dilapsam, restaurari postulavere, nota memorantes de origine eius et laeta Tiberio. suscepit curam libens ut consanguineus. tunc tractatae Massiliensium preces 7
probatumque P. Rutilii exemplum; namque eum legibus pulsum civem sibi Zmyrnaei addiderant. quo iure Vulcatius Mos- 8
chus exul in Massilienses receptus bona sua rei publicae eorum ut patriae reliquerat.

44. Obiere eo anno viri nobiles Cn. Lentulus et L. Domitius. Lentulo super consulatum et triumphalia de Getis gloriae fuerat bene tolerata paupertas, dein magnae opes innocenter partae et modeste habitae. Domitium decoravit 2
pater civili bello maris potens, donec Antonii partibus, mox Caesaris misceretur. avus Pharsalica acie pro optumatibus ceciderat. ipse delectus cui minor Antonia, Octavia genita, 3
in matrimonium daretur, post exercitu flumen Albim transcendit, longius penetrata Germania quam quisquam priorum, easque ob res insignia triumphi adeptus est. obiit et L. An- 4
tonius, multa claritudine generis, sed inprospera. nam patre 5
eius Iullo Antonio ob adulterium Iuliae morte punito hunc admodum adulescentulum, sororis nepotem, seposuit Augustus
in civitatem Massiliensem, ubi specie studiorum nomen exilii tegeretur. habitus tamen supremis honor, ossaque tumulo 6
Octaviorum inlata per decretum senatus.

45. Isdem consulibus facinus atrox in citeriore Hispania

admissum a quodam agresti nationis Termestinae. is praetorem provinciae L. Pisonem, pace incuriosum, ex inproviso in itinere adortus uno vulnere in mortem adfecit; ac pernicitate equi profugus, postquam saltuosos locos attigerat, dimisso equo per derupta et avia sequentis frustratus est. 2 neque diu fefellit: nam prenso ductoque per proximos pagos 3 equo, cuius foret cognitum. et repertus cum tormentis edere conscios adigeretur, voce magna sermone patrio frustra se interrogari clamitavit: adsisterent socii ac spectarent; nullam 4 vim tantam doloris fore, ut veritatem eliceret. idemque cum postero ad quaestionem retraheretur, eo nisu proripuit se custodibus saxoque caput adflixit, ut statim exanimaretur. 5 sed Piso Termestinorum dolo caesus habetur; quippe pecunias e publico interceptas acrius quam ut tolerarent barbari cogebat.

46. Lentulo Gaetulico C. Calvisio consulibus decreta triumphi insignia Poppaeo Sabino contusis Thraecum gentibus, qui montium editis sine cultu atque eo ferocius agitabant. 2 causa motus super hominum ingenium, quod pati dilectus et validissimum quemque militiae nostrae dare aspernabantur, ne regibus quidem parere nisi ex libidine soliti, aut si mitterent auxilia, suos ductores praeficere nec nisi adversum 3 accolas belligerare. ac tum rumor incesserat fore ut disiecti aliisque nationibus permixti diversas in terras traherentur. 4 sed antequam arma inciperent, misere legatos amicitiam obsequiumque memoraturos, et mansura haec, si nullo novo onere temptarentur: sin ut victis servitium indiceretur, esse sibi ferrum et iuventutem et promptum libertati aut ad mortem 5 animum. simul castella rupibus indita conlatosque illuc parentes et coniuges ostentabant bellumque impeditum arduum cruentum minitabantur.

47. At Sabinus, donec exercitus in unum conduceret, datis mitibus responsis, postquam Pomponius Labeo e Moesia

cum legione, rex Rhoemetalces cum auxiliis popularium, qui fidem non mutaverant, venere, addita praesenti copia ad hostem pergit, compositum iam per angustias saltuum. quidam audentius apertis in collibus visebantur, quos dux 2
Romanus acie suggressus haud aegre pepulit, sanguine barbarorum modico ob propinqua suffugia. mox castris in 3
loco communitis valida manu montem occupat, angustum et aequali dorso continuum usque ad proximum castellum, quod magna vis armata aut incondita tuebatur. simul in ferocis- 4
simos, qui ante vallum more gentis cum carminibus et tripudiis persultabant, mittit delectos sagittariorum. ii dum 5
eminus grassabantur crebra et inulta vulnera fecere: propius incedentes eruptione subita turbati sunt receptique subsidio Sugambrae cohortis, quam Romanus promptam ad pericula
nec minus cantuum et armorum tumultu trucem haud procul instruxerat.

48. Translata dehinc castra hostem propter, relictis apud priora munimenta Thraecibus, quos nobis adfuisse memoravi. iisque permissum vastare, urere, trahere praedas, dum popu- 2
latio lucem intra sisteretur noctemque in castris tutam et vigilem capesserent. id primo servatum: mox versi in luxum 3
et raptis opulenti omittere stationes, lascivia epularum aut somno et vino procumbere. igitur hostes incuria eorum con- 4
perta duo agmina parant, quorum altero populatores invade-
rentur, alii castra Romana adpugnarent, non spe capiendi, sed ut clamore, telis suo quisque periculo intentus sonorem alterius proelii non acciperet. tenebrae insuper delectae augendam ad formidinem. sed qui vallum legionum tempta- 5
bant, facile pelluntur; Thraecum auxilia repentino incursu
territa, cum pars munitionibus adiacerent, plures extra palarentur, tanto infensius caesi, quanto perfugae et proditores ferre arma ad suum patriaeque servitium incusabantur.

49. Postera die Sabinus exercitum aequo loco ostendit,

2 si barbari successu noctis alacres proelium auderent. et
postquam castello aut coniunctis tumulis non degrediebantur,
obsidium coepit per praesidia, quae opportune iam muniebat;
dein fossam loricamque contexens quattuor milia passuum
ambitu amplexus est; tum paulatim, ut aquam pabulumque
eriperet, contrahere claustra artaque circumdare; et strue-
batur agger, unde saxa hastae ignes propinquum iam in
3 hostem iacerentur. sed nihil aeque quam sitis fatigabat, cum
ingens multitudo bellatorum inbellium uno reliquo fonte
4 uterentur; simul equi armenta, ut mos barbaris, iuxta clausa,
egestate pabuli exanimari; adiacere corpora hominum, quos
vulnera, quos sitis peremerat; pollui cuncta sanie, odore,
contactu.

50. Rebusque turbatis malum extremum discordia accessit,
his deditionem, aliis mortem et mutuos inter se ictus paran-
tibus; et erant qui non inultum exitium, sed eruptionem
2 suaderent. neque ignobiles tantum his diversi sententiis,
verum e ducibus Dinis, provectus senecta et longo usu vim
atque clementiam Romanam edoctus, ponenda arma, unum
adflictis id remedium disserebat, primusque se cum coniuge
et liberis victori permisit: secuti aetate aut sexu inbecilli
3 et quibus maior vitae quam gloriae cupido. at iuventus
4 Tarsam inter et Turesim distrahebatur. utrique destinatum
cum libertate occidere, sed Tarsa properum finem, abrum-
pendas pariter spes ac metus clamitans, dedit exemplum
demisso in pectus ferro; nec defuere qui eodem modo op-
5 peterent. Turesis sua cum manu noctem opperitur, haud
nescio duce nostro; igitur firmatae stationes densioribus glo-
6 bis. et ingruebat nox nimbo atrox, hostisque clamore turbido,
modo per vastum silentium, incertos obsessores effecerat, cum
Sabinus circumire, hortari ne ad ambigua sonitus aut simula-
tionem quietis casum insidiantibus aperirent, sed sua quisque
munia servarent immoti telisque non in falsum iactis.

51. Interea barbari catervis decurrentes nunc in vallum manualia saxa, praeustas sudes, decisa robora iacere, nunc virgultis et cratibus et corporibus exanimis complere fossas, quidam pontis et scalas ante fabricati inferre propugnaculis eaque prensare, detrahere et adversum resistentis comminus niti. miles contra deturbare telis, pellere umbonibus, muralia 2 pila, congestas lapidum moles provolvere. his partae victoriae spes et, si cedant, insignitius flagitium, illis extrema iam salus et adsistentes plerisque matres et coniuges earumque lamenta addunt animos. nox aliis in audaciam, aliis ad formidinem 3 opportuna; incerti ictus, vulnera inprovisa; suorum atque hostium ignoratio et montis anfractu repercussae velut a tergo voces adeo cuncta miscuerant, ut quaedam munimenta Romani quasi perrupta omiserint. neque tamen pervasere 4 hostes nisi admodum pauci: ceteros, deiecto promptissimo quoque aut saucio, adpetente iam luce trusere in summa castelli, ubi tandem coacta deditio. et proxima sponte 5 incolarum recepta: reliquis, quo minus vi aut obsidio subigerentur, praematura montis Haemi et saeva hiems subvenit.

52. At Romae commota principis domo, ut series futuri in Agrippinam exitii inciperet, Claudia Pulchra sobrina eius postulatur accusante Domitio Afro. is recens praetura, modicus dignationis et quoquo facinore properus clarescere, 2 crimen inpudicitiae, adulterum Furnium, veneficia in principem et devotiones obiectabat. Agrippina semper atrox, 3 tum et periculo propinquae accensa, pergit ad Tiberium ac forte sacrificantem patri repperit. quo initio invidiae non 4 eiusdem ait mactare divo Augusto victimas et posteros eius insectari. non in effigies mutas divinum spiritum transfusum: se imaginem veram, caelesti sanguine ortam, intellegere discrimen, suscipere sordes. frustra Pulchram prae- 5 scribi, cui sola exitii causa sit quod Agrippinam stulte prorsus

6 ad cultum delegerit, oblita Sosiae ob eadem adflictae. audita haec raram occulti pectoris vocem elicuere, correptamque Graeco versu admonuit non ideo laedi, quia non regnaret.
7 Pulchra et Furnius damnantur. Afer primoribus oratorum additus, divulgato ingenio et secuta adseveratione Caesaris,
8 qua suo iure disertum eum appellavit. mox capessendis accusationibus aut reos tutando prosperiore eloquentiae quam morum fama fuit, nisi quod aetas extrema multum etiam eloquentiae dempsit, dum fessa mente retinet silentii inpatientiam.

53. At Agrippina pervicax irae et morbo corporis inplicata, cum viseret eam Caesar, profusis diu ac per silentium lacrimis, mox invidiam et preces orditur: subveniret solitudini, daret maritum; habilem adhuc iuventam sibi, neque aliud probis quam ex matrimonio solacium; esse in civitate, *qui*** Germanici coniugem ac liberos eius recipere digna-
2 rentur. sed Caesar non ignarus, quantum ex re publica peteretur, ne tamen offensionis aut metus manifestus foret, sine
3 responso quamquam instantem reliquit. id ego, a scriptoribus annalium non traditum, repperi in commentariis Agrippinae filiae, quae Neronis principis mater vitam suam et casus suorum posteris memoravit.

54. Ceterum Seianus maerentem et inprovidam altius perculit, immissis qui per speciem amicitiae monerent paratum
2 ei venenum, vitandas soceri epulas. atque illa simulationum nescia, cum propter discumberet, non vultu aut sermone flecti, nullos attingere cibos, donec advertit Tiberius, forte an quia audiverat; idque quo acrius experiretur, poma, ut
3 erant adposita, laudans nurui sua manu tradidit. aucta ex eo suspicio Agrippinae, et intacta ore servis tramisit. nec tamen Tiberii vox coram secuta, sed obversus ad matrem non mirum ait, si quid severius in eam statuisset, a qua
4 veneficii insimularetur. inde rumor parari exitium, neque

id imperatorem palam audere, secretum ad perpetrandum quaeri.

55. Sed Caesar quo famam averteret, adesse frequens senatui, legatosque Asiae, ambigentes quanam in civitate templum statueretur, pluris per dies audivit. undecim urbes certabant, pari ambitione, viribus diversae, neque multum distantia inter se memorabant de vetustate generis, studio in populum Romanum per bella Persi et Aristonici aliorumque regum. verum Hypaepeni Trallianique Laodicenis ac Magnetibus simul tramissi ut parum validi; ne Ilienses quidem, cum parentem urbis Romae Troiam referrent, nisi antiquitatis gloria pollebant. paulum addubitatum, quod Halicarnasii mille et ducentos per annos nullo motu terrae nutavisse sedes suas vivoque in saxo fundamenta templi adseveraverant. Pergamenos (eo ipso nitebantur) aede Augusto ibi sita satis adeptos creditum. Ephesii Milesiique, hi Apollinis, illi Dianae caerimonia occupavisse civitates visi. ita Sardianos inter Zmyrnaeosque deliberatum. Sardiani decretum Etruriae recitavere ut consanguinei: nam Tyrrhenum Lydumque Atye rege genitos ob multitudinem divisisse gentem; Lydum patriis in terris resedisse, Tyrrheno datum novas ut conderet sedes; et ducum e nominibus indita vocabula illis per Asiam, his in Italia; auctamque adhuc Lydorum opulentiam missis in Graeciam populis, cui mox a Pelope nomen. simul litteras imperatorum et icta nobiscum foedera bello Macedonum ubertatemque fluminum suorum, temperiem caeli ac dites circum terras memorabant.

56. At Zmyrnaei repetita vetustate, seu Tantalus Iove ortus illos, sive Theseus divina et ipse stirpe, sive una Amazonum condidisset, transcendere ad ea, quis maxime fidebant, in populum Romanum officiis, missa navali copia non modo externa ad bella, sed quae in Italia tolerabantur; seque primos templum urbis Romae statuisse, M. Porcio consule, magnis

quidem iam populi Romani rebus, nondum tamen ad summum elatis, stante adhuc Punica urbe et validis per Asiam regibus.
2 simul L. Sullam testem adferebant, gravissimo in discrimine exercitus ob asperitatem hiemis et penuriam vestis, cum id Zmyrnam in contionem nuntiatum foret, omnes qui adstabant
3 detraxisse corpori tegmina nostrisque legionibus misisse. ita rogati sententiam patres Zmyrnaeos praetulere. censuitque Vibius Marsus, ut M'. Lepido, cui ea provincia obvenerat,
4 super numerum legaretur, qui templi curam susciperet. et quia Lepidus ipse deligere per modestiam abnuebat, Valerius Naso e praetoriis sorte missus est.

57. Inter quae diu meditato prolatoque saepius consilio tandem Caesar in Campaniam *abscessit*, specie dedicandi templa apud Capuam Iovi, apud Nolam Augusto, sed certus
2 procul urbe degere. causam abscessus quamquam secutus plurimos auctorum ad Seiani artes rettuli, quia tamen caede eius patrata sex postea annos pari secreto coniunxit, plerumque permoveor, num ad ipsum referri verius sit, saevitiam
3 ac libidinem cum factis promeret, locis occultantem. erant qui crederent in senectute corporis quoque habitum pudori fuisse: quippe illi praegracilis et incurva proceritas, nudus capillo vertex, ulcerosa facies ac plerumque medicaminibus interstincta; et Rhodi secreto vitare coetus, recondere vo-
4 luptates insuerat. traditur etiam matris inpotentia extrusum, quam dominationis sociam aspernabatur neque depellere poterat, cum dominationem ipsam donum eius accepisset.
5 nam dubitaverat Augustus Germanicum, sororis nepotem et cunctis laudatum, rei Romanae imponere, sed precibus uxoris evictus Tiberio Germanicum, sibi Tiberium adscivit. idque Augusta exprobrabat, reposcebat.

58. Profectio arto comitatu fuit: unus senator consulatu functus, Cocceius Nerva, cui legum peritia, eques Romanus praeter Seianum ex inlustribus Curtius Atticus, ceteri

liberalibus studiis praediti, ferme Graeci, quorum sermonibus levaretur. ferebant periti caelestium iis motibus siderum excessisse Roma Tiberium, ut reditus illi negaretur. unde exitii causa multis fuit properum finem vitae coniectantibus vulgantibusque; neque enim tam incredibilem casum providebant, ut undecim per annos libens patria careret. mox patuit breve confinium artis et falsi, veraque quam obscuris tegerentur. nam in urbem non regressurum haud forte dictum: ceterorum nescii egere, cum propinquo rure aut litore et saepe moenia urbis adsidens extremam senectam compleverit.

59. Ac forte illis diebus oblatum Caesari anceps periculum auxit vana rumoris praebuitque ipsi materiem, cur amicitiae constantiaeque Seiani magis fideret. vescebantur in villa cui vocabulum Speluncae, mare Amunclanum inter et Fundanos montes, nativo in specu. eius os lapsis repente saxis obruit quosdam ministros: hinc metus in omnes et fuga eorum qui convivium celebrabant. Seianus genu vultuque et manibus super Caesarem suspensus opposuit sese incidentibus, atque habitu tali repertus est a militibus, qui subsidio venerant. maior ex eo, et quamquam exitiosa suaderet, ut non sui anxius, cum fide audiebatur. adsimulabatque iudicis partes adversum Germanici stirpem, subditis qui accusatorum nomina sustinerent maximeque insectarentur Neronem proximum successioni et, quamquam modesta iuventa, plerumque tamen quid in praesentiarum conduceret oblitum, dum a libertis et clientibus, apiscendae potentiae properis, exstimulatur ut erectum et fidentem animi ostenderet: velle id populum Romanum, cupere exercitus, neque ausurum contra Seianum, qui nunc patientiam senis et segnitiam iuvenis iuxta insultet.

60. Haec atque talia audienti nihil quidem pravae cogitationis, sed interdum voces procedebant contumaces et

inconsultae, quas adpositi custodes exceptas auctasque cum deferrent neque Neroni defendere daretur, diversae insuper
2 sollicitudinum formae oriebantur. nam alius occursum eius vitare, quidam salutatione reddita statim averti, plerique inceptum sermonem abrumpere, insistentibus contra inri-
3 dentibusque qui Seiano fautores aderant. enimvero Tiberius torvus aut falsum renidens vultu: seu loqueretur seu taceret
4 iuvenis, crimen ex silentio, ex voce. ne nox quidem secura, cum uxor vigilias somnos suspiria matri Liviae atque illa Seiano patefaceret; qui fratrem quoque Neronis Drusum traxit in partes, spe obiecta principis loci, si priorem aetate
5 et iam labefactum demovisset. atrox Drusi ingenium super cupidinem potentiae et solita fratribus odia accendebatur in-
6 vidia, quod mater Agrippina promptior Neroni erat. neque tamen Seianus ita Drusum fovebat, ut non in eum quoque semina futuri exitii meditaretur, gnarus praeferocem et insidiis magis opportunum.

61. Fine anni excessere insignes viri Asinius Agrippa, claris maioribus quam vetustis vitaque non degener, et Q. Haterius, familia senatoria, eloquentiae, quoad vixit, celebratae: monimenta ingeni eius haud perinde retinentur.
2 scilicet impetu magis quam cura vigebat; utque aliorum meditatio et labor in posterum valescit, sic Haterii canorum illud et profluens cum ipso simul extinctum est.

62. M. Licinio L. Calpurnio consulibus ingentium bellorum cladem aequavit malum inprovisum: eius initium simul
2 et finis exstitit. nam coepto apud Fidenam amphitheatro Atilius quidam libertini generis, quo spectaculum gladiatorum celebraret, neque fundamenta per solidum subdidit, neque firmis nexibus ligneam compagem superstruxit, ut qui non abundantia pecuniae nec municipali ambitione, sed in sor-
3 didam mercedem id negotium quaesivisset. adfluxere avidi talium, imperitante Tiberio procul voluptatibus habiti, virile

ac muliebre secus, omnis aetas, ob propinquitatem loci effusius; unde gravior pestis fuit, conferta mole, dein convulsa, dum ruit intus aut in exteriora effunditur inmensamque vim mortalium, spectaculo intentos aut qui circum adstabant, praeceps trahit atque operit. et illi quidem, quos principium 4
stragis in mortem adflixerat, ut tali sorte, cruciatum effugere: miserandi magis quos abrupta parte corporis nondum vita 5
deseruerat; qui per diem visu, per noctem ululatibus et gemitu coniuges aut liberos noscebant. iam ceteri fama 6
exciti, hic fratrem, propinquum ille, alius parentes lamentari. etiam quorum diversa de causa amici aut necessarii aberant, 7
pavere tamen; nequedum comperto quos illa vis perculisset, latior ex incerto metus.

63. Ut coepere dimoveri obruta, concursus ad exanimos complectentium, osculantium; et saepe certamen, si confusior facies, sed par forma aut aetas errorem adgnoscentibus fecerat. quinquaginta hominum milia eo casu debilitata 2
vel obtrita sunt; cautumque in posterum senatus consulto, ne quis gladiatorium munus ederet, cui minor quadringentorum milium res, neve amphitheatrum imponeretur nisi solo firmitatis spectatae. Atilius in exilium actus est. ceterum 3
sub recentem cladem patuere procerum domus, fomenta et medici passim praebiti, fuitque urbs per illos dies quamquam maesta facie veterum institutis similis, qui magna post proelia saucios largitione et cura sustentabant.

64. Nondum ea clades exoleverat, cum ignis violentia urbem ultra solitum adfecit, deusto monte Caelio; feralemque annum ferebant et ominibus adversis susceptum principi consilium absentiae, qui mos vulgo, fortuita ad culpam trahentes, ni Caesar obviam isset tribuendo pecunias ex modo detrimenti. actaeque ei grates apud senatum ab inlustribus 2
famaque apud populum, quia sine ambitione aut proximorum precibus ignotos etiam et ultro accitos munificentia iuverat.

3 adduntur sententiae, ut mons Caelius in posterum Augustus appellaretur, quando cunctis circum flagrantibus sola Tiberii effigies, sita in domo Iunii senatoris, inviolata mansisset. 4 evenisse id olim Claudiae Quintae, eiusque statuam vim ignium bis elapsam maiores apud aedem matris deum con- 5 5 secravisse. sanctos acceptosque numinibus Claudios, et augendam caerimoniam loco, in quo tantum in principem honorem di ostenderint.

65. Haud fuerit absurdum tradere montem eum antiquitus Querquetulanum cognomento fuisse, quod talis silvae fre- 10 quens fecundusque erat, mox Caelium appellitatum a Caele Vibenna, qui dux gentis Etruscae cum auxilium portavisset, sedem eam acceperat a Tarquinio Prisco, seu quis alius 2 regum dedit: nam scriptores in eo dissentiunt. cetera non ambigua sunt, magnas eas copias per plana etiam ac foro 15 propinqua habitavisse, unde Tuscum vicum e vocabulo advenarum dictum.

66. Sed ut studia procerum et largitio principis adversum casus solacium tulerant, ita accusatorum maior in dies et infestior vis sine levamento grassabatur; corripueratque 20 Varum Quintilium, divitem et Caesari propinquum, Domitius Afer, Claudiae Pulchrae matris eius condemnator, nullo mirante quod diu egens et parto nuper praemio male usus 2 plura ad flagitia accingeretur. P. Dolabellam socium delationis extitisse miraculo erat, quia claris maioribus et Varo 25 conexus suam ipse nobilitatem, suum sanguinem perditum 3 ibat. restitit tamen senatus et opperiendum imperatorem censuit, quod unum urguentium malorum suffugium in tempus erat.

67. At Caesar dedicatis per Campaniam templis, quam- 30 quam edicto monuisset, ne quis quietem eius inrumperet, concursusque oppidanorum disposito milite prohiberentur, perosus tamen municipia et colonias omniaque in continenti

sita, Capreas se in insulam abdidit, trium milium freto ab extremis Surrentini promunturii diiunctam. solitudinem eius 2 placuisse maxime crediderim, quoniam inportuosum circa mare et vix modicis navigiis pauca subsidia; neque adpulerit quisquam nisi gnaro custode. caeli temperies hieme 3 mitis obiectu montis, quo saeva ventorum arcentur; aestas in favonium obversa et aperto circum pelago peramoena; prospectabatque pulcherrimum sinum, antequam Vesuvius mons ardescens faciem loci verteret. Graecos ea tenuisse 4 Capreasque Telebois habitatas fama tradit. sed tum Tiberius 5 duodecim villarum nominibus et molibus insederat, quanto intentus olim publicas ad curas, tanto occultiores in luxus et malum otium resolutus. manebat quippe suspicionum et credendi temeritas, quam Seianus augere etiam in urbe suetus acrius turbabat non iam occultis adversum Agrippinam et Neronem insidiis. quis additus miles nuntios, introitus, 6 aperta secreta velut in annales referebat, ultroque struebantur, qui monerent perfugere ad Germaniae exercitus vel celeberrimo fori effigiem divi Augusti amplecti populumque ac senatum auxilio vocare. eaque spreta ab illis, velut pararent, obiciebantur.

68. Iunio Silano et Silio Nerva consulibus foedum anni principium incessit tracto in carcerem inlustri equite Romano, Titio Sabino, ob amicitiam Germanici: neque enim omiserat coniugem liberosque eius percolere, sectator domi, comes in publico, post tot clientes unus eoque apud bonos laudatus et gravis iniquis. hunc Latinius Latiaris, Porcius 2 Cato, Petilius Rufus, M. Opsius praetura functi adgrediuntur, cupidine consulatus, ad quem non nisi per Scianum aditus; neque Seiani voluntas nisi scelere quaerebatur. compositum 3 inter ipsos ut Latiaris, qui modico usu Sabinum contingebat, strueret dolum, ceteri testes adessent, deinde accusationem inciperent. igitur Latiaris iacere fortuitos primum sermones, 4

mox laudare constantiam, quod non, ut ceteri, florentis domus amicus adflictam deseruisset; simul honora de
5 Germanico, Agrippinam miserans, disserebat. et postquam Sabinus, ut sunt molles in calamitate mortalium animi, effudit lacrimas, iunxit questus, audentius iam onerat Seianum, 5
6 saevitiam, superbiam, spes eius. ne in Tiberium quidem convicio abstinet; iique sermones, tamquam vetita miscuis-
7 sent, speciem artae amicitiae fecere. ac iam ultro Sabinus quaerere Latiarem, ventitare domum, dolores suos quasi ad fidissimum deferre. 10

69. Consultant quos memoravi, quonam modo ea plurium
2 auditu acciperentur. nam loco, in quem coibatur, servanda solitudinis facies; et si pone fores adsisterent, metus visus,
3 sonitus aut forte ortae suspicionis erat. tectum inter et laquearia tres senatores, haud minus turpi latebra quam 15 detestanda fraude, sese abstrudunt, foraminibus et rimis
4 aurem admovent. interea Latiaris repertum in publico Sabinum, velut recens cognita narraturus, domum et in cubiculum trahit; praeteritaque et instantia, quorum adfatim copia, ac novos terrores cumulat. eadem ille et diutius, 20 quanto maesta, ubi semel prorupere, difficilius reticentur.
5 properata inde accusatio, missisque ad Caesarem litteris
6 ordinem fraudis suumque ipsi dedecus narravere. non alias magis anxia et pavens civitas, reticens adversum proximos; congressus, conloquia, notae ignotaeque aures vitari; 25 etiam muta atque inanima, tectum et parietes circumspectabantur.

70. Sed Caesar sollemnia incipientis anni kalendis Ianuariis epistula precatus, vertit in Sabinum, corruptos quosdam libertorum et petitum se arguens, ultionemque haud obscure 30
2 poscebat. nec mora quin decerneretur; et trahebatur damnatus, quantum obducta veste et adstrictis faucibus niti poterat, clamitans sic inchoari annum, has Seiano victimas

cadere. quo intendisset oculos, quo verba acciderent, fuga 3
vastitas, deseri itinera fora. et quidam regrediebantur osten- 4
tabantque se rursum, id ipsum paventes, quod timuissent.
quem enim diem vacuum poena, ubi inter sacra et vota, quo 5
tempore verbis etiam profanis abstineri mos esset, vincla et
laqueus inducantur? non inprudentem Tiberium tantam in- 6
vidiam adisse, set quaesitum meditatumque, ne quid impedire
credatur, quo minus novi magistratus, quo modo delubra et
altaria, sic carcerem recludant. secutae insuper litterae grates 7
agentis, quod hominem infensum rei publicae punivissent,
adiecto trepidam sibi vitam, suspectas inimicorum insidias,
nullo nominatim conpellato; neque tamen dubitabatur in
Neronem et Agrippinam intendi.

71. Ni mihi destinatum foret suum quaeque in annum
referre, avebat animus antire statimque memorare exitus, quos
Latinius atque Opsius ceterique flagitii eius repertores ha-
buere, non modo postquam Gaius Caesar rerum potitus est,
sed incolumi Tiberio, qui scelerum ministros ut perverti ab
aliis nolebat, ita plerumque satiatus et oblatis in eandem
operam recentibus veteres et praegraves adflixit: verum has 2
atque alias sontium poenas in tempore trademus. tum cen- 3
suit Asinius Gallus, cuius liberorum Agrippina matertera erat,
petendum a principe ut metus suos senatui fateretur amoveri-
que sineret. nullam aeque Tiberius, ut rebatur, ex virtutibus 4
suis quam dissimulationem diligebat: eo aegrius accepit
recludi quae premeret. sed mitigavit Seianus, non Galli 5
amore, verum ut cunctationes principis opperiretur, gnarus
lentum in meditando, ubi prorupisset, tristibus dictis atrocia
facta coniungere.

Per idem tempus Iulia mortem obiit, quam neptem 6
Augustus convictam adulterii damnaverat, proieceratque in
insulam Trimerum, haud procul Apulis litoribus. illic viginti 7
annis exilium toleravit Augustae ope sustentata, quae florentes

privignos cum per occultum subvertisset, misericordiam erga adflictos palam ostentabat.

72. Eodem anno Frisii, transrhenanus populus, pacem exuere, nostra magis avaritia quam obsequii inpatientes. 2 tributum iis Drusus iusserat modicum pro angustia rerum, ut in usus militares coria boum penderent, non intenta cuiusquam cura quae firmitudo, quae mensura, donec Olennius e primipilaribus regendis Frisiis inpositus terga urorum delegit, 3 quorum ad formam acciperentur. id aliis quoque nationibus arduum apud Germanos difficilius tolerabatur, quis ingentium 4 beluarum feraces saltus, modica domi armenta sunt. ac primo boves ipsos, mox agros, postremo corpora coniugum 5 aut liberorum servitio tradebant. hinc ira et questus, et postquam non subveniebatur, remedium ex bello. rapti qui 6 tributo aderant milites et patibulo adfixi: Olennius infensos fuga praevenit, receptus castello, cui nomen Flevum; et haud spernenda illic civium sociorumque manus litora Oceani praesidebat.

73. Quod ubi L. Apronio inferioris Germaniae pro praetore cognitum, vexilla legionum e superiore provincia peditumque et equitum auxiliarium delectos accivit ac simul utrumque exercitum Rheno devectum Frisiis intulit, soluto iam castelli obsidio et ad sua tutanda degressis rebellibus. 2 igitur proxima aestuaria aggeribus et pontibus traducendo graviori agmini firmat. atque interim repertis vadis alam Canninefatem et quod peditum Germanorum inter nostros merebat circumgredi terga hostium iubet, qui iam acie compositi pellunt turmas sociales equitesque legionum sub- 3 sidio missos. tum tres leves cohortes ac rursum duae, dein tempore interiecto alarius eques inmissus: satis validi, si simul incubuissent, per intervallum adventantes neque constantiam addiderant turbatis et pavore fugientium au- 4 ferebantur. Cethego Labeoni legato quintae legionis quod

reliquum auxiliorum tradit. atque ille dubia suorum re in anceps tractus missis nuntiis vim legionum inplorabat. prorumpunt quintani ante alios et acri pugna hoste pulso recipiunt cohortis alasque fessas vulneribus. neque dux Romanus ultum iit aut corpora humavit, quamquam multi tribunorum praefectorumque et insignes centuriones cecidissent. mox compertum a transfugis nongentos Romanorum apud lucum quem Baduhennae vocant pugna in posterum extracta confectos, et aliam quadringentorum manum occupata Cruptorigis quondam stipendiarii villa, postquam proditio metuebatur, mutuis ictibus procubuisse.

74. Clarum inde inter Germanos Frisium nomen, dissimulante Tiberio damna, ne cui bellum permitteret. neque senatus in eo cura, an imperii extrema dehonestarentur: pavor internus occupaverat animos, cui remedium adulatione quaerebatur. ita quamquam diversis super rebus consulerentur, aram clementiae, aram amicitiae effigiesque circum Caesaris ac Seiani censuere, crebrisque precibus efflagitabant visendi sui copiam facerent. non illi tamen in urbem aut propinqua urbi degressi sunt: satis visum omittere insulam et in proximo Campaniae aspici. eo venire patres, eques, magna pars plebis, anxii erga Seianum, cuius durior congressus, atque eo per ambitum et societate consiliorum parabatur. satis constabat auctam ei adrogantiam foedum illud in propatulo servitium spectanti; quippe Romae sueti discursus, et magnitudine urbis incertum quod quisque ad negotium pergat: ibi campo aut litore iacentes nullo discrimine noctem ac diem iuxta gratiam aut fastus ianitorum perpetiebantur, donec id quoque vetitum: et revenere in urbem trepidi, quos non sermone, non visu dignatus erat, quidam male alacres, quibus infaustae amicitiae gravis exitus inminebat.

75. Ceterum Tiberius neptem Agrippinam Germanico ortam cum coram Cn. Domitio tradidisset, in urbe celebrari
2 nuptias iussit. in Domitio super vetustatem generis propinquum Caesaribus sanguinem delegerat; nam is aviam Octaviam et per eam Augustum avunculum praeferebat.

APPENDIX.

THE CHIEF EVENTS BETWEEN THE END OF BOOK IV. AND THE DEATH OF TIBERIUS.

EARLY in A.D. 29 died Iulia Augusta, the mother of Tiberius, at the age of eighty-six. That she had been a protectress of the house of Germanicus appears from the fact that, almost immediately after her death, letters were despatched to the senate denouncing Agrippina and Nero. The latter was decreed to be a public enemy, and both were hurried into imprisonment in separate islands[1].

In A.D. 30, the second son, Drusus, who had been used by Seianus as a tool against his brother, was condemned by a similar decree, and imprisoned at Rome in a dungeon of the Palatium: also Asinius Gallus[2], while on a visit to Tiberius at Capreae, was arrested and sent back to Rome and there kept in custody.

At the beginning of A.D. 31, Seianus appeared to have reached the height of power. He was colleague with Tiberius in the consulship[3], and to some extent in the 'proconsulare imperium,' had also the dignity of pontiff, and was betrothed either to the widow or the daughter of Drusus, the emperor's son. Also in this year Tiberius had so far overcome his hesitation as to order the execution or compel the suicide of Nero. Yet Drusus and Agrippina were living on; Gaius was still in favour and generally regarded as the heir; and these circumstances, added to sundry indications

[1] Agrippina was sent to Pandateria (see on 1. 53, 1), Nero to the neighbouring Pontia (Ponza).

[2] See i. 8, 4; 12, 2, etc.

[3] The consulship was only held for a few months, but one of the subsequent 'suffecti' was L. Fulcinius Trio (see on 2. 28, 3), who was one of his creatures.

of coldness or suspicion on the part of Tiberius, appear to have precipitated Seianus into a plot to secure his end by assassination. This conspiracy came to the ears of Antonia, and was by her revealed to Tiberius, who laid his plan with consummate craft. On the 17th of October, Naevius Sertorius Macro brought with him to Rome his own commission as praefect of the praetorians (with a liberal donative to secure the acquiescence of the soldiers), and a 'long, wordy letter'[1] to be read next day in the senate. Measures were concerted with Memmius Regulus, one of the consuls, whose loyalty could be entirely depended upon; Seianus was lulled into security by being led to suppose that the announcement would be that of his appointment to share the tribunician power of the prince, was denounced as a traitor in the letter, hurried from the senate to the dungeon, and there, on the same day, executed, and his body dragged through the streets to be flouted by high and low. His eldest son and, subsequently, even his two other children of tender years, his uncle Junius Blaesus[2], and others, shared his fate, and many more were thrown into prison to await their trial. His divorced wife Apicata committed suicide, but, before doing so, gave information of the murder of Drusus eight years previously[3]. The news of this hitherto unsuspected crime filled Tiberius with horror; further investigations and more arrests took place, and Livia, the guilty wife of Drusus, was executed or forced to despatch herself.

The domestic history of the remaining years of Tiberius is little more than that of a prolonged reign of terror. He is described as never tired of tortures and trials, and never satisfied, even as stimulated by them to further carnage, like a wild beast that has tasted blood. The compliant senate was generally made his instrument, and condemned, often without form of trial, on a mere missive from Capreae. Informers multiplied on every side; even the highest stooped to save themselves by denouncing others or voting for their death.

The number executed or forced to suicide during this whole

[1] Juv. 10. 71. The whole of the famous passage on the fall of Seianus is too well known to need quotation here.

[2] See 1. 16, 2; 3. 35, 2, etc.

[3] See the account of the crime in 4. 3, 2, foll.

period may not be more, but can hardly be less, than from eighty to a hundred, ranging from the upstart creatures of Seianus to the highest rank in Rome. Agrippina, her son Drusus, Asinius Gallus, perished in prison by voluntary or enforced starvation: Mamercus Scaurus[1], the unworthy last representative of a famous house, paid the penalty of a supposed allusion in a tragedy: Lucius Arruntius[2], then the most distinguished member of the senate, after enduring for more than ten years the mockery of nominally governing Spain, while he was jealously detained in Rome, threw up his life in weariness, at a charge preferred in the very last days of Tiberius, and perhaps without his knowledge, by Macro: Cocceius Nerva, the greatest living jurist, had previously adopted a similar course from mere disgust, while unassailed and still intimate with the prince: it was noted as rare when an eminent senator died a natural death, as the city praefect L. Piso, his successor Aelius Lamia, or one so just and independent as Manius Lepidus.

The only important episode in these weary years is that of a movement in the East in A. D. 35, 36; when Tiberius, stung by the taunts and aggression of Artabanus[3], who had set his son on the throne of Armenia, displayed a temporary energy, recovered his hold on that kingdom, and gave further support to a rival claimant for the throne of Parthia. By the sudden vicissitudes common in Oriental monarchies, Artabanus is seen at one moment forsaken by all, driven from his empire, and providing himself a bare subsistence by bow and arrows in the wilds of Scythia; at another, sought out by repentant subjects and restored, driving his weak competitor into an ignominious shelter within the Roman frontier.

Generally, even routine duties seem to have become neglected, and Tiberius sank gradually into the extremity of mental and bodily decrepitude. Gaius had held his position throughout the period by abject obsequiousness[4], and by paying assiduous court to Macro, whose power differed little in substance from that of Seianus, though disguised more prudently.

[1] See 1. 13, 4, etc.

[2] See 1. 13, 1, etc.

[3] See 2. 3, 1, etc.

[4] The epigram is reported that 'never was any a worse master or a better slave.'

On March 16, A. D. 37, it was falsely reported that Tiberius had breathed his last, and Gaius was already receiving the homage of the court; when the news that the emperor had suddenly revived and was calling for food turned the congratulations into consternation and dismay. Macro alone preserved presence of mind, and bade the attendants heap the bed-clothes on the old man and leave the door[1]. Such was the end of Tiberius, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his rule.

[1] This account of his death is that given by Tacitus; but other reports also were current.

NOTES.

BOOK I.

P. 43, l. 1. c. 1. Urbem Romam, etc. Tacitus here marks out the chief periods of Roman History:—1. That of the kings. 2. That of the Republic (in which no permanent change of constitution took place till the time of Augustus). 3. The principate. The enumeration is introductory to the reasons given by him for choosing that particular part of the third period which forms the subject of the Annals.

habuere, 'governed;' so used of provinces in 4. 5, 2, etc.

l. 2. **ad tempus,** 'for the occasion' (*πρὸς καιρόν*); so 'in tempus,' c. 37, 1, etc.

l. 3. **neque . . . ultra biennium,** etc. The decemvirate continued through the greater part of a third year; but Tacitus probably follows Livy and others in treating this part of its rule as a mere usurpation. Military tribunes with consular power were substituted for consuls during most of the years from B.C. 444–367, but are not a fixed institution, as consuls or dictators frequently intervene. The 'despotism' ('dominatio') of Cinna lasted during his four successive consulships, B.C. 87–84; that of Sulla during his dictatorship, B.C. 82–79. The coalition of 'influence' ('potentia') between Caesar, Pompeius, and Crassus, often called the first triumvirate, is distinguished from the union of the leaders of three armies ('arma') which brought about the second, or true triumvirate.

l. 7. **cessere,** 'passed over to' (into the hands of). The verb is used with a similar accus. in 2. 23, 3; also in 6. 43, 1 ('omnes in unum cedebant').

nomine principis, etc. On this title, and on the 'imperium' connected with it, see Introd. p. 23.

l. 9. **claris scriptoribus.** On this dat., and on the gerundive dat. after 'defuere,' see Introd. pp. 10, 11, §§ 8, 11. Such an expression as 'dicere tempora,' though found in earlier prose, is mainly poetical.

l. 10. **donec . . . deterrerentur.** On the use of the subjunct. of facts with 'donec' (cp. c. 13, 7; 32, 4; 2. 6, 5, etc.), see Roby, 1670.

l. 12. **res,** used here not of actions themselves, but of the history of such actions, which, while they lived, was 'falsified' ('falsae').

l. 15. **cetera,** i.e. to the death of Nero, after which the Histories, which Tacitus had already published, began.

l. 15. **sine ira et studio.** Tacitus believes himself able to keep clear of all rancour or partiality, in speaking of princes with whom he had never come in contact for good or evil.

l. 17. c. 2. **publica arma,** 'army of the Republic.' It is implied that the forces of the triumviri and of Sex. Pompeius were mere 'privata arma.'

l. 18. **oppressus,** 'was crushed' (so used of decisive defeat in 3. 41, 3, etc.). The defeat of Sex. Pompeius by Agrippa took place in B.C. 36, and Lepidus was at the same time 'stripped of power,' Caesar having induced his whole army to desert him, after which he remained in seclusion at Circeii till his death in B.C. 13.

exuto: for the metaphorical uses of this verb, cp. c. 4, 1; 59, 7; 75, 4; 2. 72, 1; 3. 12, 4; 4. 72, 1, etc.

l. 19. **Iulianis,** 'Caesarian.' After the death of the dictator, the party of the triumvirs, as that of his friends, is still so designated; that of the senate or 'optimates' being similarly, even after its leader's death, still called 'Pompeian' (c. 10, 1).

l. 20. **posito triumviri nomine,** etc. The triumvirate lasted till the end of B.C. 33. From B.C. 31 to 23, Caesar held a continuous series of nine consulships (his third to his eleventh). The tribunician power (see Introd. p. 24), though not assumed as a title till B.C. 23, appears to have been held by him in some form from B.C. 36.

P. 44, l. 1. **annona,** i.e. 'largitionibus annonae,' by distributions of corn, gratuitously or at low price (cp. 2. 87, 1).

l. 2. **munia . . . legum,** 'the functions of law,' in other words, the function of virtual legislation through his edicts, rescripts, etc.

l. 3. **ferocissimi,** 'the boldest spirits;' used in a good sense, as is also 'ferocia' (c. 12, 6).

per acies. The accus. with 'per' has often in Tacitus the force of a simple abl. or abl. with 'ex' or 'in,' and is often interchanged with such; see c. 7, 10; 11, 7; 4. 55, 7, etc.

l. 4. **servitio,** dative, as in c. 48, 3; 4. 46, 4, etc.

l. 5. **opibus et honoribus,** abl.: cp. c. 3, 1; 'tollere honoribus,' Hor. Od. 1. 1, 8.

l. 6. **tuta,** etc. The stress is laid on the antithesis of 'tuta' and 'periculosa:' 'preferred the new institutions with their security, to the old with their perils.'

neque . . . abnuebant. There is much evidence that the provinces were better off under the new government. See Introd. p. 29.

l. 8. **certamina potentium.** Some civil conflicts, as those of Marius with Sulla, Pompeius with Caesar, had brought great distress on the provinces.

l. 9. **ambitu,** 'intrigue' or 'solicitation' (cp. c. 7, 10; 75, 1); often used for bribery, but here distinguished from it (cp. 2. 34, 1).

l. 11. **c. 3. subsidia dominationi**, accus. in apposition: see Introd. p. 10, § 5 a.

Marcellum, etc. For the relationships of all the persons mentioned in this chapter, and the dates of their deaths, see the genealogies (Introd. pp. 32–34). Marcellus is best known from the famous lines of Vergil (Aen. 6. 861, foll.). He held the curule aedileship, his first and only magistracy, in his twentieth year, which was also that of his death (B.C. 23).

l. 14. **geminatis**, 'piled one upon another,' i.e. 'consecutive;' referring to the second and third consulships of Agrippa, B.C. 28, 27. No subsequent instances of this are found except in the case of the princeps himself or his nearest relatives.

l. 16. **imperatoriis nominibus**. This title was similarly given by Tiberius to Germanicus (c. 58, 9), and was merely honorary, as when given by victorious soldiers to their general (see on c. 9, 2; 3. 74, 6).

l. 17. **integra**, 'furnished with heirs:' cp. 'plena domus,' 4. 3, 1.

l. 19. **appellari, destinari . . . cupiverat**, equivalent to 'appellati, destinati, . . . id quod cupiverat.' The title of 'princeps iuventutis,' apparently then first invented, was analogous to that of 'princeps senatus,' and denoted them as first in the 'centuriae equitum Romanorum.' It was held apparently by Germanicus (see on 2. 83, 5), and afterwards by Nero. Gaius was consul in his twentieth year (A.D. 1), but Lucius never lived to fill that office.

l. 22. **Armenia**: on this abl. see Introd. p. 11, § 13.

l. 24. **illuc cuncta vergere**, 'all set in that direction,' i.e. all influence centred in him: for other metaphorical uses of 'vergere,' cp. 2. 43, 1; 4. 41, 3.

l. 25. **filius**, etc. He was adopted by Augustus after the death of Gaius (A.D. 4), and afterwards associated with him in the command of the armies and provinces, or 'proconsulare imperium' (Introd. p. 23). He was a sharer in the tribunician power for more than fifteen years during the life of Augustus (see on c. 10, 7; 3. 56, 3).

l. 29. **Planasiam**, Pianosa, near Elba.

sane, concessive, as c. 10, 2, etc. The words 'robore . . . ferocem' are a close reminiscence of Livy (see Introd. p. 22, § 58, 2); 'ferox,' in both places, meaning 'confident.' 'Conpertus,' in the sense of 'found guilty,' takes a genit. of the crime.

l. 31. **hercule** points the contrast (cp. c. 17, 7; 26, 3, etc.) between the failure of Livia in this case and her success in the other.

P. 45, l. 1. **filius**, Drusus Caesar, probably some two years younger than Germanicus. With 'sed,' such a verb as 'fecit' is supplied (see Introd. p. 14, § 24).

l. 2. **abolendae infamiae**. On the gerundive genit. see Introd.

p. 14, § 23. The defeat of Varus in A.D. 9 is often alluded to in this Book (see esp. c. 61).

l. 5. **vocabula,** 'titles.' All the old magistracies, except the censorship, continued to exist, but it is implied that they were mere names.

l. 8. **rempublicam,** used emphatically, as in 4. 19, 3, of a constitution that could truly be called republican. 'Vidisset' is apparently a potential subjunct.

l. 10. c. 4. **aequalitate.** The use of this word for political equality (*ἰσοτιμία*) appears to be peculiar to Tacitus: cp. 3. 26, 3; 74, 6.

l. 13. **aegro et corpore.** 'Et' has here the force of 'etiam.'

l. 14. **in cassum,** 'idly,' as mere declamation.

l. 16. **dominos . . . differebant** = 'rumores differebant de dominis;' unless, perhaps, 'differre' has the force of 'to pull to pieces,' as in Verg. Aen. 8. 643, etc.

l. 17. **experientia.** The use of this word in the sense of 'knowledge gained by practice' is almost wholly Vergilian (G. 1. 4, etc.) and Tacitean (c. 46, 2, etc.).

l. 18. **moli parem:** so 'par negotiis,' 3. 30, 5, etc., and 'moles,' of the weight of empire, c. 11, 2.

maturum annis, etc. Tiberius was then fifty-six, and had held important military commands during many years, especially in the suppression of the great Illyrian revolt, A.D. 6–9, and in Germany before and after the defeat of Varus.

l. 21. **regnatrice,** *ἅπ. εἰρ.*, but one of a common class of new words in Tacitus (Introd. p. 18, § 43): here used invidiously of the 'domus principis.' Tiberius, on his father's death, passed, at nine years old, under the tutelage of his stepfather (B.C. 33). He was consul at the age of twenty-nine, and again at that of thirty-five, and received triumphal honours on three occasions.

l. 22. **ne iis quidem annis,** etc. He had lived in retirement at Rhodes from B.C. 6 to A.D. 2, partly owing to the conduct of his wife (see c. 53, 2), partly to avoid rivalry with Gaius and Lucius. 'Agere' has often the force of 'degere,' as in 2. 42, 2; 3. 48, 2, etc.

l. 25. **inpotentia,** 'imperiousness' (abl. of quality). From denoting absence of self-control, the word acquires here the sense of violent assertion of self-will. It is used again of Livia in 4. 57, 4: cp. 'inpotens,' 3. 33, 4, etc.

duobus, Germanicus and Drusus.

l. 26. **qui rempublicam,** etc. They would be an encumbrance, by monopolising the chief positions in the state, for the present, and distract it, by disputing the succession, in the future. 'Quandoque' has the sense of 'at some time' in 4. 28, 3.

l. 28. c. 5. **agitantibus,** best taken as a concise abl. abs.: see Introd.

p. 12, § 19 b. Tacitus very often uses the verb in the sense of 'agitare animo,' e. g. c. 12, 6; 18, 2, etc.

gravescere valetudo, 'his sickness becomes more burdensome.' This verb is elsewhere almost wholly poetical.

l. 29. **scelus uxoris.** An absurd story is told that she poisoned some of the figs on a tree, and induced him to pluck and eat them, while she ate others from the same tree which were harmless. 'Suspectare' has this sense in no earlier author (cp. 4. 3, 5).

quippe, suggesting a motive for the alleged crime.

l. 30. **incesserat**, 'had spread:' so used of reports in 2. 55, 5, etc.

consciis . . . comite. Those to whom he communicated his plan are distinct from the one who actually accompanied him.

l. 32. **multas . . . lacrimas**, sc. 'fuisse:' see Introd. p. 14, § 25. The same tense is repeated below with 'gnarum id.'

P. 46, l. 1. **gnarum** = 'notum.' The passive use of this word is common in Tacitus (e. g. c. 51, 4; 63, 3, etc.), and may be called peculiar to him. On the less rare similar use of 'ignarus,' see 2. 13, 1, etc.

l. 2. **dubium**, etc. On such parentheses, see Introd. p. 20, § 51.

l. 3. **quaesita**, 'unnatural.' The word is similarly used of what is studied or far-fetched, as in 2. 53, 4; 3. 57, 1, etc. It is implied that Marcia at least believed that her husband had committed suicide by the order of Augustus.

l. 4. **utcumque**, etc. Tacitus dismisses the charge of poisoning and the tale supporting it without expressing an opinion on either. It is most improbable that Augustus could have taken such a voyage without the knowledge of his wife.

l. 7. **apud.** The use of this prep., where a simple locative or 'in' with the abl. would be usual, is common in the Annals (e. g. c. 61, 5; 64, 3; 3. 71, 2; 4. 64, 4, etc.), and comparatively rare in earlier Latin.

l. 8. **acribus**, 'vigilant:' often used to express diligent performance, as in 2. 43, 3; 3. 48, 2, etc.

l. 13. c. 6. **quamvis firmatus animo**, 'notwithstanding his fixed resolve.' The struggle illustrates Agrippa's personal strength, noted in c. 3, 4.

l. 15. **praescripsisset.** The subjunct. is used because this is only the representation of Tiberius.

l. 16. **custodiae adposito**, 'set over the guard,' or 'set over him for a guard.' The similar expression in 2. 68, 3, is in favour of the former explanation; the latter derives some support from 4. 60, 1.

l. 17. **quandoque**, not here used as in c. 4, 5; but for 'quandocumque,' as in 4. 38, 3, etc.; Hor. Od. 4. 2, 34, etc.

l. 20. **duravit**, 'hardened himself.' In 3. 15, 4 we appear to have the full expression 'durat mentem:' cp. 'cor dura,' Plaut. Pseud. 1. 3, 6.

l. 26. **Sallustius Crispus** is employed again on secret service, 2. 40, 3. For a general account of him and of his character and services, see 3. 30. 'Particeps secretorum' seems to have a wider reference than this affair, and to denote his general intimacy, 'secreta' being constantly used for 'privacy,' as in 3. 8, 4; 4. 3, 5; 7, 4, etc.

l. 27. **codicillos**, often used of missives from the prince, as well as of petitions addressed to him (3. 16, 4; 67, 4, etc.).

l. 28. **ne reus subderetur**, 'lest he should be set up (cp. c. 39, 4; 3. 67, 3; 4. 59, 5) as culprit' (made to bear the blame).

iuxta periculoso, 'as it was equally perilous.' On this use of the abl. abs. see Introd. p. 12, § 19 a. This sense of 'iuxta' is adopted from Sallust and Livy.

l. 31. **eam condicionem**, etc., 'it is of the essence of ruling, that accounts will not come right if audited by any one but the ruler.' The meaning is that the servants of a prince must be answerable to him alone, and he to no one; that much must be done by or for him that will not bear investigation.

P. 47, l. 1. c. 7. **eques**, used of the equestrian order, in 4. 74, 5, etc. The change here from plural to singular is merely for variety (see Introd. p. 21, § 54).

l. 2. **vultuque composito**, 'with a studied expression:' this verb is often used in this sense of word or look, as in 2. 34, 6; 3. 44, 4, etc.

l. 3. **ne laeti**, sc. 'essent.' Such an omission is usually only found when another subjunct. follows (see Introd. p. 14, § 25).

l. 4. **lacrimas gaudium**, etc. On the use of asyndeton in Tacitus, see Introd. p. 17, § 65. Here it points the antithesis, as in 'ex silentio, ex voce' (4. 60, 3); and in the common expression 'huc illuc' (c. 56, 7, etc.).

l. 5. **in verba . . . iuravere**. In recognition of the 'imperium proconsulare' of the princeps, the whole people, and even the provinces (c. 34, 1), bound themselves to him by a 'sacramentum' (cp. c. 8, 5) similar to that taken of old only by soldiers to their general.

l. 6. **Seius Strabo**, the father of Seianus: see c. 24, 3; 4. 1, 3.

l. 9. **vetere republica**, sc. 'existente.'

l. 10. **ambiguus imperandi**, 'as if he had not made up his mind to rule.' On this genit. see Introd. p. 13, § 21 c.

l. 11. **praescriptione**, 'under the title of.' On his tribunician power, see c. 3, 3. 'Ponere' is only here and in 4. 27, 1 used for 'proponere,' but the use of other simple verbs for compounds is very common (see Introd. p. 14, § 26).

l. 14. **neque abscedere**, etc. Tiberius escorted the body from Nola (whence this edict was dated).

idque unum, best referred to this summoning of the senate.

l. 16. **excubiae**, etc., sc. 'erant.' 'He had a guard at his house, an

armed escort, the other accompaniments of a court' (i.e. a train of courtiers, etc.).

l. 19. **loqueretur**, subjunct. of cases often occurring: see Introd. p. 16, § 34.

l. 22. **dabat et famae**, 'it was his concession to public opinion.' Horace has 'das aliquid famae' (Sat. 2. 2, 94); and here the object of the verb is supplied by the clause 'ut . . . videretur.'

vocatus electusque. It should be remembered that the formal choice of a princeps by the senate was at this time so far a reality that there was no precedent of hereditary succession.

l. 23. **per uxorium ambitum**, etc., i.e. 'through the adoption of a dotard, procured by the intrigue of a woman' (see the statement in 4. 57, 4).

l. 26. **inductam**, 'was put on' (as a mask): so 'inducere plumas,' Hor. A. P. 2.

l. 27. **recondebat**, 'he would store in memory.' This trait in Tiberius is alluded to in c. 69, 7; 4. 21, 2, etc.

l. 28. **c. 8. Nihil . . . passus est**, i.e. he imposed his tribunician veto on all else. That he was present is shown in § 5, 6.

supremis, 'obsequies' (cp. 4. 44, 6): oftener used of death, as in 3. 49, 1, etc.

l. 31. **Augustum**, adj., as in 'mensis Augustus,' etc.: so 'nomen Sempronium' (c. 53, 8), 'Furium' (2. 52, 7), etc. Henceforth Tacitus calls her 'Augusta,' or in full 'Iulia Augusta' (as in 5. 1, 1).

in spem secundam, sc. 'scripserat,' or perhaps 'adsumebantur:' 'spes secunda' is an elegance of expression for 'heredes secundi,' 'heirs in default,' should Tiberius and Livia have died before him. The 'nepotes' are Germanicus and Drusus, the 'pronepotes' the three sons of the former.

l. 33. **sed iactantia**, etc. This was set down to ostentation, as the existence of so many heirs before them made their position an empty compliment. The construction is similar to that of 'sed quo,' etc. (c. 3, 5), and the ablatives are causal.

P. 48, l. 1. **civilem**, that of an ordinary citizen: so 'civilia,' c. 12, 6; 'civile ingenium,' c. 33, 5, etc.

populo et plebi. It would appear from Suetonius that 40 million H.S. was left 'populo' (generally taken to mean the public treasury), and $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions to the tribes, i.e. 100,000 H.S. for distribution among the poorer members of each tribe. There is, however, some reason to think that the whole sum must have been thus distributed.

l. 3. **urbanis quingenos.** From a statement to this effect in Suetonius, it is thought that these words must have been omitted in the MS. of Tacitus. On the praetorian and urban cohorts, see 4. 5, 5.

l. 4. **cohortibus civium Romanorum.** Such bodies are recorded in inscriptions, but not mentioned by Tacitus in his summary of the forces of the empire (4. 5). They would belong to no legion, but would have otherwise the legionary status. The force of 'aut' is equivalent to that of 'et vicissim.'

l. 5. **ex quis**, etc. By the insertion of 'qui' the sentence is made to run as if it had been written 'ex quibus eos, qui maxime insignes visi, Gallus Asinius et L. Arruntius censuere;' but a complication is introduced by the attempt to express also in the same sentence the substance of each decree. 'Visi' refers to the opinion entertained at the time. Gallus and Arruntius are very often mentioned in these Books (see c. 12; 13, etc.).

l. 6. **porta triumphali**, abl. of direction (Introd. p. 11, § 14). This gate was probably closed except at triumphs.

l. 9. **Messalla Valerius**, elsewhere called Valerius Messalinus, and stated to be son of the famous orator Corvinus (3. 34, 2).

l. 13. **ea sola species**, etc., i. e. this show of independence was the only form of flattery not stale.

l. 15. **remisit**, etc. They had put it as a 'duty' ('ferendum'), and Caesar, 'with haughty condescension, excused (or released) them' from such service, as if it rested with him to insist on it or not. His expression may have been such as still to leave them free to do it if they pleased, and according to other accounts the corpse was borne by senators to the pyre.

l. 17. **funus divi Iulii.** On that occasion, after the speech of Antonius in the Forum, the people had hastily collected materials and burnt the body in that place, instead of on the pyre prepared, according to custom, outside the walls, in the Campus Martius: other acts of violence had also been committed.

l. 21. **crudi adhuc servitii**, 'when slavery was yet unripe,' not matured by long subservience.

l. 22. **occisus . . . Caesar**, 'the assassination of Caesar.' On this use of the participle, see Introd. p. 16, § 36.

l. 24. **in rempublicam**, 'against the commonwealth:' so in 3. 24, 2. The resources were those given under his will.

l. 27. c. 9. **plerisque**, 'the majority,' as opposed to the 'prudentes.' **vana**, 'trifles,' i. e. mere accidents, such as follow.

l. 28. **idem dies**, Aug. 19, the day of his first election to the consulship, B.C. 43.

l. 30. **numerus consulatuum**, etc. Marius had been seven times, Valerius Corvus six times, Augustus thirteen times, consul. His years of tribunician power count only from his formal assumption of the title, in B.C. 23 (see note on c. 2, 1). The 'nomen imperatoris' (see on c. 3,

1) was repeatedly assumed, not only for his own victories but for those gained by his legati under his 'auspicia,' and is distinct from the 'praenomen imperatoris,' also borne by him from an early date in his career.

P. 49, l. 1. alia honorum, quasi-partitive genit. (Introd. p. 13, § 20 b).

l. 2. **hi.** A verb of speaking is supplied from the sense (Introd. p. 14, § 24).

l. 3. **parentem,** used, like 'patris' below, of his adoptive father.

l. 5. **per bonas artes,** 'by honourable methods:' cp. c. 28, 5.

multa . . . concessisse, i. e. he permitted their crimes, to secure for himself the punishment of the actual assassins.

l. 10. **principis nomine:** cp. c. 1, 3.

l. 11. **mari Oceano,** a poetical form of expression: see Introd. p. 9, § 1.

longinquis, the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates.

l. 12. **legiones,** etc.: see 4. 5, and Introd. p. 30.

l. 13. **ius apud cives,** 'justice in dealing with citizens:' cp. 4. 6, 7.

modestiam, 'moderation,' as in 3. 12, 10, etc.

magnifico ornatu, abl. of quality. Augustus boasted that he had found Rome a city of brick, and left it one of marble.

l. 14. **pauca,** etc., 'a very few cases dealt with stringently.' The reference is to such conspiracies as are mentioned in c. 10, 3.

l. 17. c. 10. **obtentui,** 'for a pretext:' on this dat. see Introd. p. 11, § 12.

ceterum = 'revera autem,' a Tacitean use of the word: cp. c. 14, 3; 44, 6, etc.

l. 19. **consulis,** 'Antonii.' The legiones Martia and Quarta deserted to Octavian (see Cic. Phil. 3. 3, 6).

l. 20. **Pompeianarum:** see note on c. 2, 1.

l. 21. **ius praetoris.** He received the rank of propraetor by the proposal of Cicero (Cic. Phil. 5. 16, 45) in Jan. B.C. 43.

l. 23. **abstulerat,** a similar interposition of an indic. to that of 'fecere' below; these sentences being parenthetical statements of fact, not part of the oratio obliqua, to which 'invaserit' and 'acceperit' belong.

l. 24. **senatu,** probably a form of dat. like 'luxu' (3. 30, 4), etc.

l. 26. **divisiones agrorum,** the assignments of land to soldiers, alluded to by Vergil (Ecl. 1 and 9), etc.

l. 28. **quamquam,** etc. This sentence qualifies the excuse (conceded by 'sane') for his hostility to the actual assassins; and 'sed' contrasts cases for which no such palliation could be found.

l. 29. **pacis,** the treaty made at Misenum in B.C. 39.

l. 31. **Tarentino Brundisinoque.** These treaties were made in B.C. 37 and 40. At Brundusium the marriage of Antonius and Octavia

was arranged, which connexion is represented as having ensnared him ('subdola affinitas').

l. 33. **Lollianas.** Lollius was defeated, with the loss of an eagle, by some German tribes in B.C. 16. On the defeat of Varus, see c. 3, 6, etc.

P. 50, l. 1. **Varrones**, etc. These plurals, like 'Lollianas' and 'Varianas,' are rhetorical, and refer to Terentius Varro Muraena and Egnatius Rufus, put to death for conspiracies in B.C. 23 (or 22) and 19, and Iullus Antonius, son of the triumvir, forced to suicide in B.C. 2 for adultery with Iulia (see 4. 44, 5).

l. 2. **abducta**, etc. Here, as in c. 9, 4, a verb of speaking, such as 'memorabatur,' is supplied from the sense. Livia was divorced from Nero and married to Caesar three months before the birth of her younger son Drusus.

l. 4. **Q. Tedii.** No person of this name is known: Vedius Pollio, a knight of immense wealth, is noted for having thrown live slaves into a pond to feed his lampreys, even in the presence of Augustus.

l. 5. **gravis.** She had helped to destroy the commonwealth by providing a master for it in her son, and was supposed to have destroyed her stepsons to make room for him (see c. 3, 3). 'In rempublicam' may be taken as in c. 8, 7, or as nearly equivalent to a simple dat. (see c. 76, 5).

l. 7. **numinum** = 'quales numinum esse solent,' i.e. statues representing him with divine attributes, as the thunderbolt, etc.

l. 10. **deterrima** = 'cum deterrimo homine:' the inexactness of expression is due to the desire of brevity.

l. 13. **honora**, one of the words found in no earlier prose author (Introd. p. 19, § 45).

quaedam . . . iecerat, 'had let fall expressions (cp. 4. 68, 4, etc.) respecting his deportment, style of dress (cp. 2. 59, 3; 75, 3) and manners' (so 'instituta Parthorum,' 6. 32, 4). His taciturnity and apparent superciliousness (cp. c. 4, 3) gave general offence.

l. 14. **velut excusando.** The apparent excuse offered conveyed a taunt. Augustus is stated to have said that Tiberius could not help his peculiarities.

l. 18. c. 11. **modestia**, 'diffidence.' This quality is elsewhere called by himself his 'pudor' (c. 12, 3) or 'moderatio' (2. 36, 2).

l. 20. **quam arduum**, sc. 'esset' (see Introd. p. 14, § 25).

l. 24. **fidei**, 'honesty:' cp. 'fida oratio,' c. 52, 3.

l. 25. **occuleret**, subjunct. of frequent action (Introd. p. 16, § 34).

l. 26. **suspensa**, 'hesitating.' He is elsewhere described as 'velut eluctantium verborum' (4. 31, 4).

l. 27. **in incertum.** The prep. expresses result: see Introd. p. 17, § 38.

l. 29. **intellegere viderentur.** Their only fear was lest he should see that they saw through his insincerity.

l. 33. **tributa aut vectigalia,** 'direct and indirect taxes.' By 'necessitates' the regular charges on revenue are meant, as distinct from voluntary largesses.

P. 51, l. 5. c. 12. **dixit forte,** 'dropped the expression,' as if unguardedly.

ut . . . ita, 'although . . . yet:' cp. c. 42, 5; 3. 43, 4; 4. 33, 3, etc.

l. 9. **collecto animo,** 'recovering self-possession.'

l. 11. **cui . . . excusari.** No other instance of a dat. 'rei' with this verb appears to be found, but analogous constructions occur with 'prohibere,' and other similar verbs.

l. 15. **laudem** = 'orationem laudatoriam.'

l. 17. **ideo,** nearly equivalent to 'ita,' as in c. 72, 3; 4. 26, 2, etc.

l. 18. **tamquam,** 'on the ground that;' often used in the same way as 'quasi' or 'velut,' in expressions of the real or imagined reason or purpose of an act: cp. 2. 84, 3, etc.

l. 19. **Vipsania,** daughter of Agrippa by his first wife Pomponia (see on 2. 43, 7). Tiberius was compelled by Augustus, most reluctantly, to divorce her in order to marry Iulia (B.C. 11). She was the mother of Drusus, and had also several sons by Gallus, some of whom are mentioned in these Books (3. 75, 1; 4. 1, 1; 34, 1).

l. 20. **plus quam civilia agitaret,** 'he was contemplating a position above that of a citizen' (cp. c. 8, 3, etc.): for the sense of 'ferocia,' cp. 'ferocissimi' (c. 2, 1).

l. 24. c. 13. **artibus,** abl. of quality (see Introd. p. 12, § 17). The word is often used of accomplishments (as in 3. 70, 1; 4. 6, 2), and here of one who was famed as an orator and historian.

l. 27. **suffecturi,** 'though likely to be competent;' best taken absolutely, so as to leave 'adipisci' dependent only on the verbs.

l. 28. **M'. Lepidum,** often mentioned in these Books, with a very high character for independence and tact (see 4. 20, 3).

l. 29. **minorem** = 'incapacem.' The word has often the sense of 'too small for,' as in Juv. 3. 203; 15. 140.

l. 30. **casus,** 'opportunity:' cp. 4. 50, 6, etc.

l. 31. **Cn. Pisonem,** also often mentioned, especially as the enemy of Germanicus, 2. 43, 3, etc.

l. 32. **omnes.** Gallus was arrested by order of Tiberius some sixteen years later, and died in custody (see Appendix, p. 209). The fate of Piso was wholly due to his own conduct, and Tiberius was probably not conscious of the charge which led to the suicide of Arruntius (see Appendix, p. 211) just before his own death.

l. 33. **Q. Haterius,** noted for servility (3. 57, 3), and as a fluent but careless speaker (4. 61, 2).

P. 52, l. 1. **Mamercus Scaurus,** noted as a man of high family but

bad character (3. 66, 3). His words here conveyed the insinuation that Tiberius was not in earnest; Haterius had merely shown impatience.

l. 8. **flexit**, intrans. as in c. 34, 5, etc., and in Vergil and Livy.

l. 9. **desineret.** The use of this verb with inf. pass. is to be noted as rare.

l. 11. **genua advolveretur**, an expression imitated from Sallust (see Introd. p. 22, § 58, 1).

l. 14. **curatissimis** = 'accuratissimis,' 'most solicitous;' cp. 'curatius,' 2. 27, 1.

l. 19. **c. 14. muliebre fastigium**, 'the exaltation of a woman:' 'fastigium' is used of rank in general (e.g. 4. 40, 7), and of the highest rank (e.g. 3. 29, 2).

l. 21. **aram adoptionis**: for instances of such commemorative altars, cp. 3. 18, 3; 4. 74, 3.

l. 22. **proconsulare imperium.** This must be understood as not valid all over the empire, like that of the princeps (Introd. p. 24), but such as to make him superior to the legati of the German armies and Gaulish provinces.

l. 27. **nominavit.** This 'nominatio' was no more than the publication of a list of candidates qualified to receive votes; but if the number of the names was the same as that of the vacancies, there was practically no choice.

l. 28. **obstrinxit**, used absolutely (cp. 4. 31, 5); 'se' being taken with 'excessurum.'

l. 29. **c. 15. comitia**, etc., i.e. the election of magistrates was transferred from the 'comitia centuriata' (which met in the Campus Martius) to the senate. On this change, see Introd. p. 25. 'Tum primum' refers to the election of these praetors.

l. 32. **rumore**, used of popular talk, as in 3. 29, 5, etc.

P. 53, l. 1. **moderante**, sc. 'sibi,' 'restricting himself.'

commendaret. This 'commendatio Caesaris' is distinct from the 'nominatio' mentioned above (c. 14, 6) and was given to only a few candidates for each magistracy, who were called 'candidati Caesaris' and elected first as a matter of course.

l. 4. **de nomine**, 'named after:' cp. 'suo de nomine,' Verg. Aen. 1. 277.

Augustales. These games are mentioned in c. 54, 3, etc.

l. 5. **decreta pecunia . . . utque**, abbreviated for 'decretumque ut:' cp. a similar construction in 4. 16, 6, and with other verbs in 3. 63, 2; 4. 33, 2.

l. 6. **curru vehi.** This privilege, as well as the triumphal robe, was allowed to the praetor celebrating the Ludi Magni: cp. Juv. 10. 36; 11. 192.

l. 8. **evenisset**, sc. 'sorte,' i. e. to whoever should be by lot the 'praetor peregrinus' of the year.

l. 9. c. 16. **Pannonicas**. Pannonia, a Caesarian province of the first rank, extended along the Danube from Vienna to Belgrade. Both it and the neighbouring province of Delmatia (see 4. 5, 5) are sometimes comprised under the general name of 'Illyricum' (cp. c. 46, 1, etc.).

l. 10. **mutatus princeps** = 'mutatio principis:' cp. Introd. p. 16, § 36 b.

l. 13. **Blaeso**. This Blaesus is elsewhere noted as uncle of Seianus, and as proconsul of Africa (3. 35, 2, etc.).

l. 18. **theatralium operarum**, 'of persons employed in the theatre;' here apparently used specially of 'claqueurs' or hired applauders. Hence the mention below of 'histrionale studium,' which probably means 'studium erga histriones.'

l. 22. **dilapsis**, 'had dispersed to their tents.'

l. 24. c. 17. **iam et** = 'iam etiam,' an expression generally modified to this form by Tacitus for the sake of euphony.

l. 25. **velut contionabundus**: so 'prope contionabundus' (Liv. 3. 47, 3, etc.); the idea in both expressions being that of colloquial speech so public and emphatic as almost to amount to a set harangue.

paucis, etc. The legion had sixty centurions and six tribunes.

l. 26. **quando ausuros**, oratio obl. for 'quando audebimus.'

nutantem, 'tottering,' not yet firmly seated.

l. 31. **dimissis**. This word is here used, like 'dimitterentur' in c. 78, 2, and 'exauctorari' in c. 36, 4, of a fictitious discharge instituted by Augustus, whereby a soldier who had completed his nominal term of service was transferred from the ranks of the legion to a separate corps, called 'vexillarii' or 'veterani sub vexillo' (see c. 26, 2; 35, 2; 36, 4; 39, 2; 44, 6; 3. 21, 2), and in that condition was kept waiting indefinitely for his final discharge.

l. 32. **tendentes**, 'living in tents,' a military use of the word, appearing also in Verg. Aen. 2. 29.

alio vocabulo, 'under another name' (see above).

l. 33. **vita superaverit**, 'shall have outlived:' so 'uter eorum vita superarit,' Caes. B. G. 6. 19, 2.

adhuc = 'insuper,' as in 4. 55, 7, etc.

diversas, 'distant:' cp. 2. 60, 2; 4. 46, 3; after Vergil (Aen. 3. 4, etc.).

P. 54, l. 1. **per nomen** = 'in nomine' (cp. 'per acies,' c. 2, 1). On the quasi-partitive genitives 'paludum,' 'montium,' see Introd. p. 13, § 20.

l. 2. **enimvero** = ἀλλὰ μήν, anticipating the objection that soldiers might save out of their pay.

4. **saevitiam centurionum**. This and 'vacationes munerum'

refer to the same practice. Soldiers might buy from the centurions exemptions from task-work or furloughs, and extra tasks were often put on to force them into doing so.

l. 5. **redimi,** 'was bought off.' From this the sense of the simple 'emi' is to be supplied by zeugma with 'vestem,' etc.

l. 6. **exercitas,** 'spent in toil:' so 'exercita militia,' c. 35, 2.

l. 8. **singulos denarios.** This would be considerably more than the ten 'asses' mentioned above; since, by the lowering of the copper standard in the Hannibalic war, the 'as' had come to be only $\frac{1}{16}$ of the 'denarius.'

l. 10. **isdem in castris,** i. e. at the time and place of discharge.

pecunia, in cash, instead of assignations of worthless land (see above, § 5).

l. 13. **non obtrectari,** etc., ironically, 'we do not speak disrespectfully of a sentinel's watch in Rome; but our quarters are among savage races, with the enemy in sight.' On the dat. 'sibi,' see Introd. p. 10, § 8.

l. 19. **c. 18. agitaverint:** cp. c. 5, 1. The verb takes an inf. in 2. 4. 5; 82, 3.

l. 20. **eum honorem, i. e.** to give its name to this 'una legio.'

l. 21. **aquilas,** etc. Each legion had one eagle, under the custody of its chief centurion ('centurio primopilus'). It is thought that at this date the cohort had no special 'signum' but those of its three maniples: see on c. 34, 4.

l. 22. **sedes,** the spot where the eagles, etc. were collected.

l. 23. **properantibus** might possibly be a dat. like 'pectori adcreverat' (c. 19, 1), or a concise abl. abs. (see Introd. p. 12, § 19 b).

l. 28. **c. 19. pectori adcreverat.** Such a dat. is found with 'advolutus' in c. 23, 2, and with 'adrepere' in c. 74, 2, etc.: cp. 'adpulit oris,' Verg. Aen. 7. 39, etc.

l. 30. **multa dicendi arte,** abl. of quality with brachylogy (Introd. p. 12, § 17).

l. 33. **parum in tempore,** 'inopportunely' = οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ: cp. 3. 41, 3, etc.

P. 55, l. 1. **tenderent . . . meditentur.** The pres. and imperf. subjunct. are sometimes interchanged without apparent reason, as in H. 4. 81, 4, 'si pellerentur . . . si . . . vis adhibeatur.'

l. 6. **ab sedecim,** 'after sixteen years.' Cp. c. 26, 2; 'ab hac contione,' Liv. 24. 22, 6.

l. 7. **provenissent,** 'had succeeded:' cp. 4. 12, 3. This sense of the word is almost peculiar to Tacitus.

l. 8. **filius . . . orator,** 'the fact that the general's son was spokesman.' This concise construction (cp. 'Agrippina . . . commotior,' c. 33, 6) resembles that of participles (Introd. p. 16, § 36).

l. 9. **expressa**, 'extorted:' cp. c. 39, 3, etc.

l. 10. **obtinuissent**, potential subjunct. (Introd. p. 16, § 33).

l. 11. c. 20. **Nauportum**, Ober-Laybach, in Carniola, near the frontier of Italy.

l. 12. **ob itinera**. Soldiers were often employed in road-making.

postquam turbatum ... accepere, 'when they heard that mutiny had broken out.'

l. 15. **praefectum castrorum**. One such officer appears to have existed in each camp, whatever the number of legions contained in it: see c. 23, 2; 32, 6; 38, 2, etc.

l. 21. **vetus operis**. On the genit., see Introd. p. 13, § 21 c.

l. 26. c. 21. **etiam tum**, as distinct from the time when all discipline was at an end, and the centurions fled for their lives (c. 23).

l. 29. **cuius manipularis erat**, 'in whose ranks he served.' The term merely denotes one of the rank and file (see above, and c. 20, 2) and is related no less to 'centuria' than to 'manipulus.'

l. 32. **nihil reliqui faciunt** = 'nihil praetermittunt,' 'leave nothing undone.' The genit. is quasi-partitive (see Introd. p. 13, § 20), and the phrase found in Caesar and Sallust.

l. 33. **permoverent**. The imperf. is adapted to the really past force of the historic present.

P. 56, l. 3. c. 22. **duces**. Hitherto there had been only Percennius and his 'ministri' (c. 17, 1). 'Et' gives an instance in support of a statement, as in 2. 50, 1; 3. 38, 1.

l. 6. **intentos**, used concisely for 'intente observantes.'

l. 10. **gladiatores**. Provincial governors often kept a troop of gladiators, to court popularity by shows.

l. 12. **sepultura invident**. The construction of this verb with an abl. of the thing grudged, usually also with dat. of the person, as 'non inviderunt laude sua mulieribus' (Liv. 2. 40, 11) is common in the silver age, and such an abl. would appear to be a Latin equivalent of the genit. used with *φθονεῖν*.

l. 13. **dum**, 'provided that.'

l. 16. c. 23. **Incendebat haec**, 'he was giving these words more power to kindle:' cp. 'sermones ... incendit,' 2. 82, 4; 'haec accendebat,' c. 69, 7.

l. 24. **aberant**. On this indic., as also on 'parabant' (§ 6), see Introd. p. 15, § 32.

l. 27. **cedo alteram**, 'another here!:' so often in Plautus, Terence, etc.

l. 28. **vite**. The vine-rod used in punishing the Roman soldier is the 'insigne' of the centurion (cp. 'vitem posce,' Juv. 14. 193).

l. 30. **perferendis ... mandatis**, 'for delivering their message,' i.e. to be spokesman of their demand: cp. c. 26, 1; 57, 3; 3. 10, 2.

l. 32. **cognomento.** This was probably his real name (cp. 2. 9, 2; 60, 3, etc.), as nicknames are generally explained (see above, and c. 41, 3).

l. 33. **morti deposcit,** 'demands for death,' i. e. with a view to his death: cp. 'incessit itineri et proelio,' c. 51, 4. and the phrase 'receptui canere.' This usage is akin to the gerundive dat. noted in Introd. p. 11, § 11.

P. 57, l. 3. **c. 24. abstrusum,** 'reserved.' This word appears to be here alone used of persons, analogously to the more common use of 'tectus,' 'occultus,' etc.

l. 5. **primoribus civitatis:** cp. 3. 65, 2. The most distinguished of those sent was Cn. Lentulus (c. 27, 1).

l. 6. **ex re,** 'in accordance with circumstances:' so 'ex memoria,' 2. 63, 1; 'ex delicto,' 3. 27, 2; and the common expressions 'ex sententia,' etc.

l. 8. **Germanorum.** A body-guard of German horsemen, set up by Augustus, had been dismissed by him after the defeat of Varus, but apparently restored before the end of his life.

l. 10. **Seianus,** here first mentioned. His early history is given in 4. 1; his father was mentioned in c. 7, 3.

l. 11. **ceteris periculorum praemiorumque ostentator,** 'to hold before the rest their perils and rewards.' The context seems to show that 'ceteri' are not the legions, but the troops sent from Rome, whom he was to warn how much they had to gain or lose by their behaviour.

l. 12. **per officium,** 'by way of respect.'

l. 14. **insignibus,** 'the decorations,' or 'dona militaria' (cp. c. 44, 7; 3. 21, 3), which formed the full dress of the Roman soldier.

l. 16. **c. 25. portas . . . firmant,** etc. Some part of the escort of Drusus appears to have entered with him (c. 27, 1), but the main body would appear to have remained outside (c. 30, 1, and note on c. 27, 3), and may have been quartered in the winter camp, which appears to have been at no great distance.

l. 25. **plurima bella.** Tiberius had held command here in B.C. 12–9, and in the great revolt of A.D. 6–9.

l. 29. **quem neque,** etc., 'which should not be treated as having no right to concede or to resist.' 'Severitas' has probably the same sense here as (in opposition to 'largitio') in c. 36, 3. Elsewhere it would rather denote punishment, as in c. 46, 2, etc.

l. 32. **c. 26. a sedecim:** cp. c. 19, 4.

P. 58, l. 2. **arbitrium . . . obtenderet,** 'was pleading the authority,' i. e. that they must decide on such requests. For this use of 'obtendere,' cp. 3. 17, 2; 35, 2, and 'obtentui,' c. 10, 1.

l. 3. **augendis . . . stipendiis**, etc., dat. of purpose, cp. Introd. p. 11, § 11.

l. 5. **cunctis**, an exaggeration. Every centurion could use his vine-rod (c. 23, 4), but only their commander, the 'legatus Augusti,' could put soldiers to death.

l. 7. **rettulisse**, 'had repeated:' so 4. 4, 3; cp. 'nota refert meretricis acumina,' Hor. Epp. 1. 17, 55.

l. 8. **filios-familiarum**. By Roman law, the son was not 'sui iuris' while his father lived. Tiberius had been thus under the 'postestas' of Augustus; Drusus was under that of Tiberius.

quod imperator, etc. Stress is laid on 'commoda;' 'imperator' being also emphatic in relation to 'militis.' They would say that the 'emperor,' who has full power over soldiers (see Introd. p. 24), only refers to the senate when it is a question of rewarding them.

l. 11. **sub dominis**, 'under despotism' (see 2. 87, 2, and note there), here invidiously contrasted with 'sine arbitro' ('without control of any kind').

l. 13. c. 27. **ut quis . . . occurreret**, 'whenever any . . . met them.' On the form 'ut quis,' see Introd. p. 10, § 3; on the subjunct., Id. p. 16, § 34.

l. 15. **causam discordiae**, etc., in apposition, not with 'manus,' but with the idea denoted by the sentence (see Introd. p. 11, § 5).

l. 16. **gloria belli**. His military successes are mentioned in the notice of his death (4. 44, 1).

l. 17. **militiae flagitia**, 'military outrages.' 'Flagitium' is used generally of mutinous conduct in c. 43, 2; here it might possibly = 'flagitationes,' and refer to their extravagant demands.

l. 18. **cum Caesare**. It is probably not meant that Drusus was also intending to depart, but that he was escorting Lentulus so as to see him safely out of the camp. It is implied in 'repetentem' that the winter camp had been previously occupied by the force sent from Rome, and in its being chosen as a refuge, that some of these troops still occupied it.

provisu, a word peculiar to Tacitus and only used in the abl., oftener in the sense of 'forethought' than 'foresight;' but cp. 'providebat,' 4. 41, 3.

l. 22. **multitudinis**, 'the main body,' explained by the following words to be not that of the legions, but the force from Rome. If they were quartered in the winter camp (see above) we must suppose it to have been near, and that they had advanced from it to a gate of the summer camp, at which this assault and rescue took place.

l. 25. c. 28. **languescere**. It is evident that an eclipse is meant, though this verb is nowhere else used in such a sense. The date is fixed by astronomical calculation to Sept. 26.

l. 27. **prospereque cessura**, etc., equivalent to 'resque prospere cessuras, ea via qua pergerent,' 'that the course on which they were advancing (that of mutiny) would succeed.' The sense of 'thinking' is supplied (see Introd. p. 14, § 24) from 'adsimulans.'

l. 28. **aeris sono . . . strepere.** Popular superstition regarded an eclipse as a conflict of the moon with an enchantment, to be counteracted by this din of metal. This is alluded to by Juvenal (6. 442); and Vergil calls eclipses 'Lunae labores' (G. 2. 478).

l. 32. **mobiles,** 'readily inclined to:' so 'mobilior ad cupiditatem,' Liv. 6. 6, 1.

P. 59, l. 2. **in sapientiam vertenda,** 'should be made to serve their plan.' 'Consilia' and 'casus' are similarly opposed in c. 70, 5.

l. 4. **vigiliis, stationibus.** The distinction between these terms is possibly that between a night patrol and stationary outposts; the 'custodiae portarum' being a class of the latter.

l. 5. **metum intendunt.** This might mean 'increase their fear' (cp. 2. 38, 6, etc.), or, more probably, 'threaten terrors' (cp. 'intento metu,' c. 39, 4; 'intenta pericula,' 3. 48, 4).

l. 9. **denique,** 'in short': often used to point a climax, as in c. 26, 3.

pro Neronibus et Drusis. Tiberius represented (by birth) the families of the 'Claudii Nerones' and 'Livii Drusi.'

l. 12. **mereare . . . recipias,** potential subjunctives.

l. 15. **omittunt portas.** These had been secured against the force of Drusus (c. 25, 1); the standards had been brought together at the first outbreak (c. 18, 3).

l. 19. c. 29. **nobilitate,** apparently here used with a sense approaching to that of γενναιότης ('generosity').

l. 22. **orantibus,** abl. abs.: see Introd. p. 12, § 19 b.

idem Blaesus: see c. 19, 4.

l. 23. **cohorte,** 'the retinue:' so in Hor. Epp. 1. 3, 6, etc., a sense of the word appearing in the modern 'court' and 'courtier.'

l. 24. **primi ordinis centurio** = 'centurio primopilus.'

l. 29. **ex duce metus.** For the phrase 'metus ex aliquo,' cp. 2. 38, 6; 72, 2; 3. 65, 1; and the use of 'ex' in 3. 6, 3.

l. 30. **promptum ad asperiora.** On the temperament of Drusus, see c. 76, 5; 4. 3, 2.

l. 32. **obrutos,** 'were hastily buried:' so 'cadaver levi cespite obrutum,' Suet. Cal. 59.

l. 33. **ostentui,** 'to point the lesson.' On this dat., see Introd. p. 11, § 12.

P. 60, l. 2. c. 30. **centurionibus,** etc. The centurions had fled (c. 23, 5) probably to the protection of the praetorians outside (see c. 27, 3).

l. 6. **tutari**, 'to keep them standing.' The fall of the standards would be thought ominous.

l. 8. **nec frustra**, etc., 'not without a cause (cp. 3. 58, 1) did the stars grow dull.' The sense of a verb for this sentence is supplied from 'formido.'

l. 10. **piaculo**, 'from guilt:' cp. 'commissa piacula,' Verg. Aen. 6. 569.

l. 12. **nonanus, sc. 'miles,' as a variation for 'legio.'**

l. 13. **desolatus**, 'isolated:' so 'desolati manipli,' Verg. Aen. 11. 870.

l. 15. **praesentia**, 'affairs on the spot:' so in c. 45, 1; 2. 47, 4.

l. 17. **c. 31. Germanicae legiones.** These constituted the chief force of the empire (see Introd. pp. 29, 30). The armies of both Upper and Lower Germany were permanently stationed on the Gallic side of the Rhine; which river, since the defeat of Varus, was mainly the frontier, though the Chauci (c. 38, 1), Frisii (see 4. 72, 1), and some others beyond it still held to Rome.

l. 18. **magna spe**, abl. abs.

l. 20. **cuncta tracturis**, 'who would draw all others after them' (cp. 'tractis' below): on the concise use of the participle, see Introd. p. 16, § 35.

l. 22. **regimen summae rei.** The 'proconsulare imperium' of Germanicus (see c. 14, 4) placed him over these two officers, the 'legati Augusti propraetore' (cp. Introd. p. 28) of the two 'Germaniae,' and also over the legati of Gaul. Silius was still in command seven years later (see 3. 42, 2, etc.), and was subsequently brought to trial and killed himself (4. 18, 19): Caecina has the cognomen 'Severus' (3. 18, 3; 33, 1).

l. 23. **agendo . . . censui**, 'assessing the census,' i.e. receiving the returns of property ('accipienti,' c. 33, 1) which the provinces of Gaul ('Galliae') had to furnish.

l. 30. **nuper**, four years ago, after the defeat of Varus; on which emergency freedmen, and even slaves manumitted for the purpose ('vernacula multitudo'), were enlisted.

l. 31. **laborum intolerans.** Such a genit. (see Introd. p. 13, § 21 b) is used again with this part. in 2. 75, 1, and with 'tolerans' in 4. 1, 4.

venisse, etc. A participle of speaking is suggested by the sense of 'implere.'

l. 33. **modum miseriarum**, 'a limit to their hardships,' i.e. to such as are specified in c. 35, 1, etc.

P. 61, l. 5. **augeri.** They consider themselves as engaged, under Germanicus, in advancing the empire by the reconquest of what was lost with Varus.

in suum cognomentum adscisci, 'took from them their name,' i.e. that of 'Germanicus,' conferred at the death of their former 'imperator,'

Drusus, on his posterity, and hence borne by their present leader. The expression is used of giving a family name to a person by adoption (3. 30, 3, etc.).

l. 7. **c. 32. plurium**, 'the more part:' so in 2. 38, 7; 3. 34, 1, and often in Tacitus.

l. 11. **sexagenis**. There were sixty centurions in a legion, so that each received, as it were, one stripe for himself and one for each of his colleagues. The manuscript reads 'sexageni,' but it is difficult to suppose sixty chastisers of each one.

l. 12. **convulsos**. This word is used of persons on the rack: so probably here of limbs dislocated by violence.

l. 16. **mox**, some twenty-seven years later (A.D. 41). He is implied at this time to have been a centurion, and had then become a tribune of the praetorian guard.

l. 17. **animi ferox**: so 'ferox scelerum,' 4. 12, 3 (cp. Introd. p. 13, § 21 c). In such expressions, 'animi' may possibly be a locative: see Roby, 1168.

et armatos, emphatic = 'et quidem armatos.'

l. 19. **vigilias, stationes**. Cp. c. 28, 5.

l. 21. **altius coniectantibus**, 'forming their opinions from a deeper insight.' 'Altius' has a similar concise or pregnant force in 2. 82, 5; 3. 25, 3; 62, 4; 'coniectare' is used of 'forming an estimate' of persons in 12. 49, 3.

l. 22. **disiecti** = 'sparsi,' as in c. 61, 3; 3. 2, 5; 4. 46, 3.

l. 23. **pariter** = 'simul,' as in c. 47, 3; 4. 2, 2, etc.

l. 24. **regi**, 'that they were under strict discipline.'

l. 25. **c. 33. ut diximus**, c. 31, 2.

l. 26. **neptem**. On the family connexions and children of Germanicus and Agrippina, see Introd. p. 32.

l. 31. **credebatur . . . redditurus**, 'he was believed to have been likely to restore the republic.'

l. 33. **civile**: cp. c. 8, 3, etc.

P. 62, l. 1. **adrogantibus et obscuris**. Both adjectives belong to both substantives; as a countenance may be called 'obscurus,' in the sense of 'inscrutable.' The 'superbia' attributed to Tiberius (c. 4, 3) took the form of an offensive manner (c. 10, 7).

l. 3. **atque ipsa . . . commotior**, sc. 'accedebat;' i.e. besides the 'stepmother's acrimony' of Livia, there was also the fact that Agrippina was somewhat passionate; both causes producing these 'feminine jealousies.' On the temper of Agrippina, cp. 2. 72, 1; 3. 1, 1; 4. 52, 3; 53, 1, etc.; on the use of 'commotus,' cp. 2. 28, 3; 4. 3, 2.

nisi quod, 'were it not that;' i.e. her temper would have deserved a bad name but for the course it took.

l. 4. **in bonum vertebat**, 'gave a good turn to,' i. e. by enlisting such qualities on the side of virtue and in the cause of her husband.

l. 7. c. 34. **seque et**. The MS. has only 'seque,' which Halm follows many others in altering to 'Sequanos.'

proximos, 'those about him' (as the legati and his 'amicorum cohors'). The word appears so used in 4. 12, 7.

l. 8. **in verba eius**, i. e. to the oath of allegiance (c. 7, 2), conceived as prescribed by him.

l. 11. **audiri coepere**. The use of 'coepi' with inf. pass. (other than middle passives such as 'fieri,' 'videri,' etc.) is chiefly poetical, but found in Livy.

l. 15. **responsum**, sc. 'est,' 'they replied that they would hear better as they were' (cp. 'sic quoque,' 4. 40, 4). This refusal is contrasted with their reluctant obedience to his next order.

vexilla, more properly 'signa,' being those of the maniples of each cohort (see on c. 18, 3); even by bringing these to the front some order would ensue, as soldiers instinctively grouped themselves round their colours (see c. 38, 4).

l. 17. **flexit**. The use of this verb of a turn of speech or thought (cp. 4. 37, 2; 41. 2) appears to be Tacitean.

l. 23. c. 35. **modestia**, 'subordination' (cp. c. 49, 6, etc.).

l. 26. **indiscretis**, 'undistinguishable.' These cries are shouted all at once confusedly.

l. 27. **pretia vacationum**: see on c. 17, 6.

l. 28. **propriis nominibus**, 'specifically,' as the kinds of their hard work that were most burdensome.

vallum, fossas, i. e. the construction of these.

l. 29. **materiae lignorum**, these are distinguished; the first being timber for military purposes, the latter firewood.

si qua alia . . . quaeruntur, 'whatever other tasks are devised.'

l. 30. **adversus otium castrorum**, 'to prevent idleness in camp.'

veteranorum: see c. 17, 4.

l. 32. **mederetur . . . orabant**. The combination of constructions here with 'orabant' is extremely harsh, and it has been thought that 'mortem' should be altered to 'morerentur' or followed by 'obirent.' If the text is sound, it must be supposed that the sentences are intended to be abrupt and exclamatory, as in c. 41, 2, etc.

l. 33. **exercitae**: cp. c. 17, 7.

P. 63, l. 2. **reposcerent**. To demand this of him was in itself 'faustum omen,' as implying that they held him to be the lawful heir, which was probably more explicitly asserted. The legacy is that mentioned in c. 8, 3.

l. 6. **potius quam**, etc. The construction is an abbreviation for 'potius quam ita victurum, ut,' etc.

l. 7. **deferebat . . . ni**: see Introd. p. 16, § 32.

l. 9. **quidam singuli**, in contrast with 'conglobata,' as 'propius incedentes' with 'extrema pars.'

l. 11. **addito**, abl. abs.: see Introd. p. 12, § 19 a.

l. 14. **c. 36. etenim.** This introduces considerations which made the need of remedial measures more pressing.

l. 15. **superiorem**: see c. 31, 2.

l. 16. **oppidum**, their chief town. Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus and mother of Nero, was subsequently born there; and through her influence the town became 'Colonia Agrippinensis;' whence the modern name, Köln or Cologne.

l. 17. **manus**, best taken as 'troops:' this meaning being required by 'erupturas,' and the metaphor being similar to that of H. 3. 15, 4, 'Ut civili praeda milites imbuerentur.'

l. 18. **gnarus . . . hostis**, 'the fact that the enemy was aware.' The adj. has here the usage noted with participles in Introd. p. 16, § 36.

l. 20. **suscipi.** The construction still depends on 'augebat metum.'

severitas, 'rigour,' apparently in the sense of 'peremptory refusal' (cp. c. 25, 3), explained by 'seu nihil' below, as 'largitio' by 'sive omnia concederentur.'

l. 24. **missionem**, 'full discharge:' cp. c. 37, 1; 52, 1, etc.

exauctorari. This verb would also naturally imply full release, but is here qualified by the context, so as to mean discharge from the ranks of the legion to the condition of a 'vexillarius' (c. 17, 4). Similar qualification attaches to 'dimissis' (l. l.), 'missi' (c. 39, 2), and 'dimitterentur' (c. 78, 2). The freedom from camp duties would seem to have been a new concession, not a standing privilege of the veterans (cp. 'eosdem labores,' c. 17, 4).

l. 28. **c. 37. in tempus**: cp. 'ad tempus,' c. 1, 2.

l. 29. **differebatur**, 'was to be deferred.' The context shows that immediate payment was demanded by two legions, and also given to the other two.

l. 30. **non abscessere**, i.e. to their winter quarters at Vetera (c. 45, 1).

l. 31. **viatico**, used of the private stock or savings of a soldier, as 'collecta viatica,' Hor. Epp. 2. 2, 26.

l. 33. **civitatem Ubiorum.** They were already 'in finibus Ubiorum' (c. 31, 3), so that 'civitas' here probably means the 'oppidum' (c. 36, 1).

P. 64, l. 1. **de imperatore rapti.** These words are emphatic, and explain 'turpi agmine,' the deposition of money with the standards for safe keeping being not in itself unusual.

l. 2. **superiorem**: see c. 31, 2. The head-quarters of this army were at Moguntiacum (Mainz).

l. 4. **sacramento**, sc. 'in nomen Tiberii.'

l. 7. **c. 38. in Chaucis.** Those of this tribe who are here meant appear to have lived on the coast between the Weser and Ems. They joined the Roman expedition in the following year (c. 60, 3).

l. 8. **vexillarii.** This term is often used of 'detachments' of any kind, and does not here appear to denote the 'veterani sub vexillo,' who were still at head-quarters (c. 35, 2).

discordium, 'disaffected:' so 'dissideat' (c. 46, 1), 'discordare' (3. 40, 4).

l. 10. **castrorum praefectus**: cp. c. 20, 2. In putting soldiers to death, he usurps a function of the 'legatus Augusti' (see on c. 26, 3).

l. 12. **non praefectum, etc.** A verb of speaking is supplied (see Introd. p. 14, § 24).

l. 15. **ripam.** That of the Ems ('Amisia') may probably be meant.

l. 16. **turbidos**, 'seditious' (cp. c. 34, 6; 43, 5); 'et' having the force of 'et tamen' (cp. 'avidum et minorem,' c. 13, 2).

l. 18. **c. 39. legati**, probably those sent to invest him with 'proconsulare imperium' (c. 14, 4).

regressum, sc. from the upper army (cp. c. 37, 4).

aram Ubiorum. This altar, apparently situate in the 'oppidum Ubiorum' (c. 36, 1), had a German priest (c. 57, 2), and was probably consecrated to Augustus and Roma (see on c. 59, 6).

l. 20. **sub vexillo**, best taken as qualifying 'missi' (cp. c. 36, 4), i.e. 'ita missi ut sub vexillo retinerentur.'

l. 21. **conscientia**, 'consciousness of guilt,' as in c. 57, 2, etc.

l. 22. **expresserant**: cp. 'expressa,' c. 19, 5.

l. 23. **quamvis, etc.**, 'to set up a culprit (cp. c. 6, 6) for ever so false a charge.'

l. 25. **vexillum**, probably to be explained by 'sub vexillo' above, as that of the veterans. Germanicus appears to have retained it in his own keeping; and the men, thinking that their discharge was now to be revoked, demand their flag as a guarantee.

l. 26. **in domo.** This house, and the quarters of the veterans who commit this assault, appear to be outside the camp of the legions (see below).

situm = 'positum;' so used of statues, etc. in c. 74, 4; 2. 37, 3; 4. 64, 3.

l. 27. **moliuntur**, 'break open:' cp. 2. 82, 8.

cubili, probably abl.: cp. 'rure extractus,' Hor. Sat. 1. 1, 11.

l. 29. **consternatione**, 'the tumult:' cp. c. 63, 3, etc.

l. 32. **castra primae legionis.** Each legion had separate winter

quarters, though here two were in the same town, and possibly in distinct portions of a common enclosure.

l. 33. **religione.** Eagles are called 'legionum numina' (2. 17, 2); and the 'principia' (see on c. 61, 3), where the standards were kept, had also the image of the 'princeps' (see 4. 2, 4) and the altar for sacrifice (the 'altaria deum' here spoken of).

P. 65, l. 2. **rarum,** etc., parenthetical: see Introd. p. 20, § 51.

l. 4. **noscebantur,** 'were capable of recognition:' cp. 4. 62, 5.

l. 5. **imperat recepitque.** Such interchange of the historical present with a perfect is seen in 2. 7, 1; 20, 2, etc.

l. 6. **fatalem.** This epithet, explained by 'deum ira,' softens the censure conveyed in 'increpans' by treating them as hardly responsible beings. The sense of 'dicens' is supplied from 'increpans' with 'resurgere.'

l. 8. **ius legationis,** 'the privilege of ambassadors:' cp. 'sacra legationis,' c. 42, 4. Here the construction is pregnant (see Introd. p. 20, § 53), such a word as 'violatum' being implied with 'ius.'

l. 11. c. 40. **Eo in metu,** etc., 'in this panic all blamed Germanicus:' 'metus' may mean 'circumstances causing fear,' as in 2. 72, 2, etc.

l. 15. **filium:** see c. 41, 3. The elder sons were in Rome, and the daughters yet unborn. Tiberius would be the adoptive 'avus' of the child.

l. 18. **diu cunctatus,** etc. It is meant that he hesitated long to advise her, and that she was long in consenting: the clause 'cum . . . testaretur' explains 'aspernantem.'

l. 19. **degenerem.** This word appears to originate with Vergil: 'ad pericula' = 'ad pericula subeunda.'

l. 21. **incedebat,** 'was starting on foot,' without such vehicles as women of rank generally used. 'Muliebre' and 'miserabile' are also emphatic.

l. 24. **qui manebant,** the husbands and friends parting from them.

l. 26. c. 41. **facies,** sc. 'facies rerum (cp. c. 49, 1) non florenti Caesari, sed urbi captae conveniens erat.'

l. 27. **advertere,** 'attracted:' so in 2. 17, 2; 4. 21, 5, etc.

progrediuntur contuberniis: cp. 'progredior portu,' Verg. Aen. 3. 300; and for other such uses, see Introd. p. 11, § 13.

quis ille, etc. The exclamations are vividly put in their abruptness, without grammatical construction (as perhaps in c. 35, 2). After 'triste,' it is possible that some such word as 'spectaculum' or 'iter' has dropped out.

l. 30. **ad Treveros [et] externae fidei.** With 'et,' 'externae fidei' could only be taken as a dat. depending on the idea of some such verb as 'committi,' supplied from 'pergere:' without 'et,' the words would

be a brachylogical genit. of quality (Introd. p. 14, § 22); 'the Treveri, whose fidelity was but that of foreigners.' On this Gallic tribe, see 3. 40, 1, etc.

l. 32. **socer Drusus**, i.e. the thought, or image of him: pregnant construct. as in c. 39, 8. The relationship expressed is throughout that of Agrippina.

insigni fecunditate. Besides the three sons already born (see Introd. p. 32), three children had died in infancy.

l. 33. **infans.** Gaius Caesar (Caligula) was just two years old. In speaking of him as born in the camp, Tacitus follows a prevalent but, apparently, erroneous account; his real birthplace being Antium. For 'militari vocabulo,' cp. c. 23, 4.

P. 66, l. 2. **vulgi.** Officers above the rank of centurion wore 'calcei;' hence the 'caliga' is so far characteristic of the lower ranks as to be called 'gregalis habitus' (c. 69, 5).

l. 4. **orant obsistunt**, etc. The construction is again designedly abrupt: 'orant' is explained by 'rediret maneret;' 'obsistunt' refers strictly to 'pars . . . occursantes,' and more loosely to 'plurimi . . . regressi.'

l. 6. **recens**, 'fresh from,' i.e. with their influence still strong on him: cp. 'recens praetura,' 4. 52, 2. The abl. is analogous to that of place whence (Introd. p. 11, § 13).

l. 10. c. 42. **liberos**, rhetorical plural; only one child being present.

l. 13. **istud sceleris**, quasi-partitive genit.: see Introd. p. 13, § 2c.

l. 14. **pietur**, here used in a peculiar sense ('may exhaust itself'): so Propertius (4. 19, 8) says (of Medea) 'quo tempore matris | iram natorum caede piavit amor.'

l. 15. **inausum intemeratumve.** Both words appear first in Vergil.

l. 16. **quod nomen**, etc. Tacitus appears in this passage to follow a speech of similar character given by Livy (28. 27) as that of Scipio Africanus to his mutinous troops.

l. 18. **proiecta**, 'trampled under foot,' by the insult offered to the 'legati' (c. 39, 6).

hostium quoque ius, 'rights accorded to enemies,' i.e. 'laws of war.' This and the two following expressions dwell rhetorically on the same idea, the conjunctions being epexegetical: 'sacra' means 'sanctity,' as in 2. 65, 4; 'fas gentium,' 'the obligation towards (law of) nations' (cp. 'fas patriae,' 2. 10, 1).

l. 19. **divus Iulius**, etc. The occasion is generally taken to be that of the mutiny of the tenth legion near Rome in B.C. 47. By calling them 'Quirites,' he implied that they were no longer soldiers.

l. 20. **divus Augustus**, etc. The allusion is supposed to be to a mutiny at Brundusium in the winter of B.C. 31–30.

l. 23. **ut . . . ita**: cp. c. 12, 1.

Hispaniae Suriaeve, i. e. 'an army to which I was personally unknown.'

l. 24. **erat**, 'it would be:' cp. Introd. p. 15, § 32.

primane, etc. The construction is partly interrogative, partly exclamatory.

l. 30. **interfici centuriones**, etc.: cp. c. 32, 3; 35, 1. The 'legati' mentioned with the centurions and tribunes are probably the 'legati legionum.' Neither these nor the delegates of the senate are stated to have been 'imprisoned;' but the whole passage is rhetorical.

l. 31. **precariam**, 'on sufferance:' so 'precaria vita,' H. 4. 76, 5.

l. 33. **c. 43. Cur enim**, etc. The thought is 'I am living on sufferance, and it is the fault of my short-sighted friends that I am living at all.' The allusion is to the incidents described in c. 35, 5, 6.

P. 67, l. 2. melius, sc. 'fecit' (see Introd. p. 14, § 24).

l. 3. **tot flagitiorum . . . conscius**, 'implicated with my army in so many outrages.' As responsible for discipline, he treats himself as involved in what he had not prevented.

l. 9. **imago**, explained by 'tui memoria.' The appeal is to the imagination, as also in the apostrophe to Augustus.

cum, 'going along with,' i. e. acting upon their hearts.

l. 10. **gloria**, 'pride:' cp. c. 8, 2, etc.

hanc maculam, explained by 'iras civiles,' as 'eluant' by 'in exitium hostibus vertant.' The attack on the enemy is called, in c. 49, 5, 'piaculum furoris.'

l. 11. **vos quoque**, the manuscript reading, which some have needlessly corrected to 'vosque.'

l. 14. **contactu**, 'contagion:' cp. 4. 49, 4, etc.

dividite. This verb is used by Tacitus (2. 43, 2; 3. 15, 3, etc.), as by poets (Verg. Aen. 3. 383, etc.), without prep. or abl. of separation, in the sense of 'secernere.'

l. 19. **excusavit**, used here with accus. of the thing deprecated, elsewhere with that of the person excused, the act apologised for, or the plea alleged. From it, a verb of speaking is supplied with 'venturum filium.'

l. 22. **legatum legionis.** Since the time of Augustus, each legion had a permanent commander of high senatorial rank (see 2. 36, 1) with this title, instead of being, as formerly, commanded by each tribune in turn.

l. 23. **de singulis**, 'on each severally.' The use of 'exercere' with 'poenas' is Vergilian (Aen. 6. 543).

l. 24. **pro contione.** This would generally describe the position of the speaker rather than the audience (cp. 2. 22, 1). The phrase may

here perhaps mean that the legions were standing 'after the fashion of an assembly;' the gathering being not strictly a 'contio' convened by the general, but self-constituted, and yet a formal gathering, not an irregular crowd.

l. 29. **secuti exemplum, sc.** 'legionum,' from whom the 'veterani sub vexillo' (c. 17, 4) are here clearly separated.

Raetiam. This name here includes not only Rhaetia proper (the Grisons and Tyrol), but also Vindelicia, which extended to the Danube; beyond which lay the tribes of Suebi subjected to Maroboduus (see 2. 44).

l. 30. **specie,** 'under pretext' (cp. c. 4, 4, etc.): the true reason is opposed to it by 'ceterum' (cp. c. 10, 1).

l. 31. **castris,** probably abl.: cp. 'complexu avolsus Iuli,' Verg. Aen. 4. 616.

l. 32. **centurionatum inde egit.** The natural sense of 'centurionatum agere' would seem to be 'to perform the functions of centurion;' but the meaning here required is evidently that he 'reviewed the list of centurions.' The passage may probably be corrupt.

l. 33. **ordinem,** i. e. which century he commanded.

dona militaria, 'decorations:' cp. 3. 21, 3.

P. 68, l. 4. ubi . . . obiectavissent, subjunct. of repeated action (Introd. p. 16, § 34). The indic. in the clause above represents the more common usage in earlier writers, and probably no difference of meaning is here intended. The 'avaritia' would be that shown in selling 'vacationes' (see on c. 17, 6).

solvebatur militia. This would mean ignominious discharge, and would be a heavy penalty, as entailing forfeit of all rewards to which their service had entitled them.

l. 7. **c. 45. quintae et unetvicensimae.** The departure of these legions from the summer camp is mentioned in c. 37, 3; their leadership in the original outbreak in c. 31, 3.

l. 8. **Vetera,** in full 'Vetera Castra,' a place often mentioned in the Histories, and situate near Xanten, between Cleves and Wesel.

l. 12. **arma,** used for 'forces' in c. 1, 3, etc.; here especially of the legions, as distinct from the 'socii.'

Rheno, abl. of direction: see Introd. p. 11, § 14.

l. 14. **c. 46. qui fuisset,** etc., 'the issue of the Illyrian (Pannonian) mutiny.' On the abl. abs. 'cognito,' cp. Introd. p. 12, § 19 a.

l. 16. **cunctatione:** see c. 11–13.

dissideat, 'mutinies:' cp. 'discors,' c. 38, 1.

l. 19. **opponere,** 'to bring before them' ('confront them with').

l. 21. **severitatis et munificentiae summum.** The genit. expresses that in respect of which he is called 'summus,' namely, the

power to punish and reward; 'severitas' being used, not as in c. 25, 3; 36, 3, but as in 3. 21, 2, etc.

l. 23. **vigentem annis.** He was really fifty-six, older than Augustus had been at the time of any of the expeditions alluded to.

cavillantem, 'quibbling at:' referring again to the 'cunctatio ficta' spoken of above.

l. 24. **servituti,** invidiously contrasted with 'pacem.' The dat. expresses that for which provision has been made.

l. 25. **fomenta,** 'lenitives;' for the literal sense, cp. c. 65, 10, etc.

l. 26. **c. 47. Inmotum . . . fixumque,** imitated from Verg. Aen. 4. 15.

l. 27. **omittere caput rerum,** 'to leave the capital unguarded:' cp. the similar expression in 3. 47, 2.

l. 28. **dare** = 'committere:' so 'rem in casum dare,' 12. 14, 3.

per, perhaps used to denote an army distributed over a large tract; but this prep. often nearly = 'in' (cp. 4. 55, 7, etc.).

l. 30. **subnixus,** 'supported by:' cp. c. 11, 3.

quos = 'utros.' From 'angebant' is supplied the idea of doubt (with this clause), and of fear (with 'ne . . . incenderentur').

l. 33. **excusatum,** 'it was excusable:' cp. 'excusatius,' 3. 68, 1.

P. 69, l. 3. **ut,** 'as if:' cp. 3. 74, 5; 4. 33, 6, etc. More commonly this Greek construction of ὡς with participles is rendered by 'tamquam,' 'quasi,' or 'velut.'

l. 5. **diutissime, i.e.** though they were the last to hear of it they believed it longest.

l. 8. **c. 48. dandum adhuc spatium,** equivalent to 'expectandum,' with which 'si' can be used in the sense of 'whether,' or 'in case that.'

l. 9. **recenti exemplo,** abl. abs. The example of the two other legions (c. 44) is meant.

l. 11. **praesumant,** 'take beforehand:' cp. 'praesumendo remedia,' 14. 3, 3; and the participle 2. 73, 6; 3. 46, 2.

aquiliferis signiferisque. Having lost his centurions (c. 32, 3), he was obliged to act through these lower officers.

l. 13. **eximant.** This verb generally takes a dat. in Tacitus (e.g. c. 64, 4; 2. 55, 3; 3. 18, 1), as in other post-Augustan writers.

l. 14. **causas,** 'excuses:' cp. 'causatus,' c. 47, 5.

l. 15. **iuxta:** cp. c. 6, 6.

l. 18. **foedissimum quemque.** The same expression is used of persons involved in criminality (opposed to 'boni') in H. 2. 95, 2.

l. 22. **c. 49. Diversa omnium,** etc. The order of words is 'facies (rerum) diversa erat omnium civilium armorum,' etc.; the genit. is probably a strong Graecism (= διάφορος πάντων), somewhat similar to such Horatian constructions as 'abstincto irarum,' 'sceleris purus,' etc.;

and the use of 'facies' for the 'aspect' of a thing (cp. c. 41, 1) appears to originate in such Vergilian expressions as 'laborum facies' (Aen. 6. 103), etc.

l. 26. **cetera**, 'the issue.'

l. 27. **intellecto**, abl. abs. like 'cognito' (c. 46, 1), etc.

l. 29. **ultio et satietas**, hendiadys for 'ultionis satietas.'

l. 33. **etiam tum**, taken closely with 'truces.'

P. 70, l. 1. **piaculum**, accus. in apposition: see Introd. p. 10, § 5 a. With 'posse' a verb of thinking is supplied from 'animos cupido involat' (Introd. p. 14, § 24).

l. 2. **honesta**, 'of honourable battle,' contrasted with 'impiis' ('polluted by civil war:' cp. 'impius miles,' Verg. Ecl. 1. 71).

l. 3. **sequitur**, 'seconds:' cp. 'adulationem . . . sequitur,' 3. 69, 1.

l. 5. **quarum** applies both to 'cohortis' and 'alas.' On the sense of 'modestia,' cp. c. 35, 1.

l. 7. c. 50. **agitabant** = 'degebant,' as in 4. 46, 1, etc. Cp. 'agere' in c. 4, 4; 68, 1, etc.

iustitio, such as had been also observed in Pannonia (c. 16, 2).

l. 9. **silvam . . . limitemque . . . scindit**. 'Limes' is generally understood here in the sense of a fortified barricade along the frontier, and 'scindit' taken to mean 'penetrates,' or 'passes through,' without necessarily supposing that he had to cut away the barricade to pass it.

l. 10. **in limite**, probably 'at' or 'close to the barrier' (a sense sometimes borne by ἐν).

l. 11. **obscuros**, those in which the route was less certain.

l. 13. **incautum**, 'unguarded,' a poetical sense, found also in Sallust and Livy.

l. 14. **cetera**, in contrast with 'delecta longiore via.'

l. 16. **ludicram**, 'a night of games.'

l. 19. **Marsorum**. This tribe is mentioned again in c. 56, 7; 2. 25, 2, etc. The locality of these villages was probably between the Lippe and the Ruhr.

circumdatae; probably 'vicis' should be supplied, and 'stratis' taken as abl. abs.

l. 21. **disiecta**, 'disorganized:' so 'disiectas per catervas,' 2. 45, 3.

l. 22. **ne pax quidem**, etc., 'even their peace was but the weary and reckless ease of the drunken.' The sentence is much condensed, 'soluta' meaning the state in which men are 'soluti' ('under no control'), and 'inter temulentos' being equivalent to 'cum temulenti essent,' or 'qualis temulentorum esse solet.'

l. 24. c. 51. **avidas**, 'eager for the fray:' so 'avidus Vulcanus,' Hor. Od. 3. 4, 58.

l. 25. **cuneos**, probably used here in a general sense = 'columns.'

l. 28. **templum.** The Germans had no temples; but the term may be used of the consecrated groves in which their altars stood. The deity here mentioned is unknown.

l. 30. **Bructeros, Tubantes, Usipetes.** The first of these tribes appear to have then lived between the Ems and Lippe, near Münster, the Tubantes south of the Ruhr, the Usipetes, or Usipi, on the right bank of the Rhine, fronting part of Roman Lower Germany.

l. 31. **gnarum:** cp. c. 5, 4.

l. 32. **incessitque itineri et prælio,** 'he ordered his advance alike for marching and fighting.' Such a dative of purpose (cp. Introd. p. 11, § 12) usually depends more or less on a substantive following the verb; and 'incessit' has here the force of 'incessum instituit.'

P. 71, l. 3. **donec . . . porrigeretur,** 'till they were extended in file.'

l. 4. **adsultantes.** The accus. is found here alone with this verb, but with many similar ones, as below with 'incurrere' and 'evasere' (see Introd. p. 10, § 5 c).

l. 6. **advectus,** sc. 'equo:' so in 2. 45, 4, etc.

l. 7. **illud tempus,** 'the opportunity they had desired' (c. 49, 5).

l. 10. **evasere,** 'got beyond' (so 'silvas evasisse,' Agr. 33, 5): this and similar uses of the verb appear to originate with Vergil.

l. 15. **c. 52. quaesivisset,** in subjunct. as part of the thought of Tiberius. The subject 'Germanicus' is supplied from the following words.

l. 17. **magis in speciem,** etc. 'In speciem' means 'so as to produce an imposing appearance' (cp. 2. 6. 3, and the use of 'in' noted in Introd. p. 17, § 38); and the sense is that his language was too ostentatious to seem sincere.

l. 20. **intentior,** 'more in earnest:' cp. 3. 35, 2, etc.

indulserat, 'had conceded:' cp. 2. 38, 3.

l. 21. **servavit,** probably for 'observavit,' 'he ratified.'

exercitus. The plural appears to mean here 'legiones,' as in 3. 12, 6, etc.

l. 22. c. 53. **Iulia,** the only child of Augustus, married successively to Marcellus, Agrippa, and Tiberius. She was fifty three years old at her death, and had lived fifteen years in exile.

l. 23. **Pandateria,** Vandotena, a little north of the bay of Naples.

l. 24. **Reginorum,** of Regium or Rhegium, now Reggio.

l. 25. **Gaio et Lucio,** her sons by Agrippa: see c. 3, 2, etc.

l. 26. **tam intima,** 'so real.' 'Tam' is used by Cicero to add force to a superl., as 'tam gravissimis iudiciis' (Phil. 12. 5, 11), 'tam maxime' (de Am. 23). On the retirement of Tiberius to Rhodes, see on c. 4, 4.

l. 28. **interfectum . . . Agrippam:** see c. 6.

l. 29. **inopia ac tabe longa,** 'by privation and slow decay' = 'tabe per inopiam facta.'

l. 29. **longinquitate**, best taken of time = 'duration.' She had been forgotten so long that none would ask how she died.

l. 31. **prave facundus**, 'of unscrupulous eloquence:' cp. 'pudens prave' ('with false modesty'), Hor. A. P. 88.

P. 72, l. 1. **contumacia et odiis**, 'through defiance and antipathy,' i. e. by rousing these feelings in her.

l. 2. **scripsit**. The tense is merely an aorist; whereas that of 'credebantur' is used to express the belief at the time when the letters were written. With 'compositae,' 'fuisse' is to be supplied.

l. 3. **Cercinam**, the 'Karkenah' or 'Kerkena' islands, in the Lesser Syrtis.

l. 4. **quattuordecim annis**. Such an abl. of time throughout which, though rare except in post-Augustan writers, is found in Cicero: see Roby, 1184.

l. 5. **in prominenti litoris**. Such a genit. (Introd. p. 13, § 20 a) after a neut. adj. depending on a prep. is very rare; but other instances are found in Tacitus, as 4. 74, 4, and 'post multum vulnerum,' 12. 56, 5.

l. 9. **vita**, best taken as modal abl. answering to 'constantia.'

l. 13. **c. 54. annus . . . accepit**. Tacitus often personifies 'annus,' as in 2. 53, 1; 4. 15, 1; 23, 1, etc., also 'nox' (as in c. 28, 1), 'lux' (as in c. 70, 7), etc.

caerimonias, i. e. the established 'cultus' of Augustus (cp. c. 10, 8), for which this body of 'sodales,' ranking with the great priestly colleges (see 3. 64, 3), was instituted. There was also a 'flamen Augusti' (see on 2. 83, 2).

l. 14. **Titus Tatius**. Other accounts make Romulus found this priesthood in honour of Tatius, his Sabine antagonist and subsequent colleague in the kingdom.

l. 18. **discordia**, probably 'turbulence:' cp. 'discors,' c. 38, 1, etc.

histrionum, the pantomimists ('histrio' and 'mimus' are interchanged in c. 73, 2, 4), whose art of representing characters by dumb show (described as 'saltare Agamemnona,' etc.) was developed, and almost created, by Bathyllus and others in the time of Augustus. The public interest and excitement respecting them may be gathered from c. 77; 4. 14, 4, etc.

l. 21. **talibus studiis**, probably abl., analogous to such poetical usages as 'meta distabat utraque,' Ov. Met. 3. 145.

civile: cp. c. 12, 6, etc.

l. 22. **alia . . . morum via**, 'his character took a different course' (cp. 'comi via,' 4. 7, 1). Tiberius is called by the elder Pliny 'tristissimus hominum.'

l. 23. **habitum**, 'held in hand,' 'governed:' cp. 'Hispaniae . . . habebantur,' 4. 5, 1.

l. 23. **ad duriora**, 'to sterner courses:' cp. 'dura virtus,' G. 31. 5.

l. 24. **c. 55. decernitur triumphus.** This could only be for the insignificant campaign of last year (cc. 49–51). The actual triumph took place two years later (2. 41, 2).

l. 26. **repentino . . . excursu**, contrasted with 'summa ope,' as is 'initio veris' with 'in aestatem.' The Chatti lived in the present Hesse Cassel.

l. 27. **praecepit**, 'anticipated:' cp. 2. 35, 2; 3. 57, 1.

dissidere in, 'were forming factions of.' Such a construction appears analogous to that sometimes found with verbs of distribution: cp. 2. 8, 1; 67, 4; also 'socios partitur in omnes,' Verg. Aen. 1. 194.

l. 28. **Arminium**, a Latin form of 'Hermann.' The character and career of this prince are summed up in 2. 88, and other relatives of his are mentioned in c. 57, 5; 58, 9; 60, 1; 2. 9, 2. His leadership of the Cheruscans and other German tribes began with the rising against Varus; at which time he was but twenty-five years old (2. 88, 4), but had already served with the Roman armies (2. 10, 3), and, according to Velleius, had received the Roman citizenship and even equestrian rank.

Segestem. His son is mentioned in c. 57, 2, a brother and nephew in c. 71, 1.

perfidia . . . aut fide, 'the one for treachery, the other for fidelity:' cp. the similar use of 'aut' in 2. 46, 3; 3. 63, 6, etc.

l. 33. **crimina et innoxios** = 'noxios et innoxios.' Such a variation of the expression is analogous to those noted in Introd. p. 20, § 54, and its harshness here is somewhat mitigated by the frequent use in Tacitus of abstract for concrete (Id. p. 9, § 1).

P. 73, l. 1. **fato**, by blindness which must have been ordained by destiny.

l. 4. **gener invisus inimici soceri.** The two last words are best taken as genit. sing., and explained by distinguishing 'invisus' from 'inimici;' the meaning being that Arminius, already at enmity with Segestes on public grounds, was additionally hateful to him from the way in which he became his son-in-law. This is expanded in the next sentence ('quaeque . . . erant'), where 'apud infensos' answers to 'inimici,' and 'incitamenta irarum' to 'invisus.'

l. 9. c. 56. **Caecinae.** He was to hold in check the Cherusci, etc. (see § 7).

l. 11. **Tauno**, the high tract between Wiesbaden and Homburg. The fort of Drusus appears to have been close to the Rhine.

l. 12. **rapit** = 'raptim ducit' (cp. 4. 25, 2), a sense originating apparently with Vergil (Aen. 7. 725; 10. 178; 308).

munitiones, taken strictly with 'viarum,' and loosely (in the sense of 'bridging') with 'fluminum.'

l. 14. **inoffensum**, 'uninterrupted:' this sense, and the transitive use of 'properare,' are chiefly poetical.

l. 17. **Adranam**, the Eder, which takes a north-easterly course, and, a little above Cassel, joins the Fulda, itself a tributary of the Weser.

l. 24. **Cheruscis.** This great tribe had been, ever since the rising against Varus, at the head of the German resistance. Their locality was in parts of Hanover, Brunswick, etc., but their confederation extended further to the west.

l. 30. c. 57. **quanto . . . promptus.** On such abbreviations of comparative sentences, see Introd. p. 17, § 40.

l. 32. **conscientia**: cp. c. 39. 3. The abl., as also 'memoria' (§ 6) is causal (see Introd. p. 12, § 18).

l. 33. **anno quo**, etc. The plural 'Germaniae' generally denotes the two Roman provinces; and the rising of A.D. 9 is here assumed to be the revolt of a country subject to Rome.

P. 74, l. 1. **aram Ubiorum**: cp. c. 39, 1.

l. 4. **pretium** = 'operae pretium,' as in 2. 35, 1, etc. The abbreviation appears to be peculiar to Tacitus.

l. 7. **uxor**, etc. Her name, according to Strabo, was Thusnelda.

l. 8. **animo**, abl. of quality.

in lacrimas, 'so as to shed tears:' cp. Introd. p. 17, § 38.

l. 12. **bonae societatis**, 'alliance faithfully kept;' like 'bona fides,' etc.

l. 17. c. 58. **ex**, 'in accordance with,' like 'ex sententia,' 'ex more,' etc.

l. 19. **conducere**, sc. 'iudicabam,' supplied by zeugma from 'probabam:' see Introd. p. 20, § 52; and, on the omission of 'magis' before 'quam,' see Id. p. 17, § 40.

l. 24. **nox**, that of the banquet (c. 55, 3).

l. 25. **quae secuta.** This glances at his share in hostilities, as 'consensu gentis in bellum tractus' (c. 55, 4).

l. 27. **tui copia**, 'access to you:' more commonly 'conveniendi' is added.

l. 28. **antehabeo.** This word is found only here and in 4. 11, 5.

l. 32. **utrum praevaleat**, 'which should have more weight with you.'

P. 75, l. 2. **vetere**, the province on the Gallic side of the Rhine. It is assumed, as above (c. 57, 2) that further Germany is also part of the province, though in revolt.

nomen imperatoris: see on c. 3, 1. We see here that it was given by decree of the senate, on the motion of the princeps.

l. 3. **virilis sexus.** His name is given by Strabo as Thymelicus; but any subsequent mention of him by Tacitus has been lost.

l. 5. **conflictatus est**, 'was harassed:' cp. 2. 20, 3, etc.

in tempore, 'at the proper time:' cp. c. 19, 2.

l. 7. c. 59. **invitis aut cupientibus.** This attracted dative is an extension of the Græcism elsewhere restricted in Latin to 'volenti' and 'volentibus,' which are thus used in a few places (see Roby, 1152).

spe vel dolore, abl. of manner: see Introd. p. 12, § 16.

l. 8. **rapta uxor,** etc., 'the thought of his wife's seizure and the enslavement of her unborn child:' cp. Introd. p. 16, § 36.

l. 13. **sibi,** dat. commodi, as is also 'sibi . . . firmabat,' c. 71, 5.

legatos. Probably here and in c. 61, 6, the 'legati legionum' (see on c. 44, 3) are meant.

l. 18. **sacerdotium hominum,** 'his priesthood to a man.' He was probably priest to Augustus (c. 39, 1; 57, 2), whose divinity Arminius thus contemptuously denies (cp. below, § 7). Several other readings have been suggested, but this sense appears to be satisfactory.

Germanos, etc. Stress seems to be laid on 'Germanos' ('true Germans'), in indignant contrast to Segestes, and the sentence 'quod . . . viderint' forms the object of 'excusaturos;' the meaning being that they could never make sufficient apology to themselves (never forgive themselves) for having allowed the insignia of Roman occupation to be ever seen between the Rhine and Elbe.

l. 20. **aliis gentibus,** etc., i. e. those who knew it not might think it good for them. 'Ignorantia' is causal abl. (cp. c. 57, 2).

l. 21. **nescia** = 'ignota:' so in Plautus.

l. 23. **delectus,** probably an ironical allusion to him as professedly princeps by the state's free choice (c. 7, 10).

l. 25. **colonias novas,** 'new settlements,' such as those of many tribes, and now of Segestes and his train, on the 'victa ripa.'

l. 28. **c. 60. sed,** without 'etiam,' as in c. 81, 1; 2. 14, 3, etc.: 'etiam' is also used without 'sed' (Introd. p. 17, § 40).

l. 31. **quadraginta cohortibus,** the four legions of the lower army (c. 64, 8).

l. 33. **mittit.** This verb is thus used with gerundive dat. of purpose (Introd. p. 11, § 11) in 2. 1, 2.

finibus, local abl. indicating direction, like 'via,' etc.: see Introd. p. 11, § 14.

Frisiorum. This tribe, at that time subject to Rome (see 4. 72, 1), occupied most of the coast of Holland, where part of their territory still retains the name of Friesland.

P. 76, l. 2. **lacus:** cp. 2. 8, 1. These lakes are now merged in the Zuider Zee.

l. 3. **Chauci:** see c. 38, 1.

l. 5. **L. Stertinius,** mentioned often in these campaigns, and always as a leader of cavalry and light troops (c. 71, 1; 2. 8, 4; 11, 4; 17, 1; 22, 3).

l. 8. haud procul. The sense of a participle of 'sum' is supplied with the abl. abs.

l. 9. **Teutoburgiensi saltu.** The locality is most uncertain and much disputed: many follow Mommsen in placing it at Barenau, north of Osnabrück, the site of a great find of Roman coins.

l. 10. **dicebantur, sc.** 'esse.' For the construction, cp. 'intellegebantur,' c. 61, 3.

l. 14. **c. 61. occulta saltuum**: cp. 'umido paludum' below; such genitives have the force of a mere adj. (Introd. p. 13, § 20).

l. 15. **pontes et aggeres**: these are coupled also in 4. 73, 2. On the former, see note on c. 63, 6; the latter appear here, and in 2. 7, 5, to be roads roughly constructed by embankment.

l. 16. **incedunt.** A simple accus. of place is found with this verb in Tacitus alone: see Introd. p. 10, § 5 c. The pl. 'loci' is rarely used, as here, of a locality, oftener as in 2. 20, 1.

visu, the actual appearance, as opposed to the associations ('memoria'). . . . . .

l. 17. **prima . . . castra**, i. e. that pitched after the first day's fighting. The final catastrophe took place on the fourth day.

l. 18. **principiis**, the central space of a camp, into which soldiers were collected for an address (c. 67, 1), and in which stood the 'praetorium,' etc. This camp, besides being 'lato ambitu,' had such a space regularly marked out.

trium legionum manus ostentabant, 'were evidence of the work of three legions,' i. e. of the undiminished army.

semiruto, 'half levelled' (4. 25, 1), and thus showing itself to have been slenderly constructed.

l. 19. **accisae**, 'diminished:' so used of 'opes' in Hor. Sat. 2. 2, 114.

consedisse intellegebantur: cp. Introd. p. 15, § 29.

l. 20. **ut fugerant**, etc., 'scattered or heaped, according as the men had fled or rallied.'

l. 22. **ora**, 'human skulls.'

lucis, abl. of position (Introd. p. 11, § 14).

l. 23. primorum ordinum: cp. c. 29, 2.

l. 25. elapsi: for the accus. cp. 4. 64, 3; Introd. p. 10, § 5 c.

l. 27. **infelici dextera et suo ictu**, hendiadys. His hand was 'hapless' in that it could only help him in his despair.

l. 28. patibula, 'crosses,' as in 4. 72, 5. The 'scrobes' were probably trenches in which men were buried alive.

l. 29. **utque**, 'and how:' cp. 2. 4, 5; 3. 9, 1, and note there. Such a construction is used by Cicero only with 'video' and 'audio.' On the use of 'per,' see note on 1. 2, 1.

l. 30. **c. 62. sextum post**, etc., a rare form of expression (see Madvig, 276, obs. 6) for 'sexto anno post cladem.'

P. 77, l. 4. **trahenti**, 'interpreting;' so used of action, with 'in' or 'ad,' in 3. 22, 6; 4. 64, 1, etc.: cp. 'varie trahebant,' c. 76, 6.

l. 5. **formidolosiorem**. The word appears here alone to take the construction of 'pavidus,' etc., and has not often the sense of 'timorous.'

l. 6. **auguratu et . . . caerimoniis**. The office of 'augur' and its ritual dated from the early regal period; and the old priestly colleges had strict rules respecting defilement by contact with the dead.

l. 9. **c. 63. copia**, 'opportunity;' usually with genit., as **c.** 58, 6; 2. 7, 2, etc.

evehi, 'to charge;' a military term, as is also apparently 'eripi,' 'to be carried by a rush.'

l. 15. **gnaram**: cp. **c.** 5, 4.

l. 17. **manibus aequis**, 'after indecisive conflict;' a phrase taken from Sallust and Livy, and here apparently a virtual admission of defeat.

ad Amisiam, i.e. to the mouth of the Ems, where the fleet was stationed.

l. 18. **legiones . . . reportat**. These words are perhaps interpolated, and are certainly inaccurate; as, even of the four legions under the special command of Germanicus (c. 60, 3), two were to make part of the retreat by land (c. 70, 1).

l. 19. **litore**, abl. of direction, like 'finibus' (c. 60, 2).

l. 21. **pontes longos**. Marshes were sometimes bridged by mere timbers laid, like sleepers, along the ground. Here some more permanent, though decayed structure, seems to be described. The locality is doubtful, but is taken by many to be that of the Bourtanger morass, south of the estuary of the Ems.

l. 22. **L. Domitio**: see 4. 44, 3.

l. 25. **compendiis viarum**, 'short routes:' cp. 'compendia maris,' 2. 55, 3.

l. 28. **in loco**, 'where he was;' i.e. where he had to repair the bridge: cp. 4. 47, 3.

l. 29. **opus et alii praelium**. Such an expression is not strictly identical with 'alii . . . alii,' but rather distinguishes the action of the smaller from that of the larger body. Other writers generally omit the conjunction, as 'navibus iunctis . . . alii vadis conati.' Caes. B. G. 1. 8, 4.

l. 31. **c. 64. nisi**. The infin. with 'nitor' is rare, but found in Sallust, etc.

l. 33. **ad gradum**, 'to take stand upon:' so in the phrase 'gradu deicere' (Cic.)

P. 78, l. 2. **sueta**. 'customary.' This participle is rarely, 'consuetus' more commonly, used of things in this sense.

l. 4. **inclinantes**, 'giving way:' the dat. depends on 'exemit,' as in c. 48, 2.

l. 7. **subiecta, i.e.** 'loca iugis subiecta:' cp. 'subiecta vallium,' c. 65, 1.

l. 13. **medio.** The legions, drawn up in a 'thin line' along this 'planities,' would be between the enemy on the wooded hills and the baggage struggling along the causeway over the morass, and would be able to hold the former in check while the latter made progress on their way.

l. 17. **c. 65. per diversa, i.e.** from a different cause on either side.

l. 19. **interruptae voces, sc.** 'essent' (cp. c. 7, 1, etc.). From a parallel passage (H. 5. 22, 5), 'interrupto signo et vocibus,' this would appear to mean that the challenge of the patrol lacked its usual regularity and promptness.

l. 22. **dira quies.** Here, as in 2. 14, 1, etc., 'quies' is generally taken to mean 'a dream' (as 'somnus' in Verg. Aen. 2. 794), but might bear its usual meaning, the dream itself being sufficiently indicated by the epithet.

l. 23. **emersum.** The simple abl. with this verb (see Introd. p. 11, § 13) is found also in Sallust.

l. 24. **manum, etc.,** 'thrust aside his hand as he held it out to him.' Usually 'manum intendere' expresses a hostile gesture, as in 4. 3, 2, etc.

l. 26. **campo umentia ultra,** apparently not the 'planities' which they were intended to occupy (c. 64, 7), but a solid spot outside the part of the morass furthest from the enemy. By occupying this, they left the baggage, etc., on the causeways exposed to attack.

l. 28. **caeno fossisque,** probably an abl., partly local, partly instrumental: cp. 'criminibus haerebant' (4. 19, 5); 'haeret pede pes' (Verg. Aen. 10. 361): see also note on c. 68, 3.

l. 29. **utque** = 'atque, ut solet,' etc. The 'ut' before 'haesere,' in the sense of 'when,' extends its force to 'aures,' and this clause, with another 'ut,' is interposed parenthetically.

P. 79, l. 1. **lubrico paludum** = 'lubrica palude:' cp. c. 61, 2, etc. 'Lapsantes' is apparently from Vergil (Aen. 2. 551).

l. 7. **aperta et solida,** probably a different solid spot from either of those mentioned before, and apparently beyond the neighbourhood of the forest: cp. 'non hic silvas nec paludes' (c. 68, 4).

l. 9. **agger,** 'material for the mound' (see note on 2. 81, 2). The mound is here distinguished from the palisade ('vallum') surmounting it.

l. 12. **funestas.** The darkness was 'that of the grave,' i.e. ominous of their fate: cp. 'feralibus . . . tenebris,' 2. 31, 2.

l. 15. c. 66. **obturbavit**, apparently 'threw down,' as in H. 3. 25, 2 ('postquam impulsos sensit . . . denso agmine obturbabat'), and sometimes 'proturbare.'

l. 17. **aversa hosti**. The praetorian gate, to which this was opposite, always faced the enemy. 'Aversus' probably takes a dat. in Hor. Sat. 2. 3, 107 ('aversus mercaturis').

l. 18. **comperto**, abl. abs.: cp. 4. 36, 4; Introd. p. 12, § 19 a.

l. 20. **proiectus**, 'throwing himself down.' Pompeius, as a young man, stopped the treasonable desertion of a body of troops by similar means.

l. 24. c. 67. **principia**: see c. 61, 3.

l. 25. **temporis ac necessitatis monet**, 'warns them of the crisis and urgency.' The simple verb here takes the construction of 'admoneo:' cp. 2. 43, 5.

l. 27. **expugnandi hostes spe**. This inversion for 'hostes spe expugnandi' appears to be no more than an affectation of style.

l. 29. **perveniri**, rhetorical, 'this sally carries you to the Rhine,' i. e. no further difficulty will obstruct your march.

l. 31. **in castris honesta**. Probably their past distinctions are meant, in contrast to 'adversa,' such as the defeat on the previous days (c. 64, 3; 65, 9), or possible disasters yet in store for them. Others take it to mean their general sense of military honour.

l. 32. **orsus a suis**, 'first his own, then those of the legati and tribunes.' This was to make up for the loss of horses (c. 65, 5).

P. 80, l. 1. **nulla ambitione**, i. e. to the bravest, whoever they might be, without respect of persons, and without their solicitation: cp. 'sine ambitione,' 4. 64, 2.

l. 4. c. 68. **agebat**: absol. as in c. 4, 4; 3. 19, 2; 38, 4, etc.

l. 6. **atrociora**, 'more spirited:' cp. 'atrox animus,' Hor. Od. 2. 1, 24, and the similar sense of 'ferox' and 'ferocia,' c. 2, 1; 12, 6, etc.

l. 7. **ambirent**, 'they should encircle:' cp. 2. 19, 3.

promptam, 'easy:' cp. 'promptam . . . possessionem,' 2. 5, 4.

l. 8. **proruunt fossas**, a pregnant expression (see Introd. p. 20, § 53) for 'proruunt terram in fossas.' The hurdles were also thrown over the trench, by way of bridges.

l. 9. **super**, adverbial: cp. 'incensa super villa,' 3. 46, 7.

l. 10. **haesere munimentis**, probably abl. as in c. 65, 4, meaning that they were 'impeded by ('trying to surmount') the earthworks.'

l. 12. **impetu**, abl. of manner: cp. c. 59, 1; Introd. p. 12, § 16.

tergis . . . circumfunduntur, by a sally from the gates.

l. 15. **quanto inopina**: cp. c. 57, 1, etc.

l. 17. **avidi**, absol. (as in c. 51, 1, etc.), as is also 'incauti;' 'rebus secundis' and 'adversis' being abl. abs.

l. 23. **c. 69. fama**, taken both with genit. and with accus. and inf.

l. 26. **ingens animi**: cp. c. 32, 5.

munia . . . induit: for metaphorical uses of 'induere,' cp. 2. 15, 2; 4. 12, 1, etc.

l. 28. **vestem et fomenta**, 'clothes to the former, medicaments to the latter.'

C. Plinius. The allusion is to a history of the Roman wars in Germany, mentioned by the younger Pliny as one of the works of his uncle.

l. 30. **laudes et grates . . . habentem.** No such expression is elsewhere noted; but 'laudes gratesque agere alicui,' and 'laudes habere de aliquo' are found.

l. 31. **non enim.** The verb of thinking is supplied from 'id animum penetravit:' cp. Introd. p. 14, § 24.

simplices, 'without ulterior purpose;' some political design lurked beneath her attentions.

P. 81, l. 1. **tamquam parum ambitiose** = 'tamquam non satis ambitiose,' 'as if she did not court them enough by,' etc. For 'ambitiose,' cp. 3. 13, 2, and 'ambitiosum,' 3. 33, 3; on the 'gregalis habitus,' see c. 41, 3.

l. 3. **potiorem**: here 'potior esse' = 'plus posse,' 'was more influential.'

l. 4. **conpressam . . . seditionem**, an invidious exaggeration of the effect produced by her departure (c. 41).

l. 5. **accendebat haec onerabatque**, 'was inflaming (cp. c. 23, 1) and aggravating (c. 19, 2) these thoughts.'

l. 6. **odia . . . iaciens**, 'sowing seeds of jealousy for a distant future, which he might bury and bring to light with increase.' Cp. the description of this trait in Tiberius in c. 7, 11.

l. 8. **c. 70. at Germanicus**, etc. The narrative is taken up from c. 63, 5, and the tense of 'vexerat' is referred to the time mentioned in c. 69, 3. This Vitellius, an uncle of the subsequent emperor, was with Germanicus at his death, and took a prominent part in the accusation of Piso (2. 74, 2; 3. 10, 2, etc.).

l. 11. **reciproco sideret**, sc. 'levius,' 'might ground less heavily (sooner get afloat again after grounding) at ebb-tide.' For this sense of 'sidere,' cp. 2. 6, 2.

l. 13. **sidere aequinoctii**: 'sidus' is used of the season of the year by Vergil, 'hiberno moliris sidere classem' (Aen. 4. 309). The abl. may perhaps be causal, or 'simul sidere' may be an abl. abs., in the sense of 'it being also the season.'

l. 16. **brevia**, 'shallows,' a poetical term (Verg. Aen. 1. 111, etc.) used in prose by Tacitus alone.

l. 16. **sternuntur**, sc. 'homines,' supplied from 'agmen.'

l. 19. **subtracto solo**, 'out of depth.'

l. 20. **vox et mutui hortatus**, hendiadys, 'the voice of mutual encouragement.'

l. 22. **involvebantur**, 'were enwrapped in the waves:' cp. 'aqua involvens navemque virumque,' Verg. Aen. 6. 336.

l. 24. **utensilibus**, 'necessaries.' The word is used specially of food in 2. 60, 5; and, in 3. 52, 3, even of luxuries of diet.

l. 26. **illic**='apud illos.' 'Hic' and 'ille' are here referred to the nearer and more remote object of thought, irrespective of the order of mention (cp. 2. 82, 7).

usus, 'resource,' or 'opportunity:' so persons who anticipate condemnation by suicide are said 'uti morte' (6. 48, 5), or 'necessitate' (16. 11, 1).

l. 28. [**Visurgin**]. These troops were marching from the mouth of the Ems (see c. 63, 5) along the coast of Holland, so that some river in that locality, and not the Visurgis (see 2. 9, 1), must be meant. It is probable that Tacitus gave no name, and that 'Visurgin' is the gloss of some ignorant commentator.

l. 29. **submersas**, sc. 'fuisse.'

l. 32. **c. 71. filium.** Strabo gives the name of this son as Sesithacus.

P. 82, l. 3. Galliae Hispaniae. These plurals, like 'Germaniae,' denote the several provinces, of which there were four in Gaul and three in Spain.

l. 8. **gloria**: cp. c. 8, 2; 43, 4, etc.

l. 9. **sibique et praelio firmabat.** The verb is taken in two senses; 'he was securing them to himself (i. e. in their attachment to him: cp. 3. 60, 1), and strengthening them for battle.'

l. 10. **c. 72. triumphalia insignia.** From the later time of Augustus, and always afterwards, a triumph or ovation was awarded only to the princeps or his family (see c. 55, 1; 3. 11, 1; 47, 4); others being forced to be content with a distinction termed that of 'triumphalia insignia' or 'ornamenta;' by which fiction they were entitled, without having triumphed, to be called 'triumphales' (3. 30, 4, etc.), and to be distinguished by 'laureatae statuae' (4. 23, 1) and other marks of such an honour. On Caecina and Silius, see c. 31, 2, etc.; on Apronius, c. 56, 1.

l. 11. **nomen patris patriae.** This title had been given to Cicero (Juv. 8. 243), and was formally accepted by Augustus from B. C. 2. Tiberius persistently refused it (2. 87, 2), but it is generally borne by succeeding principes. It is formally regarded as given by popular acclamation ('ingestum').

l. 13. **in acta sua iurari.** The ordinances ('acta') of Augustus were

maintained by an oath taken by the senate in his lifetime, and were thus permanently enforced after his death (see 4. 42, 3). Afterwards, this annual oath, taken on Jan. 1, kept in force the 'acta' of the existing 'princeps,' and of most of his predecessors; but the name of Tiberius was never included in the list of those to be maintained. The accus. and infin. pass. after 'permittere' are rarely found.

l. 16. **legem maiestatis reduxerat.** The whole passage shows that the law had not really fallen into abeyance; but from this time forth it is more systematically enforced than under Augustus.

l. 20. **minuisset,** taken by zeugma, in some such sense as 'laesisset,' with 'exercitum' and 'plebem.' 'Populi Romani' suggests the contrast that the law now protected only the 'maiestas principis.'

inpune. Tacitus often uses this adv. as predicate, with 'esse' (as in 2. 52, 9; 3. 28, 2) or 'haberi' (as in 3. 70, 3).

l. 22. **Cassii Severi:** see 4. 21, 5. His banishment probably took place in A.D. 8 or 12.

l. 24. **an iudicia . . . redderentur, i.e.** whether the courts were to receive such cases, and assign jurors to try them.

l. 27. **discordem,** etc.: cp. 3. 64, 1; 4. 57, 4.

l. 29. **c. 73. modicis,** i.e. not 'inlustres equites' (see 2. 59, 4).

l. 33. **cultores Augusti.** We gather that bodies, like 'collegia,' of persons so called were kept up ('habebantur') for the private 'cultus' of Augustus in the greater houses.

P. 83, l. 4. **violatum periurio numen:** for a similar charge later, see 3. 66, 2. That men swore by the 'numen Augusti' even in his lifetime, appears from Hor. Epp. 2. 1, 16.

l. 5. **consulibus.** This, as well as all the other trials for state offences mentioned in these Books, were conducted before the senate (see Introd. p. 26), of which the consuls were the regular presidents.

l. 8. **ludis,** probably those known as a three days' festival held in the Palatium, and called 'ludi Palatini.'

l. 11. **perinde . . . quam si,** 'just as if.' This combination is peculiar to Tacitus.

l. 12. **deorum iniurias dis curae.** Roman law prescribed no penalties for perjury, leaving the criminal to the judgment of the offended deity.

l. 13. **c. 74. praetorem.** Bithynia was a senatorial province, and its governor would strictly be styled 'proconsul' (see Introd. p. 28); but 'praetorem' may be used to imply that Marcellus was only of praetorian rank, or as a term for governors in general (cp. 4. 15, 3).

l. 14. **quaestor ipsius.** The old Roman sentiment held that a quaestor was in too intimate a relation with the proconsul to be his accuser (Cic. Div. in Caec. 11. 18).

l. 14. **postulavit.** Tacitus often uses with this verb the genit. usual with 'accuso,' etc. (3. 66, 2; 70, 2, etc.).

l. 15. **subscribente,** 'appearing as subordinate accuser.'

Romano Hispone. This person is known otherwise as a professional rhetorician, and is more likely than Crispinus to be the subject of the following sentences.

l. 16. **audaciae,** abst. for concr., 'daring deeds.'

l. 18. **adrepit.** The word is used of those who worm themselves into a position, and here denotes what we might speak of as 'getting the ear of the prince's vindictiveness' (cp. 3. 50, 5).

l. 22. **sed . . . insimulabat.** Probably 'insimulabant' should be read; but, if the text is right, the subject, notwithstanding the long parenthesis, must be 'Crispinus;' as the charge brought by Hispo is distinguished below. 'Sed' often marks the return from a digression, as in 3. 62, 3; 63, 5, etc.

l. 23. **inevitabile crimen;** in apposition with the sentence: see Introd. p. 10, § 5 a.

l. 24. **obiectaretque reo,** 'and charged the accused with mentioning them.' If what he was alleged to have said was known to be true in fact, all would believe that he had really said it.

l. 28. **exarsit,** sc. at the slight offered to the divinity of Augustus. The destruction of any statue was a significant act: cp. 3. 14, 6; Juv. 10. 58.

l. 29. **palam et iuratum.** The former word is in contrast to a silent vote ('per discessionem:' cp. 3. 69, 9); the latter implies a solemn assertion that the vote was given on grave public grounds (see 4. 31, 5).

l. 30. **eadem necessitas,** that of also voting openly and on oath.

l. 31. **Cn. Piso:** see c. 13, 3, etc.

P. 84, l. 1. **quantoque,** etc. With 'paenitentia patiens,' 'tanto magis' is to be supplied (see Introd. p. 17, § 40); 'paenitentia' is a causal abl.

tulit, probably referring to 'laturum sententiam' above. He gave the first vote for acquittal.

l. 3. **reciperatores.** Such a board was merely a civil tribunal to assess the amount which he was to refund; the more serious criminal charges being quashed by the vote above given, or dropped.

l. 4. c. 75. **iudiciis adsidebat,** 'he would sit as assessor in the law-courts,' besides being constantly present at the trials held before the senate ('patrum cognitiones') mentioned in the previous chapters (see on c. 73, 3). In these ordinary courts the praetor (c. 72, 4) presided; whose curule chair was placed on an elevated tribunal in the apse at the end of the basilica.

l. 5. **multa . . . constituta,** 'many decisions were established.'

l. 6. **potentium preces**, those of influential 'advocati' present in court; which formed one of the many kinds of 'ambitus' (c. 2, 2).

l. 7. **veritati** = 'aequitati:' cp. 3. 16, 5, and 'ex vero,' 4. 43, 4. The 'libertas' here contrasted with it is the independence of judges.

l. 8. **inter quae**, etc. This narrative is apparently one of a petition to the senate, inserted here as bearing on the interest of Tiberius in questions of justice.

l. 10. **aerarii praetoribus**. The public treasury was then under the charge of two of the praetors of the year. Caesar gives the money himself out of the 'fiscus.'

l. 13. **veniam ordinis**, 'leave to resign senatorial rank.' By so doing he might live on a less expensive scale, and would be free to trade as a knight.

l. 14. **deciens sestertium**. Augustus had fixed the senatorial census at this sum; and those who were impoverished by their own extravagance were liable to be degraded.

l. 15. **paternas**, 'inherited,' i. e. not his own fault: so in 3. 32, 2.

l. 17. **quae rite faceret**. To demand that they should prove their case was 'rite factum;' to force them to do so before their brother senators seemed harsh.

l. 20. **c. 76. stagnaverat**, 'had flooded:' this transitive sense is very rare.

relabentem . . . strages. Probably 'relabentem' is aoristic, and 'strages' is used both of the fall of buildings, and of mortality (through pestilence bred by stagnant water) among human beings; the latter being the most usual occasion for consulting the Sibylline books, then preserved in the temple of the Palatine Apollo, under charge of the 'quindecimviri sacris faciundis.'

l. 23. **coercendi**, defining genit: cp. 'effugium . . . prorumpendi,' 2. 47, 2: also 3. 63, 6; 4. 2, 4.

Ateio Capitoni: cp. 3. 70, 2; 75, 1: on L. Arruntius, see c. 13, 1, etc.

l. 24. **Achaiam et Macedoniam**. The former province included all Greece proper, Thessaly, and Epirus; its metropolis being Corinth: the latter adjoined it on the north, having for its chief cities Thessalonica and Philippi.

l. 25. **levari . . . placuit**, 'it was resolved that they should be for the time relieved from proconsular (senatorial) command, and given over to Caesar.' The Caesarian provinces appear generally to have been more economically governed; and in this case the expense of separate staffs was saved by placing both provinces under the legatus of Moesia (c. 80, 1).

l. 27. **quamquam vili**, 'true, that it was but worthless blood,' such

as a Roman need hardly be thought cruel for liking to see shed. On the character of Drusus, see c. 29, 2, etc.

l. 28. **in vulgus**, 'in relation to the rabble,' nearly equivalent to a simple dat.: see notes on 2. 39, 3; 48, 1; 4. 2, 1.

formidolosum, probably best taken as accus., in apposition with 'quod;' 'et' having the force of 'etiam,' and 'arguisse' taking an accus. of the thing censured, as in 3. 59, 2; 4. 33, 6, etc.

l. 30. **trahebant**: cp. c. 62, 3: from this verb 'abstinuisse dicebant' is supplied below. 'Taedio,' etc., are causal ablatives.

taedio coetus, etc. 'from weariness of crowds.'

tristitia, 'austerity:' see the contrast of his character and that of Augustus in c. 54, 4.

P. 85, l. 1. **concessam . . . materiem**, i.e. that his motive was the desire of making his son unpopular.

l. 3. **c. 77. proximo priore anno**: see c. 54, 3.

l. 4. **occisis**, aorist: cp. Introd. p. 16, § 35.

set. The MS. has 'et,' which has been corrected either to **'set'** or 'sed' (without 'etiam,' as in c. 60, 1), or to 'etiam' (without 'sed,' as in 3. 19, 2).

l. 8. **Haterius Agrippa**: see on 2. 51, 2.

l. 10. **simulacra**: cp. 'imago libertatis' (c. 81, 4), 'antiquitatis' (3. 60, 1).

l. 14. **lasciviam**, 'want of self-restraint.'

l. 16. **alibi . . . sectarentur**, i.e. not to court them in social life. Others retain the MS. 'spectarentur,' which would mean that the actors were not to exhibit in private houses.

et . . . potestas . . . fieret. With this clause 'ut' is supplied from 'ne:' as 'idque' stands for 'utque id' in 3. 51, 3; 69. 1, and for 'et ne id' in c. 79, 1.

l. 19. c. 78. **colonia Tarraconensi**, the modern Tarragona, the chief city of the largest Spanish province ('Hispania Tarraconensis'), and a colony of Julius Caesar.

l. 20. **datumque . . . exemplum.** In his lifetime, Augustus had permitted temples to himself and Rome, at various places in the provinces; but this was probably the first national temple to 'divus Augustus' alone, and the precedent which the whole empire felt bound to follow.

l. 21. **centesimam . . . deprecante populo.** Further account of this tax of one per cent. on things offered for sale is given in 2. 42, 6. The 'bella civilia' referred to are those ending in Actium.

l. 22. **militare aerarium**, a special fund instituted by Augustus in A.D. 6, from which bounties were to be given to soldiers on their discharge.

l. 23. **simul,** 'even with its help.'

l. 24. **nisi vicensimo,** etc., i. e. unless the concession, by which 'missio' was to be given after sixteen, instead of after twenty years' service (c. 36, 4), was revoked. This concession had reference not to complete discharge, but to 'missio sub vexillo;' which is here meant by 'dimitterentur' (cp. 'dimissis,' c. 17, 4).

l. 25. **male consulta,** 'the ill-advised measures:' cp. 'mollibus consultis,' c. 40, 1.

sedecim stipendiorum, probably genit. of quality, as expressing the term of years by which the end was reckoned.

l. 26. **expresserant:** cp. c. 19, 5; 39, 3.

l. 27. c. 79. **Actum . . . an,** 'the question was raised, whether,' etc. The matter had been referred to these persons (c. 76, 3).

l. 29. **augescit,** ind. pres., because this fact is no part of the question.

municipiorum et coloniarum, a common expression for the Italian towns (3. 55, 4; 4. 67, 1, etc.): the difference between the two was no longer important; and 'coloniae' is used below (§ 5) as a common term for both.

l. 30. **Clanis,** the Chiana, a tributary of the Tiber, rising in the marshes below Cortona and Arretium, near other streams which flow northwards into the Arno.

l. 31. **idque . . . adferret.** On 'idque,' see note on c. 77, 5. 'Adferret'='adferre sineretur:' cp. 'traheret' (2. 58, 1), 'maneret' (2. 81, 3), 'exstrueret' (4. 37, 1), etc.

l. 32. **Interamnates.** Interamna (Terni), in Umbria, lay between two branches of the Nar (Nera): 'superstagno' is nowhere else found.

P. 86, l. 1. **Reatini.** Between Reate (Rieti) and Interamna, the lake and river Velinus are discharged into the Nar by a passage cut or widened by M'. Curius, forming the famous Falls of Terni.

l. 2. **lacum . . . obstrui recusantes.** This verb here takes such construction as that found with 'prohibeo' (c. 69, 1, etc.), 'permitto' (c. 72, 2), and verbs of similar meaning (Madv. 396, obs. 1).

l. 3. **quippe . . . erupturum,** a concise expression (see Introd. p. 16, § 35) of the grounds of their objection.

l. 4. **ora,** 'outlets.'

l. 6. **sociorum.** This term is the title of the Italians before they had acquired Roman citizenship, and is thus used here in referring to a worship of ancient date.

patriis, 'of their fatherland:' cp. 'abietibus patriis,' Verg. Aen. 9. 692.

l. 7. **Tiberim nolle.** The river is here personified as subject of the verb.

l. 11. c. 80. **Poppaeo Sabino,** grandfather of Poppaea, the wife of

Nero. At his death in A.D. 35, he is stated (6. 39, 3) to have governed important provinces for twenty-four years 'quod par negotiis neque supra erat.'

l. 11. **Moesia**, an important Caesarian province, fronting on the Danube, and comprising the whole of Servia and Bulgaria.

additis Achaia, etc.: see c. 76, 4. Sabinus retained these till the end of his life; but other governors of Moesia are mentioned (see 2. 66, 3; 3. 39, 1; 4. 47, 1).

l. 12. **morum**, partitive genit.: the sing. 'moris est' is frequently so used by Cicero, etc.

l. 14. **iurisdictionibus**, a term for the duties of the governor of a peaceful province. The senatorial provinces are not here spoken of; but many of the Caesarian (see Introd. p. 29) answer to this description.

causae, etc. He is himself said to have told a story of the mistaken kindness of those who drove away the gorged flies from a wounded man, and thus made room for fresh ones; to signify that, by leaving men long in a province, he hoped to make them less eager to enrich themselves.

l. 15. **alii**, sc. 'tradunt,' supplied from 'traduntur.' With 'invidia' the clause 'semel . . . servavisse' is to be again supplied; 'taedio' and 'invidia' being causal ablatives.

l. 17. **ut callidum**, etc., 'that his decision was as irresolute as his perception was acute.' He had no difficulty in reading men's characters, but much in determining whether to trust them or not; and an absence of all dangerous qualities, like the temperament of Sabinus (see above), was hard to find.

l. 21. **quibusdam**. It is stated in a later Book (6. 27, 2, 3) that L. Arruntius and Aelius Lamia were thus kept many years in Rome, while nominally governors of Spain and Syria respectively.

l. 23. c. 81. **comitiis**, used, as in c. 15, 1, of the elections now held by the senate. The consuls for the year A.D. 16 would be the first appointed during this principate; those for A.D. 15 having been designated before the death of Augustus. With 'deinceps,' 'illo principe' is again supplied; no allusion being here made to the practice of his successors.

l. 25. **auctores**, 'the historians,' whom Tacitus usually follows. On these, and other sources of his information, see Introd. p. 2.

l. 26. **modo . . . aliquando . . . plerumque**. Three modes are here mentioned, in which Tiberius secured the election of his candidates, while seeming to leave free choice to the senate: (1) the most usual ('plerumque'), by handing in two names only to the consuls, and stating that no others had given him notice that they would offer themselves, but that any others might come forward who wished: (2) and (3), by still more informal recommendation; sometimes indicating by hints in a

speech or letter (without names) the persons whom he preferred; sometimes only intimating to his 'candidati' that they need not canvass, and leaving it apparently to them to make this known.

l. 27. **stipendia**, 'their military services.'

l. 28. **ea quoque significatione subtracta**, 'even that description being withheld.'

l. 29. **ad id**, to securing their election.

l. 34. **infensius**, 'more oppressive' (on the master's part): cp. 'intolerantior servitus,' 3. 45, 4.

BOOK II.

P. 87, l. 3. **c. 1. gentis Arsacidarum.** All the Parthian kings took the name of, and claimed descent from Arsaces, by whom the empire was founded cir. B.C. 250. Their dominion included nearly the whole tract between the Euphrates and the Hindoo Koosh, except the kingdoms of Armenia maior and Media, which were also at times more or less subject to them.

l. 5. **Phraates.** This prince, the fourth of the name, reigned, under the title of Arsaces XV, from B.C. 37 to B.C. 2, and had repulsed M. Antonius and his legatus, Oppius Statianus, with great loss in B. C. 36.

l. 6. **venerantium** = 'venerantibus propria,' or tantamount to the defining genitive 'venerationis.' The chief mark of respect paid by him was the restoration, in B.C. 20, of the standards taken from Crassus and others.

l. 7. **firmandae amicitiae.** On this dat. with 'mittere,' cp. 1. 60, 2.

l. 8. **haud perinde**, etc. Cp. 1. 73, 5. The causal abl. 'metu' is varied in the next clause to 'diffisus' (cp. **c. 22, 2**).

l. 10. **c. 2. Post finem**, etc. Phraataces, the natural son of Phraates, murdered him and reigned till A.D. 4; his successor, Orodes, was murdered probably in A. D. 7, and Vonones set up in A. D. 8.

internas, 'domestic:' so used of 'discordiae' (c. 26, 3), 'certamina' (c. 54, 2), etc., and of domestic affairs generally (4. 32, 2).

l. 13. **Caesar.** Augustus, who has been mentioned (c. 1, 2), is intended by this name here and in c. 3.

auxit, 'enriched him:' cp. 'nominibus auxit,' 1. 3, 1.

l. 14. **ut ferme**, sc. 'laetari solent.'

l. 17. **haberi**, 'was counted.'

l. 17. **trucidantium ... exturbantium**, used aoristically; see Introd. p. 16, § 35. Crassus was defeated and killed in B.C. 53. On the repulse of Antonius, see on c. 1, 2.

l. 19. **accendebat ... et ipse**, 'his own character also' (besides his antecedents) 'was adding fire to their disdain.'

l. 21. **venatu ... cura**, usually taken as abl. of quality, but perhaps better as instrumental abl., answering to 'gestamine' and 'fastu.'

quotiens ... incederet; subjunct. of repeated action (Introd. p. 16, § 34).

l. 22. **gestamine**. Tacitus uses this word with the defining genit. 'sellae' in 14. 4 6, and (by itself) for 'a litter' in 11. 33, 3. This sense appears to be peculiar to him.

erga, used with much freedom by Tacitus to express any kind of feeling in relation to a person (c. 71, 4; 76, 3, etc.), or thing (4. 20, 2; 74. 5, etc.).

l. 23. **utensilium**, 'stores of food' (cp. 1. 70, 6). For such to be sealed up with his signet-ring ('anulo clausa'), to guard against pilfering slaves, would be somewhat mean in a Roman of rank (Juv. 14. 132), still more so in an Eastern king.

l. 24. **prompti aditus**, etc. It seems best to supply 'erant,' not with these clauses, but with 'nova vitia,' taken as predicate of the whole, and explained by 'et quia,' etc., following.

obvia, 'affable,' i.e. ready to meet all halfway.

l. 27. **c. 3. Dahas**. This Scythic race, known by name to Vergil (Aen. 8. 728), appear to have then lived to the south-east of the Caspian.

l. 28. **primoque congressu**, etc. The evidence of coins shows that the unsuccessful attempt of Artabanus was made A.D. 9, and that he became king in A.D. 11. He is stated to have been already king of independent Media, and to have recruited his forces from that country.

P. 88, l. 1. **Parthorum et Romanas**. On such variations of case, see Introd. p. 21, § 54 d: also c. 17, 6; 60, 4; 3. 2, 1, etc. Tacitus cares only to explain their distrust of Rome; their hostility to Parthia being more natural. This Artavasdes had been captured by Antonius in B.C. 34, and was put to death by Cleopatra soon after Actium.

l. 4. **nobis infensus**. He is stated to have put to death all Romans in his dominions.

l. 7. **a Tiberio Nerone**. This took place when Tiberius was sent to receive the standards of Crassus (see on c. 1, 1); and the transaction is magnified by Romans (see Hor. Epp. 1. 12, 16) into a conquest of Armenia.

l. 8. **liberis**. These children, joined in marriage and in regal power, were another Tigranes (Tigranes III.) and Erato. Instances of such marriages of brother and sister are found in the royal family of Egypt and in other Eastern monarchies.

l. 10. c. 4. **non sine clade nostra.** Tigranes and Erato, who had been set aside for Artavasdes, appear to have been restored by Parthian aid, cir. B.C. 6.

l. 11. **Gaius Caesar,** the grandson of Augustus, on whom see 1. 3, 2, etc. He was in the East from B.C. 1 till his death in A.D. 4.

l. 14. **stirpem eius.** He appears to have been succeeded by his son, another Artavasdes, and then by another Tigranes.

l. 16. **Erato.** Tacitus may have misplaced the princess mentioned in the note above (on c. 3, 5), or she may have returned again, after the death of her husband and brother, and after this interval of other kings.

soluti, 'disorganized:' cp 'soluta pax,' 1. 50, 7.

l. 18. **ubi minitari.** On this use of the historic infin, see Introd. p. 15, § 30.

l. 19. **defenderetur,** sc. 'Vonones,' supplied from the sense.

l. 20. **Creticus Silanus:** cp. c. 43, 3.

excitum, 'summoned from Armenia to Syria.'

l. 22. **ut,** 'how:' cp. 1. 61, 9, and note there.

in loco, 'in its place:' cp. 'desipere in loco,' Hor. Od. 4. 12, 28. The narrative is given in c. 68.

l. 24. c. 5. **suetis legionibus,** probably a dative: cp. c. 26, 6; Introd. p. 10, § 6.

l. 27. **aversa.** On the use of the positive, and omission of 'tanto' in the following clause, cp. Introd. p. 17, § 40.

intentior, used with gerundive dat., as in 1. 31, 2. The verb 'celerare' appears to occur in no earlier prose.

l. 28. **proeliorum vias,** 'methods of attack:' so 'viam belli,' Liv. 38. 18, 9; *ὁδοὶ πολέμου,* Thuc. 1. 122, 1.

l. 29. **iustis locis,** *ἄπ. εἰρ.* for 'aequis locis' (1. 68, 4, etc.). It is implied in either expression that forests and morasses gave an unfair advantage to the side accustomed to them.

P. 89, l. 1. **promptam ipsis,** etc. 'Possessio' is used in a military sense of the occupation of a position in the enemy's country, and might be so taken here. But the context, and the use of 'ignotam,' rather suggest that the sea itself is referred to. 'They could readily occupy it, and it was an unfamiliar element to the enemy' (the Germans having no ships). On this use of 'promptus,' cp. c. 2, 6; 1. 68, 1, etc.

l. 2. **maturius.** The sea route is practicable earlier in the season than the forest-roads.

l. 6, c. 6. **huc intendit,** sc. 'animum:' cp. 3. 37, 3. For the full construction, see c. 61, 1.

ad census Galliarum: see 1. 31, 2. On P. Vitellius, see 1. 70, 1.

l. 9. **utero,** used here alone for the 'alveus' of a ship.

l. 12. **hinc vel illinc adpellerent**, 'might row to shore either way:' 'adpellere' is thus used, in a neut. sense, in c. 77, 5; 4. 27, 1; 67, 2, etc.

l. 13. **pontibus**, probably partial decks across the midships, having the appearance of a bridge when viewed from the prow or stern.

l. 14. **velis habiles**, etc. This applies to the whole fleet, to which the other nominatives ('aliae,' etc.) are in apposition. 'Citae' is best taken as a participle: ships of this description could hardly be either sailed or rowed 'quickly;' and the words probably mean only that they were equipped for either mode of propulsion.

l. 15. **augebantur**, etc. It is probably meant that the spirit of the soldiers who manned it made the fleet still more imposing and formidable. On the force of 'in,' see Introd. p. 17, § 38.

insula Batavorum. The situation of this island is indicated by the context to be between the branches of the Rhine, as at that time divided.

l. 17. **adpulsus**, 'landing-places:' cp. 'adpellerent,' above.

transmittendum, 'to carry into the enemy's country.' On the co-ordination of accus. with prep. and simple dat., see Introd. p. 21, § 54 b.

l. 18. **uno alveo continuus**, etc.; descriptive of its whole course down to this point.

l. 19. **velut**, i. e. not strictly into two; for only one branch retains the name. The true Rhine of Tacitus is the stream, now insignificant, but still called the old Rhine, passing by Utrecht and Leyden.

l. 21. **praevehitur** = 'praetervehitur:' so 'praefluere' (c. 63, 1), 'praelegere' (c. 79, 1), and others, are used for forms compounded with 'praeter.'

donec, with subjunct. of facts, as in 1. 1, 4, etc.

l. 23. **id quoque**, etc. The construction is carried on as if the preceding clause had been 'Vahalis . . . vocatur.'

l. 26. c. 7. **adiguntur**, 'are being brought together.'

l. 27. **in Chattos**: see 1. 55, 1.

l. 28. **castellum**, apparently not that called 'Aliso' below, but one further to the east.

l. 33. **nuper**: see 1. 62, 1.

P. 90, l. 1. **Druso sitam**, 'erected to Drusus.' This use of 'situs' (cp. 3. 38, 6; 4. 55, 6, etc.) is peculiar to Tacitus; a nearly similar use is noted on 1. 39, 4.

princeps . . . decucurrit, 'he led the funeral march.' This 'decursio funebris,' a march in full armour round the pyre or altar, is alluded to in Verg. Aen. 11. 188.

l. 3. **Alisonem**, probably Elsen, near Paderborn, in Westphalia.

l. 4. **limitibus aggeribusque**: for the former, see note on 1. 50, 2; for the latter, on 1. 62, 2.

l. 6. c. 8. **distributis in**: cp 1. 55, 2; c. 67, 4; 3. 38, 4, etc.

Drusianae. Drusus had connected the old Rhine with the Yssel, and widened the latter river to its mouth; and was the first Roman (in B. C. 12) to sail on the northern ocean.

l. 9. **lacus inde**, etc. The route is the same as that taken by a part of the army in the preceding year (1. 60, 3), through the canals and lake Flevo to the mouth of the Ems.

l. 10. **classis**, etc. Probably 'ore' has dropped out before 'relicta,' and a conjunction has been lost coupling 'transposuit' and 'subvexit,' or one or the other of those verbs may be an interpolation. The sentence, as here read, would mean that Germanicus should either have sailed up the river to a point at which little or no bridging would have been required, or should have landed his troops at once on the right bank.

l. 14. **aestuaria**, 'tidal marshes' (4. 73, 2, etc.). By 'prima,' those nearest to the channel (i. e. the first ground that had to be crossed) appear to be meant.

l. 17. **Angrivariorum.** This people appear in c. 19, 3, as bordering on the Cherusci beyond the Weser, but possibly part of them may have lived west of that river and may have been subject to Rome. The same are mentioned again in c. 22, 3; 24, 5, and in all these places some think that the Ampsivarii of 13. 55, 1, who were certainly once allied with Rome, are meant.

l. 20. c. 9. **Visurgis.** All mention of the march from the Ems to the Weser has been omitted or lost; nor can the point at which he touched the latter river be made out. It is supposed to be in the low ground north of Minden. The construction with 'interfluebat' is chiefly poetical, but found in Livy. 'Interluo' has a similar construction in 6. 1, 1.

l. 23. **cognomento Flavus.** This was evidently his Roman name, and apparently taken from the colour of his hair. If he was a Roman citizen, he had also probably the name of Julius (cp. 3. 40, 1).

l. 25. **permissu.** Some such words as 'Caesaris deducitur' may be supposed to have dropped out.

l. 27. **pro ripa**, 'on the bank:' cp. the use of 'pro' in c. 13, 4, etc.

l. 30. **militaria dona**: cp. 1. 44, 7, etc.

l. 31. **vilia**, i. e. from the view of Arminius himself, 'the low wages he had earned by bondage.'

l. 32. c. 10. **diversi**, 'in opposite strains:' cp. c. 74, 6.

hic, sc. 'referens,' supplied from 'ordiuntur.'

P. 91, l. 1. **coniugem et filium**: see 1. 57, 5; 58, 9. They were probably in 'libera custodia' at Ravenna.

l. 2. **fas patriae**: cp. 'fas gentium,' 1. 42, 4.

penetralis . . . deos, according to Cic. (N. D. 2. 27, 68) a poetical expression for 'Dii penates;' here the 'home-gods' of Germany.

l. 10. **Romanis in castris**: see note on 1. 55, 2.

l. 13. c. 11. **dare** = 'committere:' cp. 1. 47, 1.

l. 14. **imperatorium**, 'good generalship.' This substantival use and sense is noted as a novelty.

l. 15. **primipilarium**, a term formed on the analogy of 'consulares,' etc., to express those who had served the office of 'centurio primipilus,' which qualified them for higher commands (cp. 4. 72, 2). This Aemilius (probably the same mentioned in 4. 42, 2) was evidently at this time a 'praefectus equitum.'

l. 17. **erupit**, sc. 'ex amne.'

l. 18. **circumiectam**, 'surrounded by.' This participle has usually a dat. of the thing surrounded; but here takes the construction commonly found with 'circumdatus.'

l. 22. **saevitia**, 'the fury;' so used of enemies, not in a bad sense, in Sall. Jug. 7, 2.

globo, 'massed together,' abl. of manner (Introd. p. 12, § 16). The term is often used of soldiers (e. g. 1. 25, 1; 4. 50, 4; and in Livy), but does not appear to denote any definite formation.

l. 24. **suffosso equo**: cp. 1. 65, 8.

l. 29. c. 12. **Herculi**, probably identified with the German hero Irmin.

l. 31. **suggressi**, 'having approached;' a word almost confined to the Annals (4. 47, 2, etc.).

l. 33. **summae rei discrimine**, 'the decisive crisis:' cp. 'summa belli,' c. 45, 5.

explorandos, 'should be tested.' This sense of the word appears to originate in poetry (Verg. G. 1. 175, etc.).

P. 92, l. 1. **incorruptum**, 'genuine;' so used of 'fides,' 'iudicium,' etc.

l. 2. **comperta**, 'surely ascertained;' so 'conpertum narraverim,' Sall. Jug. 17, 2.

l. 5. **adstrepere**: cp. 1. 18, 1; so with accus. ('ut eadem adstreperent'), H. 4. 49, 5.

secreti et incustoditi, 'in privacy and off their guard.' For the former, cp. 'secretus agitat,' 11. 21, 2; for the latter, 'incustoditum amorem,' 12. 4, 2.

l. 7. c. 13. **augurali**. According to Quintilian, this was a name in his time for the general's tent. The abl. would thus depend on 'egressus.' Others make it synonymous with a space called 'auguratorium,' adjoining the general's quarters, and take the case here to be an abl. of direction (cp. 1. 60, 2, etc.).

l. 8. **ignara** = 'ignota:' cp. 3. 69, 3; 4. 8, 3, etc.; also in Sallust, Vergil, etc. On the similar use of 'gnarus,' see 1. 5, 4.

l. 11. **eundem animum**, 'his even temper in grave or gay moments.' On his personal appearance and temperament, see c. 72, 3.

l. 13. **ruptores pacis**, alluding to their rising against Varus.

mactandos, 'must be offered as victims to vengeance and glory.' Similar personifications of 'clementia' and 'amicitia' may be noted in 4. 73, 3.

l. 16. **centenos, i.e. 25** 'denarii,' or one 'aureus.' An offer so vastly in excess of the Roman scale of pay (see 1. 17, 6) implies an almost hopeless attempt.

l. 17. **veniret dies**, 'let daylight come.' The verb of speaking is supplied from the sense.

l. 19. **matrimonia**, abstr. for concr. 'coniuges' (Introd. p. 9, § 1), which has already been twice used.

l. 20. **tertia . . . vigilia**, between midnight and 3 a.m.

l. 21. **pro munimentis**, 'along the lines:' cp. 'pro ripa,' c. 9, 3. Outposts beyond the enclosure seem not to be here meant.

l. 23. c. 14. **quietem**: cp. 1. 65, 2.

l. 24. **operatum**. This participle is used aoristically, in the sense of 'sacrificing' (like the Greek use of ἔρδειν or ῥέζειν), by Vergil (G. 1. 339) and other poets.

sacri = 'hostiae,' as in the old formula, preserved by Plautus, etc. 'inter sacrum saxumque stare.'

praetexta, here mentioned as the proper dress of the priestly colleges. Germanicus was 'augur' (1. 62, 3).

l. 25. **auctus**, sc. 'animo,' 'invigorated.'

l. 26. **addicentibus auspiciis**, 'the omens being favourable.' Thus 'augurium' is used of the actual omen in c. 17, 2. Cp. 'aves . . . non addixere,' Livy 1. 55, 3, etc.

quae sapientia provisa, 'the plan conceived by his forethought;' i.e. the mode of attack determined upon.

l. 28. **ratio**, 'tactical skill.'

l. 29. **enormis hastas**: see c. 21, 1; 1. 64, 3. These were the weapons of the best armed only (see below).

l. 31. **perinde haberi** = 'perinde habilia esse,' 'could be as well used.'

l. 32. **tegmina**. The Roman 'scutum' might be said from its shape 'haerere corpori' (cp. c. 21, 1); and such an expression still better describes the Roman body armour, to which it is stated that the Germans had nothing corresponding.

denserent ictus, 'let them plant blows thickly:' cp. 'hastilia denset,' Verg. Aen. 11. 650.

l. 32. **ora . . . quaererent.** The face was generally the most unguarded part, especially in troops without helmets: see c. 21, 1.

l. 33. **nervo**; used rhetorically for leather: so 'subtextaque tegmina nervis,' Sil. 4. 293.

P. 93, l. 2. **tabulas,** 'wooden boards.' Tacitus notes elsewhere (G. 6. 2) that the Germans painted their shields with gay colours. In this some have traced the origin of the mediaeval devices on shields.

utcumque, 'somehow,' taken closely with 'hastatam;' the stress being laid on 'primam' in contrast with 'ceteris.' The lances, such as they were (their defects having been already noted), were confined to the front rank.

l. 3. **brevia,** the 'frameae,' described in G. 6, 1 as having a small iron head, and as the general German weapon for close or distant fighting. The 'praecusta tela' would be mere poles burnt to a point, with no iron head at all.

l. 4. **nulla . . . patientia,** abl. of quality.

sine pudore, etc. In G. 6, 6 it is stated that the Germans gave way before a regular attack, not from fear, but as part of their tactic.

l. 5. **adversis,** probably a concise abl. abs. (Introd. p. 12, § 19). For the interchange with the accus. after prep., cp. c. 6, 4.

l. 7. **viarum ac maris,** imitated from Horace: see Introd. p. 22, § 58.

l. 8. **neque bellum ultra,** i. e. the whole strength of German resistance was in the field before them. Maroboduus and the Suebi were neutral (see c. 44, etc.).

l. 9. **patris patruique.** Drusus had crossed the Elbe in B.C. 9, Tiberius in A.D. 5.

l. 10. **sisterent,** 'let them place him:' so used by Vergil (G. 2. 488; Aen. 2. 620; 3. 117), etc.

l. 13. c. 15. **hos esse,** etc. Some survivors of the disaster of Varus are mentioned as being with Germanicus (1. 61, 6).

l. 14. **seditionem induerint.** For the metaphor, see 1. 69, 2, etc. It is here meant that the mutiny was a mere pretext to get out of service.

l. 15. **quorum pars,** etc. An advancing army could not strictly be said 'terga obicere;' but the words are a rhetorical way of saying that some meet the enemy with wounds on their backs, others with limbs maimed by wind and storm. The first are those who had retreated, or (as he would say) had fled with Caecina (1. 63-68), the latter, those nearly lost with Vitellius (1. 70).

l. 17. **avia Oceani** = 'avium Oceanum:' cp. Introd. p. 13, § 20 b.

l. 19. **miscuerint manus,** a poetical phrase: so Vergil has 'miscere proelia,' 'vulnera.'

l. 20. **meminissent,** 'let them remember;' equivalent to an imperf.,

as 'memini' to a present. The avarice, etc. are the characteristics of Roman rule as they had known it under Varus.

l. 21. **aliud sibi reliquum.** The omission of an interrogative particle should be noted as very rare in 'oratio obliqua.'

l. 24. c. 16. **Idisiaviso.** The name is connected with an old German word 'Idis' ('Nympha'), and explained to mean 'Nympharum pratum.' The case is probably nom., in accordance with the general usage of Tacitus in such phrases, in respect of substantives: see Introd. p. 10, § 7.

l. 25. **ut ripae,** etc. This is an antithesis between 'ripae fluminis' and 'prominentia montium,' also between 'cedunt' and 'resistunt.' The meaning appears to be that the plain winds along the river-side in unequal width, being broad where the river recedes (bends southward) from the mountains, and narrow where the mountain spurs resist it (i. e. where the river would take a turn to the north and is stopped by them).

l. 26. **tergum,** sc. 'Germanorum.' The locality has been thought to be north of the 'porta Westphalica,' and somewhat below Rinteln, where the river, before its great bend to the north, flows westward. The German position would thus face west, the Roman east.

l. 27. **pura,** 'free from brushwood:' cp. 'puro . . . campo,' Verg. Aen. 12. 771.

l. 28. **campum,** etc. Their main body extended from south to north, partly on the plain, partly within the outskirts of the wood behind them. The heights occupied by the Cheruscans were on the north, or right wing.

l. 29. **proeliantibus,** probably abl. abs., as 'incurro' usually takes the accus. in Tacitus (c. 17, 1; 1. 51, 6, etc.).

l. 32. **praetoriis cohortibus.** Two of these had attended Drusus to Illyricum (1. 24, 1); so that two others may probably have gone out with Germanicus to Germany. They are mentioned again in c. 20, 6.

P. 94, l. 2. **adsisteret.** The verb is used of taking up a position (c. 17, 4; 19, 4, etc.), and is here brachylogically equivalent to 'consisteret et se explicaret:' 'that the order of march might deploy into line of battle;' i. e. that each should stand next in line to those to whom they had been next in column.

l. 6. c. 17. **augurium,** used, like 'auspiciis' (c. 14, 2) of the omen. The verb is adapted to the noun in apposition, as in 3. 21, 2, etc.

l. 7. **advertere:** cp. 1. 41, 1.

l. 8. **legionum numina:** see on 1. 39, 7.

l. 10. **impulit,** 'drove from their position:' cp. 'impulsae,' 1. 63, 3.

duo hostium agmina, etc. The attack of Stertinius in the rear may be supposed to have driven the German left out into the plain, the advance of infantry in front to have driven their centre into the wood,

and the flank attack (§ 1) to have dislodged the Cheruscans, who would thus be forced into the space between the two routed masses.

l. 12. **campis**, a free use of the local abl. (Introd. p. 11, § 14); the simple abl. after 'detrudere' is found in Vergil (Aen. 7. 469).

l. 14. **manu voce vulnere.** The asyndeta appear to form a climax (Introd. p. 17, § 41), as in 4. 46, 5; 49, 4, etc.; so that 'manu' would probably mean mere gesture, and 'vulnere,' 'by displaying his wound' (and, as it were, demanding the same sacrifice from his men). The ablatives are best taken as depending on 'sustentabat.'

incubuerat, 'he had thrown himself (directed the force of his attack) upon.'

l. 15. **illa**, sc. 'parte:' on the concise use of 'rupturus,' see Introd. p. 16, § 35. The simple verb is very rarely, but 'perrumpere' often used intransitively.

l. 17. **pervasit**, i. e. he got through by himself: the attempt to break through in a body failed.

l. 18. **Chaucis**: see 1. 38, 1; 60, 3.

l. 19. **Inguiomero**: see 1. 60, 1.

l. 22. **operuere**, used by zeugma with 'tela' and 'vis fluminis.'

l. 23. **nisi.** The sense of 'climbing' is chiefly poetical: cp. Verg. G. 2. 428; Aen. 2. 443.

l. 24. **adflixere**, 'dashed to the ground:' so 'equi atque viri adflicti,' Sall. Jug. 101, 11.

l. 28. c. 18. **repertis . . . catenis**, etc. A similar story is told by Polybius of the expedition of Flaminius against Hannibal.

l. 29. **in Romanos**, perhaps nearly equivalent to a dative: cp. 1. 76, 5.

l. 30. **Tiberium imperatorem salutavit.** By ancient custom, the army would thus salute its general (see 3. 74, 6); and now the chief command and 'auspicia' of all the armies was regarded as inherent in the 'proconsulare imperium' of the 'princeps' (cp. Introd. p. 24, and references there). Augustus received the 'nomen imperatoris' twenty-one times (1. 9, 2), Tiberius eight times; many of the occasions being those of such vicarious victories.

l. 31. **in modum tropaeorum.** The usual form of a trophy is described by Vergil (Aen. 11. 5–11). Another is described below (c. 22, 1). The word and the thing are Greek, and common in Thucydides, etc.

P. 95, l. 1. c. 19. **ea species**, 'that spectacle:' cp. 3. 60, 6, etc.

abire sedibus: cp. Introd. p. 11, § 13, and 'abire Suria,' c. 69, 3. The simple abl. is classical in such phrases as 'abire magistratu,' etc.

l. 3. **plebes primores**, etc. For such antithetical asyndeta, cp. 1. 7, 2.

l. 4. **deligunt locum**, etc. The Romans had probably advanced to

some river east of the Weser, such as the Leine or Aller, and had probably turned northward towards the frontier of the Angrivarii. The topography cannot be identified from the description, and seems hardly to be clearly conceived by the writer.

l. 6. **Angrivarii**: see on c. 8, 4. Those here spoken of occupied part of the modern Hanover.

hic, sc. 'in aggere.'

l. 10. c. 20. **locos**, 'their separate positions:' so in 13. 36, 1; 15. 32, 1 (see on 1. 61, 2).

l. 11. **prompta**, 'what was evident,' a rare sense, but in Cicero, etc. Here it refers to the infantry on the 'agger,' as 'occulta' to the horsemen in the woods.

l. 12. **Seio Tuberoni**: cp. 4. 29, 1; a brother of Seianus.

l. 14. **eniteretur**. This verb has usually the accus. with 'in,' as in c. 80, 7; 1. 65, 9; 70, 6.

l. 15. **sibi**, sc. 'sumpsit,' supplied by zeugma from 'permisit.'

l. 16. **succederent** = 'scanderent:' cp. c. 81, 2.

l. 17. **superne**, here an attributive adj., like 'comminus,' in § 4 (Introd. p. 18, § 42).

l. 18. **funditores libritoresque**. Both of these are slingers, apparently distinguished by a difference in the missiles which they hurled. Those of the latter are called 'librilia,' and appear to have been stones of considerable size bound to a leather strap.

l. 22. **praetoriis cohortibus**: see c. 16, 5.

l. 23. **conlato gradu**, 'foot to foot,' repeated from H. 2. 42, 4: cp. 'contulit gradum,' Liv. 7. 33, 11.

l. 28. c. 21. **non colligeret**, 'could not recover' (potential subjunct.). The word is explained by the resemblance of the movement to that of gathering in a rope. The uselessness of the long German spear in such a conflict is mentioned in c. 14, 3.

adsultibus, only here and in Verg. Aen. 5. 442.

l. 30. **adpressum**, 'closely covering,' a very rare word. The curved form of the 'scutum' is contrasted with the broad flat German shield.

insidens, 'firmly grasping.'

l. 31. **ora foderet**: see c. 14, 4.

l. 32. **inprompto**, only found previously in Liv. 7. 4, 5. Tacitus is fond of using compounds of this form: see Introd. p. 18, § 43 b.

l. 33. **vulnus**: see c. 17, 5.

P. 96, l. 1. **tota volitantem acie**, local abl. The whole expression is taken from Liv. 4. 19, 2.

l 3. **insisterent**, 'persist in the carnage.' Such wholesale massacre (cp. c. 25, 4; 1. 51, 2; 56, 3) was perhaps regarded as righteous vengeance for Varus, but is hardly exceptional in Roman warfare with barbarians.

l. 5. **faciendis castris**, dat. of purpose (Introd. p. 11, § 11).

l. 7. **ambigue**, 'with doubtful issue,' a virtual admission of their defeat.

l. 8. c. 22. **pro contione**, 'in face of the assembly,' addressing them from the tribunal: see note on 1. 44, 4.

congeriem armorum, another such trophy as that in c. 18, 2.

l. 9. **inter Rhenum Albimque**. He must have been some distance from the Elbe, but had probably advanced eastward from the Weser (see note on c. 19, 3).

l. 10. **exercitum Tiberii Caesaris**: see note on c. 18, 2.

l. 13. **bellum . . . mandat, ni . . . properavissent**, a condensed expression of 'bellum mandat, et bellum iis illatum esset, ni,' etc. On the more common use of the imperf. in such sentences, see Introd. p. 15, § 32. On the Angrivarii, see c. 8, 4, and note there. They had been already chastised, and were now fully reduced.

l. 16. c. 23. **aestate iam adulta**. This expression would denote the middle of July.

l. 19. **mille navium**: cp. c. 6, 2.

velis inpelli, 'was stirred by the sailing.' The sails which move the ship are said mediately to move the sea: on 'inpelli,' cp. Verg. G. 1. 254, 'remis inpellere marmor.'

l. 21. **regimen**, 'the steering;' used of the rudder itself by Ovid (M. 11. 552).

l. 23. **officia prudentium corrumpebat**, 'was frustrating the service of the skilful:' cp. 'officia nautarum impediebant,' H. 4. 16, 5.

l. 24. **cessit**, 'passed over to' (fell under the sway of): cp. 1. 1, 3. The squalls from different quarters ('variae procellae') were overpowered by a steady gale from the south-west.

qui umidis, etc. It is perhaps best to take 'terris' and 'amnibus' as abl. abs., explaining 'immenso nubium tractu;' which, in accordance with an opinion recorded by Seneca ('facit ergo ventum resoluta nubes'), would assign a cause for the force of this wind. For 'umidis,' the MS. has 'tumidis,' which might mean 'swollen with moisture' (cp. 'vere tument terrae,' Verg. G. 2. 324).

l. 27. **disiecit**, 'scattered:' from Verg. Aen. 1. 43.

insulas, etc. The islands off the mouth of the Ems abound in shoals and quicksands, but have no rocks.

l. 29. **postquam mutabat**, etc. The tide had hitherto offered some resistance to the wind. Such intrans. use of 'muto' is frequent in Livy.

l. 32. **manantes**, best taken with both clauses. The ships are dripping, both from leakage through the sides, and from waves breaking over. 'Superurgeo' is otherwise unknown, and perhaps the words should be written 'divisim.'

P. 97, l. 2. c. 24. **praestat . . . excessit.** That which is exceeded is to be supplied from the sense. So 'excessit,' c. 33, 2; 'praestitisset,' c. 73, 4.

l. 3. **ita vasto et profundo.** 'Mari' is to be supplied from 'mare' below, and both this clause and 'hostilibus . . . litoribus' are to be taken as abl. abs., like 'periculoso' (1. 6, 6), etc.

l. 4. **novissimum ac sine terris,** 'the boundary of the world, and with no lands beyond it.'

l. 5. **insulas longius sitas.** These are distinct from those mentioned in c. 23, 3, and may be those off the west coast of Schleswig.

l. 7. **elisa,** 'cast on shore;' apparently a new sense of the word.

toleraverant, 'had maintained,' up to the time of their discovery.

l. 8. **adpulit:** cp. c. 6, 2; with accus. in c. 54, 3, etc.

l. 9. **scopulos.** The rocks on this coast are imaginary (cp. c. 23, 3).

l. 11. **secundante.** This verb is poetical, and elsewhere takes an accus.

l. 12. **intentis vestibus.** Similar contrivances are described in Juv. 12. 67.

l. 15. **Angrivarii.** See c. 8, 4 (and note), and c. 22, 3. It is implied that they lived near the coast, and that some other coastmen had sold their prisoners inland. It is to be noted that the British princes are here implied to have been on friendly terms with Rome.

l. 18. **ambiguas,** 'intermediate between;' so used in c. 40, 1; oftener with a single genit. as in 1. 7, 4, etc. It is possible that seals may have passed for mermen. Tacitus himself appears to disbelieve these tales.

l. 22. c. 25. **ire . . . imperat.** The simple inf. with this verb (cp. Introd. p. 14, § 27) is found in poets and Sallust. Silius had already attacked the Chatti in this year (c. 7, 1); the Marsi had been invaded two years previously (1. 50, 6, foll.).

l. 25. **aquilam.** With the three legions of Varus, three eagles had been lost. One had been already recovered (1. 60, 4); the third was regained in the first year of Claudius.

l. 27. **terga circumgressi:** cp. 4. 73, 2; also with accus. in Sallust.

recluderent; so 'tellus . . . recluditur,' Verg. G. 2. 423. The verb is poetical, and rare in any other prose author.

l. 29. **excindit,** in this sense, apparently taken from Vergil (see Introd. p. 22, § 58, 4).

restiterat, 'had made a stand:' cp. 1. 61, 3.

P. 98, l. 3. c. 26. **animi.** On this case, cp. Introd. p. 13, § 21 c.

l. 7. **adiceretur,** sc. 'bello' = 'adsumeretur.'

l. 8. **bellum patrari:** cp. 3. 47, 1; an expression used by Sallust and old writers of bringing a war to a close.

l. 9. **triumphum:** see 1. 55, 1.

eventuum, used specially of successes in Agr. 8, 2; 22; 3, 27, 2, etc.; hence here explained by 'prospera . . . proelia,' as 'casuum' by 'quae venti . . . intulissent.'

l. 12. **noviens, in B. C. 9–7, A. D. 4–6, 9–11.**

l. 14. **Sugambros.** The remnant of this tribe were settled on the Gallic bank, probably in B. C. 8. See Hor. Od. 4. 2, 34; 14, 51. They furnish contingents to the Roman army (4. 47, 5).

Suebos. On this people, see 1. 44, 6; on Maroboduus, c. 44, 3, etc.

l. 17. **internis discordiis.** As an illustration of this may be instanced the hostilities between the Cherusci and Suebi in the very next year (c. 44, 2), and the plot of the prince of the Chatti against the life of Arminius (c. 88, 1).

l. 19. **praesens, i. e. at Rome.** Germanicus had again left Rome before he actually filled this consulship (c. 53, 1).

l. 20. **adnectebat,** used, as in 4. 28, 2, with the force and construction of 'addebat.'

l. 22. **nomen imperatorium.** This title (see on 1. 3, 1, etc.) had been received by Germanicus (1. 58, 9); but there is no trace of its having been ever given to Drusus.

deportare lauream, 'to earn the laurel wreath;' so 'deportare triumphum,' Cic. Off. 1. 26, etc.

l. 24. **parto decori.** For the dative, see c. 5, 1; Introd. p. 10, § 6.

l. 26. c. 27. **Libo Drusus.** His full name was M. Scribonius Libo Drusus, and he was probably brother of the consul of this year (c. 1, 1; 29, 2).

l. 27. **defertur moliri:** cp. 'defertur simulavisse,' 3. 22, 1. This construction with verbs of accusing is especially common in the Annals (Introd. p. 15, § 29). The charge of plotting a revolution ('res novae') is distinct from, and more specific than, that of 'maiestas' (on which see 1. 72, 3).

l. 28. **curatius:** cp. 1. 13, 7.

reperta sunt, etc. Delation has been already noticed (1. 72; 74), but we here first find persons entrapped by intimate friends, who keep up private communications with Caesar. By 'per tot annos' the whole time to the death of Domitian is meant.

l. 29. **Firmius Catus:** see 4. 31, 7; 'amicitia' for 'amicis,' as in c. 77, 1 (Introd. p. 9, § 1).

l. 30. **facilem inanibus,** 'easily led to empty projects;' so 'facilis capessendis inimicitiis,' 5. 11, 1.

l. 31. **Chaldaeorum,** the astrologers, known also as 'mathematici' (c. 32, 5, etc.), and by other names, who foretold destiny from the positions of the heavenly bodies. Tiberius was himself an adept in the art (6. 20, 3), and Tacitus is not wholly without belief in it (4. 58, 2).

magorum sacra, 'the rites of magicians.' These dealt in philtres and other drugs, spells, and incantations (see c. 28, 3; 69, 5, etc.), and were often neither more nor less than professional poisoners.

somniorum interpretes. These have sometimes the special name of 'coniectores.'

l. 32. **proavum Pompeium.** Libo's mother was daughter of Sex. Pompeius (son of Cn. Pompeius Magnus), and of Scribonia, niece of the elder Scribonia, (wife of Augustus), who was thus strictly his great-great-aunt, and whose descendants by Julia were in a wide sense his 'consobrini.' Also his father was an adoptive brother of Livia Augusta, the mother of Tiberius.

P. 99, l. 1. **plenam imaginibus domum.** All effigies which were entitled to be borne at funerals of the family (see 3. 5, 2; 76, 4, etc.) were kept in the 'atrium' of a Roman house.

l. 3. **necessitatum,** 'pecuniary obligations,' answering to 'aes alienum,' as 'libidinum' to 'luxum.'

l. 4. c. 28. **noscerent,** 'would acknowledge,' for 'adgnoscerent' (cp. 'adgnoscentes servos,' c. 30, 3); thus 'an . . . nosceret,' 15. 60, 6. The subjunct. here is potential (Introd. p. 16, § 33).

l. 6. **Flaccum Vescularium,** a companion of Tiberius at Rhodes and afterwards at Capreae, where he was put to death in A. D. 32.

l. 8. **congressus,** 'personal intercourse with Catus.' With 'posse' the idea of such a verb as 'dicebat' is supplied.

l. 10. **convictibus adhibet,** 'invites him to dinner:' to be thus admitted to the society of the prince was held a great honour.

l. 13. **ut umbras . . . eliceret.** This was a recognised branch of magic: cp. Verg. Ecl. 8. 98; Aen. 4. 490; Hor. Sat. 1. 8, 29, etc.

Fulcinium Trionem: see 3. 10, 1; 19, 1. He was consul at the time of the fall of Seianus, and was afterwards forced to suicide.

l. 15. **corripit,** 'he arrests:' cp. 3. 28, 5; 49, 1; 66, 2, etc.

l. 16. **adit consules.** They were the presidents of the senatorial court: cp. 1. 73, 3, etc.

l. 17. **addito.** On this abl., see Introd. p. 12, § 19 a.

l. 19. c. 29. **domos,** used especially of the palaces of the nobility (1. 73, 2, etc.).

vocem . . . poscere, an equivalent expression to 'patronos petenti' (3. 11, 2); so 'vocem praeparare' ('to study a speech'), Plin. Epp. 2. 1, 5.

l. 23. **fratri,** probably the one who had been consul (c. 1, 1), but who would have been by that time superseded by a 'suffectus.'

manus ac . . . voces . . . tendens. This use of 'tendere' with 'voces' by zeugma seems adopted from Verg. (Aen. 2. 688; 3. 176).

l. 24. **libellos et auctores,** 'the informations and names of the informers.'

l. 25. **moderans,** 'restraining himself;' so 'moderante,' 1. 15, 2: usually a dative is expressed, as in c. 70, 4, etc.

l. 28. c. 30. **Fonteius Agrippa,** mentioned again in c. 86, 1.

C. Vibius, the elder Vibius Serenus; on whom see 4. 13, 2; 28, 1, foll.

l. 28. **perorandi,** 'of making the formal oration.' The word often means no more than this (cp. 3. 17, 7); but the proper place of such oration was at the close of the evidence.

l. 30. **singillatim,** 'one by one;' so that they might be argued separately without a continuous oration on either side.

l. 31. **libellos,** not here as in c. 29. 2, but papers belonging to Libo.

l. 32. **consultaverit** = 'consultavisse monstraretur.'

P. 100, l. 2. uni . . . libello. This dat., as well as 'nominibus,' must depend on 'additas.'

Caesarum aut senatorum, i. e. some to the one set of names, some to the other: see on 1. 55, 2.

l. 3. **atroces vel occultas,** 'deadly, or at least mysterious symbols.' It is meant that their unintelligibility was in itself suspicious, and that such cabalistic characters might be a magical 'devotio' (see on c. 69, 5).

l. 4. **adgnoscentes:** cp. 'noscerent.' c. 28, 1. The evidence of slaves was not legal, except under torture, even when they were willing to speak without it.

l. 5. **quaestio in caput domini,** 'the evidence of a slave on a capital charge against his master.' Even the old law allowed this in some extreme cases; and the fiction here mentioned as an innovation is said to have been contrived by Augustus.

l. 7. **actori publico,** 'the agent of the treasury' (cp. 3. 67, 3), a person generally a slave or at most a freedman, who held property in the name of the community. Those made over to him would be no longer private, but public slaves.

l. 9. **posterum diem,** i. e. an adjournment till the next day.

l. 10. **P. Quirinio:** cp. 3. 22, 1; 23, 1, and esp. 3. 48. He had married Aemilia Lepida, who was, like Libo, descended from Pompeius.

l. 13. c. 31. **milite.** Being under trial, but yet uncondemned, he was under custody in his own house, like Cn. Piso (3. 14, 7).

l. 14. **cum . . . vocare,** etc. On this use of the historical inf. in temporal clauses, cp. Introd. p. 15, § 30. The time has been already marked by finite verbs.

ipsis . . . epulis; probably best taken as a free use of the abl. of time during which, like 'triumviratu' (3. 28, 3), etc. So here 'during the very feast;' the cause of his torment being the sight of the soldiers, who, as he thought, were sent to despatch him.

l. 18. **feralibus:** cp. 'funestas tenebras,' 1. 65, 10. In Libo's case the darkness was more strictly that of the grave, as he never saw light again.

l. 20. **adseveratione,** 'seriousness,' whether assumed (as here and in 4. 19, 3) or real (as in 3. 35, 3; 4. 42, 2).

l. 21. **iuravit.** On this practice, see 1. 74, 5.

petiturum, sc. 'fuisse:' see Introd. p. 14, § 25.

l. 24. c. 32. **Bona . . . dividuntur.** Usually, in such cases, the accusers received a portion, not less than one fourth (see 4. 20, 2).

l. 25. **Cotta Messalinus,** a son of Messalla Corvinus and brother of Valerius Messalinus (on whom see 1. 8, 5). He has an evil name in Tacitus (4. 20, 6, etc.), but is highly extolled as a friend by Ovid, who often addresses him in the Epistles 'ex Ponto:' see also note on 3. 2, 5.

l. 26. **ne imago,** etc. Thus those of Brutus and Cassius were not borne (c. 76, 5).

l. 27. **Cn. Lentulus:** cp. 1. 27, 1.

ne quis, etc. Sometimes the praenomen of a condemned person was forbidden to his posterity: see 3. 17, 8, and note there.

l. 28. **Pomponii Flacci,** now consul designate (c. 41, 2), and afterwards legatus of Moesia (c. 66, 3).

l. 29. **dona,** votive offerings to the temples, as in 3. 71, 1, etc.

l. 30. **iduum . . . dies,** Sept. 13. An old calendar records this festival.

l. 31. **L. Piso,** apparently the right filling up of the MS. text 'L. P.' It is supposed that the person may be the one mentioned in c. 34, 1.

Gallus Asinius: cp. 1. 8, 4, etc.

Papius Mutilus, cos. suff. A. D. 9, who, with his colleague, gave his name to the 'Lex Papia Poppaea' (see 3. 25, 1).

l. 32. **L. Apronius:** cp. 1. 56, 1, etc.

auctoritates, best taken to mean 'weighty names.'

P. 101, l. 1. **mathematicis:** see on c. 27, 2.

l. 2. **saxo:** so used in 4. 29, 2, for the Tarpeian rock.

l. 3. **extra portam Esquilinam,** in the campus Esquilinus, the usual place of execution.

classicum canere. By this in old time public notice of trial on capital charges was given.

l. 4. **more prisco:** cp. 'more maiorum,' 4. 30, 1, and the description in Suet. Ner. 49, 'Nudi hominis cervicem ingeri furcae, corpus virgis ad necem caedi.' The phrase 'advertere in aliquem' ('to punish') is found only here and in 5. 9, 1; but a somewhat similar use of the verb occurs in 3. 52, 2; 4. 35, 1, etc.

l. 5. c. 33. **multa in luxum,** etc. For another such motion, and the opinion of Tiberius on the subject, see 3. 52–55.

l. 6. **Q. Haterio:** see on 1. 13, 4.

l. 7. **auro solida,** abl. of material: the expression is from Verg. Aen. 2. 765.

ministrandis cibis, i. e. that they should be used only in sacrifice.

l. 8. **viros,** 'the male sex.' These 'vestes sericae,' silken dresses of

transparent lightness, the 'Coae' of Augustan poets, were worn by immodest women, and, even after this decree, by effeminate men (see 3. 53, 5).

l. 8. **excessit**, 'went further:' probably 'ceteros' is to be supplied, as in c. 24, 1.

postulavit modum, 'demanded that limit be set.'

l. 9. **familiae**, 'establishment of slaves.' The enormous number of domestic slaves at Rome is often mentioned: see 3. 53, 5; 4. 27, 2.

l. 10. **e re publica**, 'for the public good:' so in 3. 53, 1, etc., and often in Cic.

loco sententiae, 'when their turn to speak came.' Fronto's suggestion was no more than a considerable extension of the proposed decree; but the privilege extended to the introduction of wholly irrelevant matters (cp. c. 37, 3; 38, 3; 3. 33, 1; 4. 74, 3). A famous instance is that of Cato, who constantly added, after speaking to the question, 'ceterum censeo delendam esse Karthaginem.' See also the 7th Philippic of Cicero.

l. 13. **Fabricios**, pl. for sing.: cp. 1. 10, 3, etc.

l. 14. **pecuniam**, 'wealth,' as in 3. 72, 3, etc. What would have been called affluence in the days of Fabricius would be poverty in those of the Scipios.

referri = *ἀναφέρεσθαι*, 'are relative to.'

l. 16. **gliscere**, 'advanced;' hardly used elsewhere of persons except in the sense of increase in number (4. 5, 5; 27, 3).

l. 17. **nimium aliquid**, etc., 'could this or that thing be called excessive or moderate.'

l. 18. **ex**, 'in relation to:' cp. 'ex . . . utilitatibus,' 1. 58, 2, etc.

distinctos, sc. 'a censu plebis:' so below, with 'diversi naturae,' 'senatores equitesque a plebe' must be supplied, and these two orders taken as the subject of 'antistent.' On the senatorial census, see 1. 75, 5; on the equestrian, 4. 63, 2.

l. 19. **sed, ut**, etc. This passage has been very variously read and interpreted. As the text here stands, a comparison is drawn, and 'ut' is not final, but answers to 'ita,' with which 'antistare' is supplied from 'antistent.' 'It is not because they are beings of another nature that senators and knights are marked off from others by a standard of property; but as they have a superiority in place, rank, honours, so they have in whatever is devised for repose of mind or recreation of body': in other words, their luxury goes naturally with their position. 'Locis' refers to their place in the theatre, 'ordinibus' to their position as orders of aristocracy, 'dignationibus' to personal and social consideration (cp. 4. 52, 2).

l. 21. **nisi forte**, etc. The accus. and inf. in oratio obliqua, in

hypothetical sentences, is a Græcism: cp. Thuc. 4. 98, 4, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ πλέον δυνηθῆναι . . . κρατῆσαι, κ.τ.λ. This ironical use of 'nisi forte' is common in Sallust.

l. 24. **sub nominibus honestis**, taken closely with 'confessio vitiorum;' 'his admission of vices under specious names.'

l. 26. **censurae**, such control as a censor might exercise.

l. 27. **corrigendi auctorem.** Tiberius was 'corrector morum,' and the censorship existed in no other form.

l. 28. **c. 34. L. Piso**, mentioned again in 4. 21, 1; probably also in c. 32, 4; 3. 11, 2; 68, 1; supposed to have been a brother of Cn. Piso.

fori. The law courts must be meant, as there were no elections by the comitia (1. 15, 1); but 'corrupta' may refer to bribery, 'ambitum' to solicitation (cp. 1. 2, 2).

P. 102, l. 2. **Urgulania**, mentioned again in 4. 21, 1; 22, 3. We gather that Piso claimed a sum of money from her, and, on her disregard, would have dragged her to court by force from the house of Caesar; and that Tiberius, while offering to appear as her 'advocatus,' managed to gain time, during which Augusta paid the money into court.

l. 6. **hactenus**, explained by 'ut . . . diceret:' he could so far gratify his mother, without doing more than any one citizen might do for another (cp. 1. 12, 6, etc.).

l. 8. **militibus**, his usual guard: cp. 1. 7, 7; 24, 3, etc.

l. 9. **tempus atque iter**, hendiadys: cp. Introd. p. 19, § 48.

l. 12. **neque** = 'ne . . . quidem:' cp. c. 51, 3, 82, 5; 4. 26, 3; 34, 3; Roby, 2232.

l. 16. **quotiens . . . dicerent**; subjunct. of cases often occurring: cp. Introd. p. 16, § 34.

l. 18. **c. 35. res prolatas**, the regular expression for the vacation, during which senate and law courts were adjourned. The question was whether this was to be arranged to suit the convenience of Caesar, who had professed an intention to be absent at a time when important Italian and provincial business was to have been transacted. On Cn. Piso, cp. 1. 12, 3, etc.

pretium: cp. 1. 57, 4.

l. 21. **agendas**, sc. 'res,' i. e. 'non proferendas.'

l. 22. **equites.** These formed so large a majority of the judicial 'decuriae,' as to be often synonymous with 'iudices' (cp. 3. 30, 2, etc.).

l. 23. **speciem libertatis . . . praeceperat**, 'had forestalled him in a show of independence,' the newest form of flattery (1. 8, 5). For 'praecipere,' cp. 1. 55, 1, etc.

l. 25. **conventum**, etc., 'the concourse of Italians and influx of the provinces,' i. e. those brought to Rome by law-suits, etc.

l. 28. **dilatae**, a variation from the usual 'prolatae.'

l. 30. c. 36. **in quinquennium**, 'for five years in advance.' To bring such a proposal into force, the magistrates for the next five years would be nominated at once, and afterwards, annually, those for the fifth year from date.

l. 31. **utque legionum legati.** The indic. 'fungebantur' shows that those actually then serving in that rank are meant. Their whole number, answering to that of the legions (Introd. p. 30), would be twenty-five, of whom probably some had already been praetors. The remainder would be destined or designated as such from the date of this motion ('iam tum'); with them the princeps was to nominate others as praetors designate to make up a total of sixty, distributed in groups of twelve over the five years. On the number of praetors, and on the 'nominatio' by the princeps, see on 1. 14, 6.

P. 103, l. 1. **arcana imperii**: cp. c. 59, 4; 1. 6, 6. Such a scheme really bound his choice for five years in advance.

l. 2. **quasi augeretur.** His power would apparently by five years outlast his life; but such posthumous choice was often set aside.

l. 3. **moderationi**: cp. 'modestia,' 1. 11, 1, etc.

tot eligere, referring to the immediate choice of sixty praetors, etc.

l. 7. **mens, domus, fortuna**, 'sentiments, family conditions, circumstances.' A man's 'domus' might be changed by his adoption, or he might gain a preferential claim by having children (cp. c. 51, 2). 'Fortuna' is thus used in c. 38, 9; 4. 23, 2.

l. 8. **annua**, 'a year in advance.'

l. 9. **agitent**, sc. 'animo,' 'assumed the airs of magistrates.' The 'magistratus designati' had a quasi-official position, especially in the senate; so it is rhetorically said that magistrates would be multiplied fivefold ('quinquiplicari,' ἅπ. εἰρ.).

l. 12. **favorabili**, 'popular:' cp. 'haec favorabili oratione praemisit,' 12. 6, 1. For 'in speciem,' cp. 1. 52, 2, etc.

l. 13. c. 37. **censusque**, etc. For other instances of this, see 1. 75, 5.

quo magis. The MS. has 'quod;' but the occurrence of the same word twice in a sentence in different senses is awkward. The plup. subjunct 'accepisset' is used as giving the view of persons at the time.

l. 16. **inlectus**, 'induced.' For the inf. with this word, cp. Introd. p. 14, § 27.

liberalitate, abstr. for concr., used specially of imperial gifts to individuals, as in 4. 20, 1, etc. The gift amounted to the sum fixed as the senatorial census (1. 75, 5), and appears to have been already squandered.

l. 19. **loco sententiae**: see c. 33, 2.

l. 20. **sitam**: cp. c. 7, 3; 1. 39, 4, etc.

l. 26. **satis habebam, si,** 'used to hold it sufficient that:' so in 4. 38, 1. The tenses of 'potuissem' and 'habebam' refer to the time before his marriage, and the former is a causal subjunct.

l. 28. **stirps et progenies,** apparently imitated from 'stirps haec progeniesque mea est' (Ov. Trist. 3. 14, 4), where 'stirps,' in the sense of the 'scion,' is synonymous with 'progenies.'

l. 29. **ad invidiam,** sc. 'spectans,' 'for the purpose of reproach;' varied in the next clause to the gerundive dative (Introd. p. 11, § 11).

l. 33. **c. 38. Inclinatio,** etc. The stress appears to be on 'promptius.' Tiberius had made up his mind, and, seeing the sympathy of the senate, spoke at once before it had gone too far.

P. 104, l. 3. **res publica,** 'the funds of the treasury.'

l. 4. **egredi . . . relationem,** etc.: see c. 33, 2.

l. 6. **augeamus,** taken by zeugma with 'negotia;' 'push our own business and increase our means.'

l. 8. **non enim preces sunt istud,** 'for this is not a case of entreaty:' cp. 'non medicinam illud' (1. 49, 4), etc. In older writers the pronoun would usually be attracted.

l. 11. **modestiam,** the delicacy which they might feel towards a brother senator.

l. 12. **ambitione,** 'by favouritism:' cp. 1. 67, 4, etc.

l. 14. **ea lege ut,** 'with the understanding that.'

l. 15. **alioqui,** 'otherwise,' i.e. if such requests were generally granted.

intendetur, 'will be aggravated.' This sense of the word (c. 57, 3; 4. 11, 4; 26, 2; 40, 4, etc.) is almost wholly Tacitean.

l. 16. **ex se.** The subject of reference is implied in the context, and 'metus' answers to 'socordia,' as 'spes' to 'industria.'

l. 23. **ducena sestertia.** As there were four sons (c. 37, 3), this gift amounts to four-fifths of that of Augustus.

l. 25. **retinens,** with genit.: cp. Introd. p. 13, § 21 b. For the co-ordination of causal abl. and participle, cp. Id. p. 21, § 54 f.

l. 31. **c. 39. in insulam Planasiam.** On the banishment of Agrippa to this place, and his death there, see 1. 3, 4; 5, 2; 6, 1, foll.

l. 33. **ausa.** This subst. appears first in Verg. (Aen. 2. 535, etc.).

P. 105, l. 1. **praecipitia,** used of desperate or dangerous courses in 15. 29, 1, 'omissis praecipitibus tuta . . . capessentem.'

l. 2. **furatur cineres.** This would destroy the chief evidence of Agrippa's death.

l. 3. **crinem barbamque promitteret,** so as to imitate the unkempt state of Agrippa in his banishment.

l. 4. **dissimili in.** The prep. has the force of *πρός*, and the expression is nearly equivalent to a simple dative (see on 1. 76, 5).

l. 5. **tum**, etc. These few lines describe his action for nearly two years.

secreti, 'place of retreat:' cp. 4. 54, 4; 57, 2, etc.

crebrescit, 'the story grows:' only here with acc. and inf.

l. 11. **incertis**, in contrast to 'visu,' as 'festinatione' to 'mora.'

relinquebat, etc.; i. e. when he left a place, it was because he was becoming too well known; when he chose another to visit, it was one where the story had not yet spread.

l. 15. c. 40. **celebrabant** = 'colebant,' as 'obsequio aliquem celebrare' in 16. 33, 1.

l. 16. **servum suum.** The slaves of Agrippa would have become the property of Augustus, and would have passed to Tiberius as his heir.

l. 18. **ambiguus**, 'wavering between:' cp. c. 24, 6.

l. 19. **Sallustio Crispo**: see 1. 6, 6.

l. 21. **conscientia**, 'complicity:' cp. 'conscii,' 1. 48, 4, etc.

pericula, probably to be taken in a pregnant sense as = 'societatem periculorum:' cp. Introd. p. 20, § 53.

l. 25. **quo modo tu Caesar**, 'as you became Caesar,' i. e. by fraud; alluding to his adoption through the intrigues of his mother (see 1. 7, 11, etc.).

l. 31. c. 41. **aedem Saturni**, in the Forum, at the foot of the Capitol.

recepta signa: see c. 25, 2; 1. 60, 4.

l. 32. **auspiciis Tiberii**: see c. 18, 2, and note there.

l. 33. **in hortis**, etc. The gardens bequeathed by the dictator Caesar were beyond the Tiber (Hor. Sat. 1. 9, 18); and a temple to Fors Fortuna had stood in that quarter from very early times.

P. 106, l. 2. **Bovillas.** The Julii claimed descent from Iulus, the founder of Alba Longa, from which city Bovillae was an offshoot.

l. 4. **a. d. VII. Kal. Iunias**, May 26. This triumph was celebrated for the whole war, but had been awarded at the beginning of A. D. 15: see 1. 55, 1.

l. 5. **ad Albim**: cp. c. 22, 1.

l. 6. **simulacra**, etc. Such representations are mentioned in several accounts of Roman triumphs, and appear to have been sometimes pictures, but oftener models, executed in wood or, in some instances, in ivory.

l. 7. **confiocre prohibitus erat**: see c. 26, 3.

l. 8. **augebat intuentium visus**, 'made the gaze of the spectators more intense:' the words may also be taken to mean 'made the sight offered to spectators more splendid.'

l. 9. **quinque**: see Introd. p. 32. The sixth child was yet unborn (see c. 54, 1); and, of these five, the eldest was only about eleven years, the youngest probably but a few months old.

suberat, probably taken absolutely (as in 3. 30, 5), and 'reputantibus' as abl. abs.

l. 10. **in Druso**, 'in the case of Drusus:' cp. Roby, 1978.

l. 11. **avunculum.** Marcellus was half-brother to Antonia, the mother of Germanicus (see Introd. p. 33). On his age and death, see on **1. 3, 1.**

l. 14. **c. 42. plebi**, i.e. to the poorer members of the 'plebs urbana.' The recipients may probably have been about 200,000. Such a gift is called elsewhere 'congiarium' (cp. 3. 29, 3).

l. 15. **collegam consulatui**: see **c. 53, 1.**

l. 18. **quinquagensimum.** He had been set up by Antonius just fifty years before the accession of Tiberius, at which date the narrative here begins (see § 4). Cappadocia extended from the borders of Pontus, Galatia, and Lycaonia to the Euphrates.

l. 19. **Rhodi agentem**, see on 1. 4, 4. On the mission of Gaius Caesar to the East, see c. 4, 2.

l. 23. **versa** = 'eversa:' cp. 3. 56, 3; 54, 1; and the frequent poetical use in Tacitus of simple verbs for compound (Introd. p. 14, § 26).

l. 28. **mox accusatus.** This interval brings down the narrative to the date of the current year. A charge of disaffection appears to have been trumped up against him, but not pressed to a conviction.

l. 29. **aequa**, 'equality,' in contrast to 'infima' ('humiliation').

l. 30. **sponte an fato**, 'whether by his own act or the course of nature.' On the use of 'fatum' to express a natural death, see 1. 3, 3; c. 71, 2.

l. 31. **in provinciam redactum est**; see **c. 56, 4.**

l. 32. **centesimae vectigal.** Tiberius had previously refused to abate this tax (1. 78, 2). That of one half per cent., now substituted for it, appears to have been finally remitted by Gaius (Caligula).

l. 33. **Commagenorum.** Commagene adjoined Cappadocia on the south, and also extended to the Euphrates. On its settlement at this time, see c. 56, 5.

P. 107, l. 1. **Cilicum.** Most of Cilicia was under Roman rule, but petty kingdoms were left in the more mountainous districts: cp. c. 78, 3.

l. 3. **Suria atque Iudaea.** Syria, the greatest of the Eastern provinces, extended from the coast to the Euphrates and the desert of Palmyra, and was held by a garrison of four legions (4. 5, 4). Judaea was then under the procurator Valerius Gratus, the predecessor of Pilate.

l. 5. **c. 43. supra**: see **c. 4.**

l. 7. **vergere**, 'was declining' (cp. 4. 8, 5). He was then fifty-nine, Germanicus thirty-one, Drusus about twenty-nine.

l. 9. **quae mari dividuntur.** The expression is comprehensive,

but was intended mainly to apply to the various Asiatic provinces. Germanicus appears to have wrongly taken it to include Egypt (see c. 59. 2, 3). He appears to have had a 'proconsulare imperium,' making him a superior officer to ordinary proconsuls and legati, as his similar position in the West had placed him above such governors in Gaul or Germany (see 1. 31, 2).

l. 10. **sorte.** Proconsuls of senatorial provinces were usually thus appointed (see on 3. 32, 2), whereas all Caesarian provinces received their governors 'missu principis:' see Introd. pp. 27, 28.

l. 11. **Creticum Silanum:** see c. 4, 4.

l. 14. **Cn. Pisonem:** see 1. 13, 3; 74, 6, etc.

l. 15. **ferocia:** cp. 1. 12, 6, etc.

resurgentes, etc., the renewed struggle of the Pompeian party ('partes') after Pharsalia, ending in the victory of Caesar at Thapsus (April 6, B.C. 46).

l. 18. **ambiretur,** 'was solicited.' On the inf. after this verb, see Introd. p. 14, § 27; on the subjunct. of facts with 'donec,' cp. 1. 1, 4.

l. 20. **Plancinae,** probably daughter or grand-daughter of the famous L. Munatius Plancus, and sister of the Plancus mentioned in 1. 39, 4, etc.

l. 25. **monuit ... insectandi,** an unprecedented construction; but 'moneo' takes a simple genit. in 1. 67, 1; and 'admoneo' is found with a gerundial genit. in late Latin.

l. 26. **namque.** This explanation is to make it probable that such instructions were given.

aula, here used of the body of courtiers: cp. 'prona in eum aula Neronis,' H. 1. 13, 10.

l. 30. **avunculum,** 'great-uncle;' so in c. 53, 3: cp. 'amitam.' c. 27, 2. Antonia, mother of Germanicus, was daughter of M. Antonius and Octavia.

l. 31. **Pomponius Atticus,** the friend of Cicero, whose daughter Pomponia was the first wife of Agrippa, and mother of Vipsania, wife of Tiberius; on whom see 1. 12, 6 (and note); 3. 19. 4.

l. 32. **imagines,** 'the ancestry;' so 'cessisti etiam Galbae imaginibus,' H. 2. 76, 4. For the explanation of the term, cp. c. 27, 2.

P. 108, l. 1. **fratres,** Germanicus and Drusus; the latter being son of Tiberius by blood, the former by adoption.

l. 3. c. 44. **Illyricum,** taken in a wide sense, to include Delmatia, Pannonia (as in 1. 46, 1, etc.), Noricum (see c. 63, 1), and Raetia (1. 44, 6); all which provinces were parted from the Suebi by the Danube.

l. 4. **suesceret,** with dat. as in 1. 31, 4, etc.

l. 7. **Suebi.** This name, also written Suevi, stood in the time of Tacitus for a great combination of German tribes with distinctive

names of their own (see c. 45, 1), extending from the Danube to the Baltic. The consolidation of many of these under the kingly power of Maroboduus (see below and c. 63) was the greatest union of Germans with which Rome had had to deal.

l. 8. **ac vacui.** It is probable that 'ac' may be an error arising out of the first syllable of 'vacui.' If it is retained, it may mean that not only were the Romans gone, but that the Germans were free from all fear of any foreigner, and the abl. 'discessu' might be taken like 'visu' in 3. 14, 3. 'Et tum' adds a further motive acting upon them at that time; that both claimed the glory of successful resistance to Rome.

l. 12. **habebat,** used harshly in two senses, being equivalent, in the first clause, to 'reddebat,' and, in the second, to 'sequebatur.' Arminius, though of the Cheruscan royal family, did not at this time (see c. 88, 3) aim at kingly power.

l. 15. c. 45. **Semnones,** a tribe between the Elbe and the Oder, spoken of as numerically the most important division of the Suebi.

Langobardi, also written 'Longobardi,' the Lombards of later history, at that time a distinguished, but not numerous, Suebic tribe, living apparently beyond the Elbe.

l. 16. **Inguiomerus:** see 1. 60, 1, etc.

l. 20. **vagis incursibus,** abl. of manner, denoting the mode of attack, and answering to the accus. with 'per' in the next clause.

l. 23. **ut quosque advectus erat,** 'as he rode up to each division;' the accus. pers. with 'advehor' is found elsewhere only in Verg. Aen. 8. 136.

l. 25. **ostentabat,** taken by zeugma, in some such sense as 'memorabat,' with 'libertatem' and 'legiones.'

l. 26. **Hercyniae,** sc. 'silvae;' the name of a very wide tract, but here specially of Bohemia, where Maroboduus had a stronghold, and into which he retreated before the Romans. See c. 46, 2.

l. 30. **meminissent:** cp. c. 15, 4.

l. 31. **penes utros,** etc., 'who were masters in the war as a whole' (the Romans or Cheruscans): cp. 'de summa belli iudicium,' Caes. B.G. 1. 41, 3. That Arminius was the real liberator of Germany, and was not vanquished in the issue of the war, is admitted by Tacitus (c. 88, 3).

P. 109, l. 4. c. 46. **vagas,** probably to be understood of their ignorance of the country. The MS. has 'vacuas,' which may mean 'off their guard.'

l. 6. **coniunx . . . filius:** see 1. 57, 5; 58, 9.

l. 7. **legionibus,** instrumental abl. See Introd. p. 12, § 15.

l. 8. **petitum duce Tiberio.** This concentrated attack of twelve legions on Bohemia was to have been made in A. D. 6; but the sudden and formidable rebellion of the Illyrian provinces called off all the

energies of Rome in that quarter. Maroboduus obtained peace, no doubt, on favourable terms; but owed it to this diversion.

l. 10. **integrum . . . bellum,** probably a concise expression for 'bellum integris viribus.' It might also mean 'bellum ex integro.'

l. 13. **antiquo decore.** This refers to the Cherusci, as 'recenti libertate' (in allusion to their revolt from Maroboduus) to the Langobardi, with whom the Semnones are to be understood.

l. 14. **contra,** on the side of Maroboduus; on the gerundive dat., see Introd. p. 11, § 11.

l. 15. **maiore mole,** 'with harder struggle:' cp. 'tantae molis erat,' Verg. Aen. 1. 33.

l. 16. **sperabatur,** 'was expected:' cp. c. 56, 4, etc.

l. 18. **perculsi,** sc. 'Marobodui,' 'of his disheartenment:' cp. 'fama occisi,' 6. 35, 5.

Marcomanos. This tribe, also written as 'Marcomanni,' lived at that time in Bohemia. They had been far more powerful in the time of Julius Caesar, and again became so subsequently.

l. 22. **paci,** poetical dat. (Introd. p. 11, § 9); for the expression, cp. 'quia pacem sapientia firmaverat' (c. 64, 2). He was to secure peace, not between the combatants, but on the Roman frontier.

l. 25. **c. 47. quo,** i.e. because at night. 'Inprovisior' is ἄπ. εἰρ.

l. 27. **prorumpendi,** genitive of definition (Roby, 1302).

l. 28. **sedisse,** from 'sido:' cp. 'sidebant campi,' Lucr. 5. 493.

l. 29. **asperrima in Sardianos lues.** A participial notion like 'cadens' is to be supplied, and the whole sentence taken as subject of 'traxit.' Sardis, the old capital of Lydia, was still a large city, and appears soon to have recovered (see 4. 55, 6).

l. 31. **aerario aut fisco.** As a senatorial province, Asia naturally paid tribute to the 'aerarium;' but, even in these provinces, some dues to the emperor's private treasury existed, and a 'procurator fisci' was appointed to collect them (see 4. 15, 3).

l. 32. **a Sipylo** = ἀπὸ Σιπύλου, a standing title distinguishing this from another Magnesia (3. 62, 1; 4. 55, 3). It lay on the north-west slope of Mount Sipylus, and the prep. may indicate the direction in which it was usually approached.

l. 33. **habiti,** 'were held to be next in suffering, and treated as next in their relief:' cp. note on c. 44, 3.

P. 110, l. 2. **Macedones Hyrcani,** a Macedonian town in a district already called, from Eastern settlers in Persian times, the Hyrcanian plain. Mosteni, though in the same locality, is a distinct city; so that 'aut' must signify 'the one' . . . 'the other,' as in c. 46, 3, etc. The expression is changed from names of people to those of places for variety.

l. 4. **praesentia**: cp. 1. 30, 5; 'refovere' is thus used in c. 54, 2, etc.

l. 5. **consulari obtinente**, etc. See 3. 32, 2; Introd. p. 27.

l. 7. c. 48. **in publicum**, taken with 'magnificam' and used nearly as a dat. (cp. 1. 76, 5). Bounty to communities is here contrasted with 'liberalitas,' in the sense of 'gifts to individuals' (cp. 2. 37, 2).

l. 9. **cuius e domo**. It is to be understood that her property would escheat to the fiscus, unless some one could show that she was a freedwoman, or of such origin, and that his family were her 'patroni;' we also gather that Lepidus (probably the one mentioned in 3. 32, 2, etc.) had set up such a claim, but had not clearly proved it.

l. 11. **in parte**, 'to half the property.' Later, such legacies of a portion to the princeps were often given to induce him to respect the will, and thus to save the remaining portion to the proper heirs.

l. 12. **scriptum**, sc. 'heredem ex asse.'

l. 15. **meruisset**, sc. 'heres scribi;' the subjunct. is that denoting frequent occurrence (Introd. p. 16, § 34).

l. 19. **Q. Vitellium**, another uncle (cp. 1. 70, 1) of the subsequent emperor. This expulsion of senators was an exercise of the 'correctio morum,' or censorial power of the princeps.

l. 23. c. 49. **A. Postumius**, the dictator at the famous battle of the lake Regillus, after the expulsion of the Tarquins.

l. 24. **aedem Florae**, etc., probably founded cir. B.C. 240.

l. 26. **C. Duilius** gained his victory in B.C. 260. The temple founded by him is distinct from the older and more famous temple of Janus, opened in war and closed in peace, which was near the Forum.

l. 28. **A. Atilius**, surnamed Calatinus, who triumphed in B.C. 258.

l. 30. c. 50. **Adolescebat**, i.e. was becoming more stringent.

et, instancing a case, as in 3. 38, 1.

l. 31. **sororis Augusti neptem**. It is thought that her mother was a Marcella (see Introd., p. 33). She was probably a sister of the consul of A.D. 14 (1. 7, 3).

l. 33. **conexa**, 'being related:' so in 4. 66, 2, etc. Augustus treated adultery among members of his family as treason (3. 24, 3).

teneretur, 'was implicated in:' so in 3. 13, 2, and (with elliptic genit.) 3. 67, 2.

P. 111, l. 1. **arcessebat**, 'was summoning:' so with genit. criminis, in 4. 29, 1; Cicero and Sallust.

satis caveri; that the 'Lex Iulia de adulteriis' (passed by Augustus in B.C. 17) sufficiently dealt with the charge (without straining it into a charge of treason).

l. 2. **distingui**, 'that distinctions be drawn respecting.' The context shows what distinctions are meant.

l. 5. **quae ... locuta secus argueretur**, 'as to what she might be proved to have said slanderously:' 'secus' has the force of 'otherwise than as should be' in c. 80, 1, etc.

l. 8. **graviorem poenam**, the full penalty of the 'Lex Iulia,' which would have imposed stricter banishment and forfeiture of property.

l. 9. **exemplo maiorum.** This refers not to the penalty, but to its infliction by a domestic tribunal ('propinquis,' dat. of the agent: cp. Introd. p. 10, § 8), a survival of very primitive law.

ultra ducentesimum lapidem, to a distance of more than two hundred miles from Rome.

l. 10. **adultero**, dative. The construction 'interdicere alicui aliqua re' is classical.

l. 14. c. 51. **etiam tum.** This must have taken place before the departure of Drusus (c. 44, 1). On that of Germanicus, see c. 53, 1.

Haterium Agrippam: see 1. 77, 3, etc. Marcus Agrippa is known to have married a Marcella, daughter of Octavia (see Introd. p. 33), from which marriage the mother of this person probably sprung; his father being the Q. Haterius of 1. 13, 4. etc.

l. 16. **lex**, sc. 'Papia Poppaea,' on which see 3. 25, 1. etc.

l. 18. **sine dubio**, concessive, as in 1. 6, 3; 10. 3. 'The law certainly was defeated, but, as laws used to be defeated when they had real force, not at once, or by many votes.'

l. 21. c. 52. **Africa.** The extent of this province (in which Numidia was then included) is described in Introd. p. 27. On its features and population, see the interesting sketch in Mr. Capes' edition of Sallust. pp. 31–41.

l. 22. **Tacfarinate.** On his subsequent incursions, see 3. 20; 32; 73; 4. 23.

l. 25. **vexilla**, used of divisions of any kind (cp. c. 78, 3); here either a synonym for the 'turmae' of horse, or denoting light infantry.

l. 26. **Musulamiorum**, a people inhabiting the mountain tract of Audos (Aurez) in the south of Numidia.

l. 27. **nullo ... cultu**, probably abl. of quality.

l. 28. **Mauros accolas**, 'such of the Mauri (people of Mauretania, then a semi-independent kingdom) as lived near them.'

l. 31. **suesceret.** The simple verb is nowhere else transitive, though such use is implied in that of 'suetus.'

l. 32. **Cinithios.** This people lived near the Lesser Syrtis.

l. 33. **pro consule.** This and 'pro praetore' are the regular forms in Tacitus for 'proconsul' and 'propraetor.'

P. 112, l. 1. **quod sub signis**, the standing auxiliary force usually attached to the legion.

l. 2. **conductos**, 'concentrated:' so 'conduceret,' 4. 47, 1.

l. 4. **aeque . . . quam**, a construction adopted frequently by Tacitus, from Plautus and Livy: cp. c. 65, 1; 4. 49, 2; 71, 4, etc.

l. 5. **medio**, abl. of place: see Introd. p. 11, § 14.

l. 9. **filiumque eius.** Tacitus appears to have confounded the son of the great Camillus with the grandson. The latter gained a triumph in B.C. 338.

alias familias. The contrasted expression being 'nomen Furium,' 'familia' must be used for 'gens,' as in 1. 4, 3; 3. 48, 2; 76, 4, etc. The statement is thus not quite correct in fact, as two subsequent triumphs of the Furii are known.

l. 12. **triumphalia insignia**: cp. 1. 72, 1.

l. 13. **modestiam**: cp. 1. 11, 1; 4. 7, 4, etc.

impune: cp. 1. 72, 3.

l. 14. **c. 53. Tiberium tertio**, etc. Tiberius had previously been consul in B.C. 13 and 7; Germanicus in A.D. 12.

l. 16. **Nicopolim.** This city had been founded by Augustus, opposite to Actium, on the north side of the Ambracian gulf, where his camp had stood before the battle. Here trophies were dedicated by him to Apollo, and quinquennial games held.

l. 17. **in Delmatia**: see c. 44, 1; also 4, 5, 5 (and note).

l. 21. **ut memoravi**, c. 43, 6.

l. 22. **magnaque illic imago**, etc., 'great associations of sorrow and joy were there suggested to him,' from his relationship to both combatants.

l. 24. **foederi.** Athens was a free city, having rights by treaty, and exempt from the jurisdiction of the proconsul. Hence Germanicus dispenses with the lictors denoting his 'imperium;' the single lictor being a mere 'accensus,' and equivalent to none.

l. 26. **praeferentes**, 'making a display of:' cp. 4. 75, 2.

quo plus dignationis, etc., 'to add to the honour of their obsequiousness,' by dignifying those from whom it came. For this sense of 'dignatio,' cp. 4. 52, 2.

l. 28. **c. 54. tramisit**, 'crossed to;' so 'Uticam . . . transmisit,' Liv. 25. 31, 12.

l. 29. **Iuliam**, called by others Livilla, or Julia Livilla. The name of Julia appears to be borne by all the sisters.

Perinthum, afterwards called Heraclea, and now Erekli.

l. 31. **angustias**, the Bosporus.

l. 33. **magistratuum**, probably their own local magistrates are meant. Bithynia, however, had recently suffered from its governor (1. 74, 1).

P. 113, l. 1. **sacra Samothracum**, the mysterious worship of the Kabeiri, alluded to by Juvenal (3. 144) and many other writers.

l. 2. **Ilio.** The Ilium of Roman times, to which belong the most recent remains traceable on the site of Hissarlik, had been rebuilt after its destruction by Fimbria in B. C. 85. The Romans regarded it as the representative of Homeric Troy and treated it with great respect as their ancestral city; but it was in itself an insignificant town (see 4. 55, 4). The construction is concise for 'adito Ilio visisque quae ibi,' etc., and the ablatives 'varietate' and 'origine' are causal. The use of the personal genit. ('nostri') for a possessive is common in Tacitus.

l. 3. **relegit,** 'coasted again along:' cp. 'relegens errata retrorsus litora,' Verg. Aen. 3. 690.

l. 8. **literarum et carminum,** 'of writing and metre.'

l. 13. c. 55. **turbido incessu,** 'by his truculent entry,' with a retinue and in a manner in marked contrast to that of Germanicus. This sense of 'incessus' appears to be peculiar to Tacitus: cp. 4. 24, 2, etc.

l. 14. **oblique . . . perstringens,** alluding to him without mentioning his name.

l. 15. **tot cladibus.** Attica had suffered severely from the last Philip of Macedon in B. C. 200; the long walls and fortifications of Athens had been finally destroyed by Sulla in B. C. 86; its last fleet was lost at Actium.

l. 16. **conluviem . . . nationum.** Any one could become an Athenian citizen by purchase. This scandal, denounced by Demosthenes, had been put a stop to by Augustus in B. C. 21.

l. 19. **violenter in suos,** alluding to the many distinguished Athenians who had been judicially condemned or ostracised.

l. 21. **Areo iudicio,** *ἄπ. εἰρ.* for 'Arei pagi iudicio.'

falsi damnatum, 'convicted of forgery.' The same expression is used of Antonius Primus in H. 2. 86, 2.

l. 22. **compendia maris:** cp. 1. 63, 6.

l. 25. **raperet in abrupta,** 'was driving him on a reef:' cp. c. 23, 3, and the metaphor in 4. 20, 5. The object of 'raperet' is supplied from 'inimici.' On the dat. with 'eximere,' cp. 1. 48, 2, etc.

P. 114, l. 3. **decora,** adj., 'within the bounds becoming to women.'

exercitio . . . decursibus. The parallel passage (3. 33, 3) shows that these are used indifferently for 'manœuvres;' the 'cohortes' being here foot as opposed to horse, there the auxiliaries as opposed to the legions.

l. 7. **praeverti:** dep.: so 'illuc praevertamur,' Hor. Sat. 1. 3, 38; and often elsewhere: Tacitus thus uses the active in 4. 32, 2.

l. 9. c. 56. **Ambigua,** 'fickle:' cp. c. 67, 1, etc. On the state of affairs in Parthia and Armenia, see c. 1–4.

l. 10. **late praetenta,** 'bordering far along,' a Vergilian expression (Aen. 3. 692; 6. 60). 'Armenia maior' answers mainly in modern

geography to the Transcaucasian dominion of Russia and the Turkish province of Erzeroum.

l. 11. **Medos,** Media Atropatene, then an independent kingdom, answering mainly to the present Persian province of Azerbaijan.

l. 12. **discordes,** 'hostile to them:' so, with dat., 3. 42, 3, etc.

l. 13. **amoto Vonone:** see c. 4, 4.

l. 17. **celebrant,** 'use constantly:' so 'promisce . . . celebratum id genus mortis,' H. 2. 49, 7.

l. 18. **Artaxata,** here, and in 6. 33, 2, abl. sing., in apposition with 'urbe;' elsewhere used as a plural.

l. 19. **insigne regium,** the erect tiara encircled by the diadem; see the drawing in Dict. of Antiquities.

l. 21. **ex nomine urbis.** Really, his name was taken from two predecessors, the first of whom had founded the city (under the superintendence of Hannibal), and had given his name to it.

Cappadoces: cp. c. 42, 6. Veranius was a legatus of Germanicus, and appears only to have organized Cappadocia and then left it; as he was again with Germanicus, and took part in the accusation of Piso.

l. 24. **speraretur,** sc. 'fore,' as in 3. 8, 1, etc.

Commagenis: see on c. 42, 7. Servaeus also returned, and took part in the accusation of Piso (3. 13, 3).

l. 25. **ad ius praetoris,** to the jurisdiction of the 'legatus Augusti propraetore' of Syria. Commagene was again placed under a native king from the time of Gaius to that of Vespasian.

l. 26. c. 57. **non . . . laetum . . . habebant,** 'did not keep him pleased:' cp. c. 65, 1. The subject of the verb is the sentence 'cuncta . . . composita.'

l. 28. **filium,** M. Piso (see c. 76, 2, etc.). He had obeyed neither alternative of the order, but sent them in charge of a subordinate officer.

l. 31. **ut rettuli:** cp. c. 55, 3.

l. 32. **intendere:** cp. c. 38, 6.

l. 33. **filios.** The other son was in Rome (3. 16, 5), but may have spread reports there injurious to Germanicus.

P. 115, l. 2. **ira et dissimulatio,** 'resentment struggling against disguise,' i. e. partially, but not wholly dissembled.

l. 3. **contumacibus,** 'insolent,' i. e. 'ironical entreaties.'

l. 5. **manifestus,** very rarely used with infin.

l. 7. **Nabataeorum,** a powerful race in north-western Arabia, having then Petra for their capital.

l. 8. **principis . . . regis.** These are emphatically opposed; the Roman traditional aversion to the title and dignity of 'rex' leading them to lay all stress on the formal differences between the principate and monarchy. See Introd. pp. 23, foll,

l. 13. c. 58. **renovari dextras**, a bold figure, probably used to avoid the repetition of 'amicitia' or 'foedus.'

l. 14. **ripam Euphratis**, the frontier between Syria and Parthia; to which Artabanus would advance to meet him.

l. 15. **Vonones**: see c. 4, 4.

haberetur, 'be kept in custody:' so in c. 63, 5, etc.

l. 16. **gentium**, the various races of the Parthian empire.

traheret = 'trahere sineretur:' see note on 1. 79, 1.

l. 18. **magnifice**, 'condescendingly;' not recognising Parthia as equal to Rome.

cultu sui, the compliment offered above.

l. 20. **datum**, by zeugma with 'contumeliae.'

l. 23. c. 59. **Aegyptum proficiscitur**. The accus. with prep. would be more usual, as in c. 67, 4; but good prose authors sometimes use the Latinized Greek names of countries in '-us' like those of towns (Madvig, 232, Obs. 4), and the usage of Tacitus, like that of the poets, is still more free.

l. 24. **cognoscendae antiquitatis**: on this genit., see Introd. p. 14, § 23.

l. 25. **apertis horreis**. The granaries of Egypt were the chief corn supply of Rome; where dearth seems to have been caused by this act of Germanicus (see c. 87, 1).

l. 26. **in vulgus**: cp. 1. 76, 5.

l. 27. **intectis**, with mere sandals instead of Roman 'calcei.' Scipio Africanus is described by Livy as going about at Syracuse 'cum pallio crepidisque;' the 'pallium' being the Greek 'chlamys' or ἱμάτιον, of different form to the Roman toga.

l. 29. **cultu habituque**: cp. 1. 10, 7.

l. 31. **non sponte**, 'without leave of:' 'sponte alicuius' is a construction of the silver age.

l. 32. **dominationis arcana**, 'secret principles of despotism:' cp. c. 36, 2.

l. 33. **equitibus . . . inlustribus**: cp. 4. 58, 1, etc. These are called by other equivalent names, and were such knights as, like Maecenas, Sallustius Crispus (see 3. 30, 4), Seianus, and others, were of senatorial fortune and social position, but preferred to remain outside the senate. The opposite term is 'equites modici' (1. 73, 1).

P. 116, l. 1. **seposuit**, 'kept to himself.' Caesar held Egypt as representative not of the Roman people, but rather of its ancient kings. On its government, see Introd. p. 29.

l. 2. **claustra terrae ac maris**. All access to the country was either by sea, through Alexandria, or by land, through Pelusium, near the present Port Said.

l. 5. **c. 60. Canopo,** near Abukir.

l. 7. **diversum**: cp. 1. 17, 5. The tradition of Menelaus in Egypt is Homeric (Od. 4. 350, etc.); but that of his pilot Canopus, resembling that of Palinurus in Italy (Verg. Aen. 6. 381), appears to be of late date.

l. 8. **inde,** sc. 'visit,' supplied from below.

l. 9. **Herculi.** The Egyptian Hercules appears to be a form of the sun-god.

l. 10. **antiquissimum,** 'the oldest of the name.'

eosque, etc., 'and that those who (elsewhere) resembled him in prowess were called after him.' Many deities in different nations were identified by the Greeks with their Heracles, and by the Romans with Hercules (on whom see Mommsen, Hist. 1. p. 174).

l. 12. **structis molibus,** 'on piles of masonry,' those of Karnak and Luxor. By 'litterae,' the hieroglyphics are meant.

l. 13. **priorem opulentiam complexae,** 'giving a summary of its ancient might.' 'Opulentia' is similarly used in 4. 55, 7, etc.

l. 16. **Rhamsen,** Rameses II, the great king of the nineteenth dynasty, whose conquests are assigned by some writers to Sesostris.

Libya. This term applies to the whole north coast of Africa, and 'Aethiopia' denotes especially Nubia and Abyssinia. The monuments attest only some conquests in these countries and a long war with the Hittites in Syria and Mesopotamia. The variation in the forms of expression, to avoid monotony in so long a list, is worthy of note.

l. 19. **Bithynum . . . Lycium mare.** The former denotes the Euxine and Propontis, the latter the northern part of the Levant; so that the terms taken together include the whole of Asia Minor.

l. 22. **utensilium**: cp. 1. 70, 6.

l. 26. **c. 61. Memnonis saxea effigies,** etc. A sound resembling that of a broken harpstring was heard at daybreak from the remains of a shattered statue in the ruins of Thebes. This is attested by many inscriptions on the statue itself, and may have arisen from the effect of a sudden increase of heat on the chilled air in its crevices. On the restoration of the statue, and consequent alteration of its structure, the sounds ceased. See Professor Mayor on Juv. 15. 5.

l. 27. **disiectas,** 'drifted.' The general idea of the verb is that of dispersion (1. 32, 7; 61, 3; c. 23, 3), which may cause accumulation in some places.

l. 28. **eductae**; cp. 'turrim . . . sub astra | eductam,' Verg. Aen. 2. 461. The pyramids are really built on rock, but with sand drifted round them.

l. 29. **lacus,** the lake Moeris, near Memphis. Tacitus appears to have thought that this and the pyramids lay above Thebes.

l. 31. **inquirentium spatiis,** 'lengths of line used by those who would sound it.' The lines were probably carried away by the current.

l. 32. **Elephantinen et Syenen.** The former is an island opposite to the latter (Assouan), at the first cataract, still the boundary of Egypt proper.

l. 33. **nunc.** This must have been written in A.D. 115, at the height of the Eastern conquests of Trajan, and before their relinquishment by Hadrian in 117. By 'rubrum mare' the Persian Gulf is meant.

P. 117, l. 1. c. 62. Dum ea aestas, etc. The narrative is here taken up from c. 46. It is likely that chapters 62-67 are misplaced, and should come before chapters 59-61, as belonging probably to the narrative of the preceding year. News of the success achieved by Drusus is said to have reached Rome at the same time as that of the coronation of Artaxias (c. 64, 1).

l. 2. **inliciens Germanos.** This is to be repeated with 'ut . . . insisteretur.'

l. 4. **Gotones,** the 'Gothi' of later history, who are represented as living at this date on the coast east of the Vistula.

l. 6. **Marcomanorum:** see c. 46, 5.

l. 7. **ad societatem,** sc. 'ineundam:' so 'corrupta ad scelus' (4. 10, 2), and the full expression 'ad dicendum testimonium exterritis' (3. 49, 3).

l. 8. **regiam,** his residence and stronghold in Bohemia, called after his name, and probably situate at or near Budweis.

l. 15. **c. 63. Noricam provinciam.** This province, fronting the Danube, lay between Rhaetia and Pannonia, and would answer to the modern Austria, Styria, and Carinthia.

praefluit = 'praeterfluit,' as in Hor. Od. 4. 3, 10, etc.: see note on c. 6, 5.

l. 16. **nam,** explaining 'ex memoria,' in accordance with a very common Greek use of γάρ.

l. 20. **fide qua:** cp. 'exemplo quo' (c. 67, 4), etc., a Tacitean ellipse. The full expression is used in c. 78, 1.

l. 23. **magnitudinem . . . et quam,** a similar change of construction to that with 'inliciens' in c. 62, 1: see Introd. p. 21, § 54 h. Maroboduus is stated, at the time of his war with the Romans, to have had a disciplined standing army of 70,000 foot and 4000 horse.

l. 26. **insolescerent,** a rare verb, mostly of late use: cp. c. 75, 3.

l. 28. **duodeviginti.** This would show him to have died in A.D. 36.

l. 31. **Hermundurorum.** This people, friendly to Rome, bordered on Rhaetia (or, more strictly, on Vindelicia), and would thus appear to have lived in northern Bavaria.

Forum Iulium, Frejus, also a naval station, like Ravenna (4. 5, 1).

l. 32. **barbari . . . comitati**, the 'clientela:' cp. 1. 57, 4, etc.

P. 118, l. 1. **Marum et Cusum.** The former is the March or Morava, the latter probably the Waag. The former joins the Danube at Pressburg, the latter at Komorn.

l. 2. **gentis**, genit. of sort, a form of the partitive genit., here used with brachylogy like the genit. of quality: cp. 'Piraeum Atticae orae,' 5. 10, 4.

Quadorum. This people lived in Moravia and part of Hungary, and were formidable enemies of Rome in the time of Marcus Aurelius.

l. 3. c. 64. **regem Artaxian**, etc.: cp. c. 56, 3, etc., and note on c. 62, 1.

l. 5. **ovantes.** The ovation, like the full triumph, was now awarded only to members of the imperial family: see note on 1. 72, 1.

l. 6. **Martis Ultoris**, the temple consecrated by Augustus, in the midst of his Forum, to commemorate his vengeance on his father's murderers.

Caesarum, 'Germanici et Drusi.'

l. 7. **pacem . . . firmaverat**: cp. c. 46, 6.

l. 12. **arva et urbes**, etc., the south-eastern part.

l. 13. **adnexum**, apparently here a mere variation for 'vicinum.' The 'hostes' are the unsubdued tribes of the Balkan; on whom see 3. 38, 5; 4. 46, 1, foll.

l. 14. **ingenia . . . erat.** The construction is sacrificed to conciseness; the sense being that the temperament of each answered to the nature of the country under their rule.

mite et amoenum, 'gentle and attractive.' Ovid, who addresses Cotys as a brother poet (ex P. 1. 9) calls him 'iuvenum mitissime.'

societatis, 'of partnership in power.'

l. 16. **vertere in se**, 'appropriates:' cp. 'in se trahere,' 1. 2, 1, etc.

l. 18. **enimvero**, used to mark a transition from the less to the more important, as in 1. 17, 6; 4. 60, 3, etc. Rhescuporis, who had been timidly aggressive while Augustus lived, now becomes boldly and openly so.

l. 20. **causas bello**: on the apposition, cp. 1. 27, 1.

l. 21. c. 65. **anxium habebat**: cp. c. 57, 1.

conposita, 'a settlement,' such as that made by Augustus.

l. 31. **sacra regni**, 'the sanctity of royalty:' cp. 'sacra legationis,' 1. 42, 4.

P. 119, l. 1. **Bastarnas Scythasque.** These races lived beyond the Danube; so that his plea would appear to be that he had to defend the frontier in support of the legatus of Moesia.

l. 4. **neque se**, used as if, for 'rescriptum,' 'Tiberius rescripsit' had been written.

l. 6. **transferretque**, etc., 'and shift on him the odium of the

charge;' i. e. of conspiracy. It is implied that Rhescuporis was himself 'prima facie' the aggressor, and that the burden of proving his counter-charge lay with him.

l. 10. c. 66. **mortem sponte sumptam**, 'that he had committed suicide:' cp. 'sumptus sponte finis,' 6. 25, 1; 'sumptum exitium,' 3. 7, 2.

l. 11. **placitas**, adjective, as in 3. 69, 6; 4. 37, 4; Sallust and poets.

l. 13. **Pomponium Flaccum**: cp. c. 32, 3.

veterem stipendiis. On this use of 'stipendia,' cp. 1. 44, 7, etc. An allusion by Ovid would show that Flaccus had already served in Moesia.

l. 17. **ambiguum**, 'hesitating:' cp. 1. 7, 4; c. 40, 2; 56, 1, etc.

l. 18. **praesidia**, 'outposts:' cp. 1. 56, 1; 3. 21, 2; 4. 49, 2, etc.

l. 22. **uxore Cotyis**. She was daughter of Polemo king of Pontus, and thus sister of the new king of Armenia maior (see c. 56, 2).

l. 23. **Rhoemetalcen filium**, mentioned afterwards in 3. 38, 4; 4. 5. 5; 47, 1. On the use of 'in' with verbs of dividing, see c. 8, 1.

l. 25. **Trebellenus Rufus**: see 3. 38. 4. He subsequently committed suicide to escape condemnation (A. D. 36).

l. 26. **exemplo quo**: cp. 'fide qua,' c. 63, 2. The Lepidus here spoken of was sent to Egypt on the death of Ptolemaeus Epiphanes (B. C. 181).

l. 31. **c. 68. memoravi; c. 58, 3.**

l. 32. **Albanos**, a people on the west shore of the Caspian, on both sides of the Caucasus, but chiefly on the south. The locality answers mainly to Daghestan and the eastern part of Georgia.

Heniochos, a Colchian tribe on the north-east coast of the Euxine, occupying part of the modern Mingrelia and Abbasia.

P. 120, l. 1. avia saltuum; cp. 'avia Oceani,' c. 15, 3.

Pyramum, now the Jukoon or Jechun, the most easterly river of Cilicia, flowing from Cappadocia, and entering the sea at Mallus.

l. 3. **penetrari** = 'transiri.'

l. 4. **evocatus**, an old name for soldiers who returned to service after having completed their time. Augustus formed a special class of veterans under that title, with the position and insignia of centurions.

l. 5. **custodiae regis adpositus**: cp. 1. 6, 2.

l. 6. **unde maior fides**, 'this increased the belief.'

conscientia sceleris, i. e. that the officer had connived at his escape and feared betrayal.

l. 8. c. 69. **Aegypto remeans**. Such a construction is condemned by Quintilian; but Tacitus is especially free in his use of this abl.: cp. Introd. p. 11, § 13, and note on the corresponding accus. in c. 59, 1. On the similar abl. 'abire Suria,' cp. c. 19, 2.

l. 13. **recreatum**, 'that he had rallied.'

l. 14. **admotas**, sc. 'altaribus.'

sacrificalem, a word apparently invented by Tacitus.

festam, 'keeping holiday:' so 'domus festa,' 3. 9, 2; a frequent poetical use, as 'festus . . . pagus,' Hor. Od. 3. 18, 11.

l. 15. **Antiochensium**. Germanicus was lying ill at Epidaphna (c. 83, 3), a suburb of this great city, the capital of Syria.

opperiens, 'awaiting the issue of:' cp. 3. 45, 2; 4. 71, 5.

l. 16. **degreditur**, here naturally used of going down to the coast; Seleucia being the port of Antioch.

l. 17. **persuasio**, 'the belief.' Tacitus, as elsewhere (c. 73, 5; 3. 14, 2), does not affirm that this charge was established.

l. 18. **et reperiebantur**, i. e. these were not merely imagined, but actually found.

l. 19. **humanorum corporum reliquiae**. Of the use of these in magic we have frequent evidence (e. g. Hor. Epod, 17, 47; Sat. 1. 8, 22).

carmina et devotiones, hendiadys, for 'devotiones carminibus scriptae.' The following words describe them more particularly.

l. 20. **nomen Germanici**, etc. This spell is of that kind sometimes called 'defixio.' Such tablets have been found, containing the name of a person, with such a formula as 'Dite pater, tibei commendo;' 'hanc hostiam acceptam habeas et consumas,' etc.

semusti, i. e. human remains snatched from the pile; which would explain their being defiled with corrupt animal matter ('tabo obliti').

l. 21. **creditur**. Tacitus, though not without faith in astrology (see note on c. 27, 2), appears here to dissociate himself from believers in magic.

l. 23. **valetudinis adversa rimantes**, 'on the watch to note bad symptoms of the disease:' 'valetudo' is often thus used, as in c. 82, 1, etc.

l. 24. **c. 70. ira quam per metum**: for such variations, see Introd. p. 21, § 54 b.

l. 29. **defectum**, 'enfeebled:' so 'defecto corpore,' 4. 29, 1.

l. 30. **amicitiam ei renuntiabat**. This was a formal act, and, in the case of the 'princeps,' usually carried important consequences: see 3. 24, 5; 6. 29, 3.

l. 33. **propius**, 'from a shorter distance' (μᾶλλον ἐγγύθεν): cp. 'haud procul,' 4. 5, 5.

P. 121, l. 3. **c. 71. fato concederem**. This verb is used by itself in the sense of 'morior' (4. 38, 3, etc.), apparently shortened for 'vita concedere' (1. 3, 2, etc.); so that 'fato' here is probably abl. answering to 'scelere.' On the use of 'fatum' to express natural death, see c. 42, 5.

l. 4. **parentibus**: cp. 'nos parentes' (3. 12, 5). Adoptive as well as natural relationship is reckoned, and, besides Tiberius and Antonia, Augusta may probably be included.

l. 6. **interceptus**, 'cut off in the midst of life:' cp. c. 82, 3; 3. 12, 7.

l. 7. **fratri**. Claudius was his brother by birth. Drusus by adoption: the latter apparently alone is meant, and the former ignored (see 3. 5, 5; 18, 4).

l. 9. **spes meae**, 'my prospects,' as heir to the principate; cp. 'in spem secundam,' 1. 8, 2.

l. 10. **quos invidia . . . movebat**; even these would now experience a reaction of feeling.

l. 16. **fortunam**, 'my rank:' cp. c. 72, 3; 4. 13, 4; 18. 2, etc.

fovebatis, 'you were paying attention to:' cp. c. 43, 6, etc.

l. 17. **Augusti neptem . . . sex liberos**: see Introd. p. 32.

l. 18. **cum accusantibus**; not, as usual, with the accused.

l. 20. **non ignoscent**, 'will not excuse their obedience to such.' The 'mandata' are such as are alluded to in c. 43, 5.

l. 22. **amissuros**, 'would part with:' so in 4. 3, 3, etc. On the omission of 'se,' see Introd. p. 9, § 3.

l. 24. c. 72. **ferociam**: cp. 1. 12, 6; and, on the character of Agrippina, 1. 33, 6, etc.

l. 25. **neu regressa**, 'nor, after her return.' It is not meant that she should not return to Rome, but that when there she should not seek political influence.

l. 26. **secreto**, 'in private:' cp. 3. 8, 4, etc.

l. 27. **metum**, 'cause for fear:' cp. 'nihil metus (= 'nihil metuendum') in vultu,' Agr. 44, 2; and see note on 1. 40, 1.

l. 28. **extinguitur**. The day of his death was Oct. 10.

l. 29. **reges**. The Parthian king suspended his hunting and banquets.

l. 30. **visuque et auditu**, 'to see him and to hear him alike inspired reverence.' The beauty of his countenance is attested by coins and statues: on his reputation for eloquence, see on c. 83, 4. The construction changes, 'venerabilis' being the subject of 'effugerat,' and 'cum (='quamvis') . . . retineret' being interposed.

l. 31. **magnitudinem**, 'dignity:' cp. c. 79, 5. On 'fortunae,' cp. c. 61, 6.

l. 32. **invidiam**, actively, answering to 'adrogantiam:' 'he was wholly free from jealousy and pride.'

l. 33. c. 73. **imaginibus et pompa**, hendiadys, for 'imaginum pompa.' These were of course in his house at Rome (see on c. 27, 2).

P. 122, l. 2. **ob propinquitatem etiam**, etc. This is thrown in as an additional circumstance suggesting the comparison, and 'uterque' is

supplied from the sense with 'interiit.' To a Roman, Antioch and Babylon would seem near each other.

l. 3. **fatis**, used here of the circumstances of life ('sors vitae').

l. 4. **triginta**. Germanicus died in his thirty-fourth year, Alexander in his thirty-third.

l. 5. **suorum insidiis**. The speakers assume the guilt of Piso, perhaps even of Tiberius and Augusta. The similar tale of poisoning, in the case of Alexander, rests on no real evidence.

l. 6. **sed hunc**, etc. The resemblance of circumstances suggests this comparison of characters; and it is assumed that Alexander was the opposite to him in all these points. On the genit. with 'modicus,' cp. 3. 72, 3; 4. 52, 2; Introd. p. 13, § 21 c.

l. 7. **certis**, 'legitimate.'

l. 8. **etiam si**, etc. It is insinuated that Alexander succeeded only by fortune aiding rashness; and that the conquests of Germanicus would have been as complete, if he had been subject to no control from others. That the Germans were on the point of yielding is asserted in c. 26, 2. 41, 3; but appears to rest only on Roman rumour.

praepeditus, properly of a tethered horse (4. 25, 2): cp. 3. 3, 2.

l. 11. **adsecuturum**, sc. 'fuisse:' see Introd. p. 14, § 25.

l. 12. **corpus**, etc. Two facts are stated together: (1) that the body was stripped in the forum at Antioch (cp. 3. 12, 7); (2) that certain marks were affirmed by some, and denied by others, to be evidence of poison. These are stated by Suetonius to have been dark spots on the body, and foam at the mouth, and the fact that the heart would not burn. 'Sepulturae' = 'cremationi:' cp. c. 83, 3.

l. 18. c. 74. **consultatum**, etc. Piso had left the province (c. 75, 2), and is assumed to have been lawfully dismissed (see c. 70, 3); so that some appointment had to be made pending the decision of Caesar.

l. 20. **Vibium Marsum et Cn. Sentium**. The former (cp. 79, 1; 4. 56, 3) is known as a man of letters, and as having narrowly escaped death in the last days of Tiberius. Sentius, surnamed Saturninus, is not heard of after these events (c. 79, 4; 81, 2; 3. 7, 2).

quaesitum, 'the question lay.'

l. 24. **Vitellio ac Veranio**: see on 1. 70, 1; c. 56, 4.

crimina et accusationem, 'charges and an indictment.'

l. 25. **receptos**. The accuser is said 'deferre,' the praetor 'recipere nomen' (cp. 3. 70, 2; 4. 21, 4).

l. 29. c. 75. **pulcherrimo modo matrimonio**, probably to be taken as a brachylogical abl. of quality: see Introd. p. 12, § 17.

l. 32. **anxia sui**: cp. 4. 12, 6; 59, 4; Introd. p. 13, § 21 c.

infelici fecunditate, etc., 'who, by her unhappy fruitfulness, had given so many hostages to fortune,' i.e. could be attacked at so many

points, through each of her children. On this sense of 'obnoxius,' cp. 3. 34, 5; 58, 4, etc.

l. 33. Coum, Kos, north of Rhodes: Piso had left Syria (c. 70, 4); these islands being part of the province of Asia.

P. 123, l. 3. insolescente: cp. c. 63, 5.

quae luctum, etc. She had been wearing mourning, and took this as the occasion for resuming gay colours, jewels, etc. ('laeto cultu').

l. 5. c. 76. centuriones, i. e. those of Syria, who were mostly his creatures: cp. c. 55, 4.

prompta, 'ready to serve him;' with dat., as in c. 78, 1; 4. 60, 5.

l. 7. vacuam. They do not recognise Sentius as appointed by any authority: see c. 77, 1.

consultanti. 'Censeo' appears here to have the force and construction of 'suadeo,' as in Cic. ad Fam. 9. 2, 4 ('tibi igitur hoc censeo').

l. 13. in partibus, 'in his cause:' cp. c. 43, 3; 4. 60, 4, etc.

l. 14. imperatoris, used of Germanicus, as in 3. 12, 4.

l. 16. c. 77. amicitia: cp. c. 27, 2.

l. 17. utendum eventu, 'he should profit by the occurrence,' i. e. by the death of Germanicus, leaving him the only lawful governor of Syria.

l. 18. huic, referred to Piso, as nearest in thought, though not last mentioned: cp. the use of 'illi' in c. 82, 7.

ius praetoris, i. e. that of 'legatus Augusti propraetore:' cp. c. 56, 5.

l. 20. propria, 'personal;' from Tiberius himself, as contrasted with the secondhand authority of Sentius.

l. 24. an festinamus? 'are we to hasten?' In such questions, the present has a future force, as 'imus in adversos?' Verg. Aen. 11. 389. On the change to 'oratio recta,' see Introd. p. 21, § 56. In most cases it marks the climax of the speech.

l. 25. inauditum, 'without a hearing:' cp. 4. 11, 2, etc. This sense of the word appears first in Tacitus.

l. 27. conscientia, i. e. her knowledge that her own instructions (c. 43, 5) were followed.

l. 32. c. 78. luxus. Some of the evidence alleged for this charge may be gathered from c. 57, 5; the 'superbia' was probably held to consist in his treatment of Piso himself.

rebus novis, alluding to the appointment of Sentius, as the unconstitutional act of a mere clique (see c. 74, 1).

P. 124, l. 2. lato mari, explaining 'praeter insulas.' He was to sail outside the islands, probably to go south of Rhodes and Cyprus, so as to

avoid meeting Agrippina (c. 79, 1), and to reach Syria before his movements were known.

l. 4. **vexillum tironum.** 'Vexillum' and 'vexillarii' may be used of any detached legionary force (see 1. 38, 1, etc.): here a body of recruits on their way to be drafted into the Syrian legions is meant.

l. 5. **regulis Cilicum.** Those of the mountainous portion. He is acting on his authority as legatus of Syria; for the Roman portion of Cilicia was not then separately governed, but part of that province.

l. 8. c. 79. **praelegentes,** 'coasting along:' cp. similar uses of 'prae' in composition, noted on c. 6, 5.

l. 9. **navibus,** etc.: cp. c. 75, 1: on Vibius Marsus, see c. 74, 1.

l. 11. **nuntiavit,** used with the force of 'denuntiavit' (see Introd. p. 14, § 26).

l. 12. **eludens,** 'turning it into jest:' so 'eludere medicorum artes,' 6. 46, 9

l. 13. **praetor, qui . . . quaereret;** i.e. the praetor to whom the 'Quaestio perpetua' 'de sicariis et veneficiis' fell by lot. Piso intimates that the citation was premature, and also assumes that the case is one for the ordinary law-courts, ignoring the tribunal of the princeps (see 3. 10, 3) and the senate (see 3. 12, 10).

l. 14. **diem prodixisset,** i.e. after formally receiving the charge (see on c. 74, 2), should have named a further day for hearing it. This verb is generally used of adjourning a trial already begun; and perhaps here 'praedixisset' should be read.

Laodiciam. Of the several cities of this name, that on the coast of Syria, now known as Latakia, is meant.

l. 17. **legato,** i.e. of that legion.

l. 18. **corruptoribus,** an extension of the instrumental abl.: see Introd. p. 12, § 15.

l. 20. **magnitudinem imperatoris,** 'the majesty (cp. 3. 56, 4) of the emperor,' whom he claimed to represent.

ingerens, 'repeatedly proclaiming:' cp. 1. 72, 1.

l. 23. c. 80. **secus cadebant,** 'were turning out unfavourably:' for the use of 'secus,' cp. c. 50, 3; for that of 'cadere,' c. 77, 4.

l. 25. **Celenderis,** a town on the Cilician coast, now Chelendreh.

tirone, for pl. as 'miles,' 'eques,' etc.: on these forces, see c. 78, 3.

l. 27. **in numerum legionis composuerat,** 'he had formed into a body numerically equal to a legion.' On this force of 'in,' cp. Introd. p. 17, § 38.

l. 31. **consisterent,** they had only to stand in line, there would be no battle.

non pugnaturis, 'since they would not fight.' On this concise use of the participle, see Introd. p. 16, § 35.

l. 32. **parentem**: see c. 55, 4.

l. 33. **si iure ageretur**, etc. On the reminiscence here of Livy, see Introd. p. 22, § 58, 2.

P. 125, l. 1. **pro munimentis**, not here in the more usual sense (see c. 13, 4), but 'outside the fortifications,' like 'pro castris,' 3. 20, 2. The context here requires this meaning.

l. 2. **derupto**, 'precipitous;' as in 4. 45, 1. The abl. here is that of place (Introd. p. 11, § 14).

l. 3. **ordinibus ac subsidiis**, 'in centuries and reserves;' abl. of manner (Introd. p. 12, § 16).

l. 4. **asperitas**, used with some harshness in two distinct senses. Vergil uses 'asper' as an epithet of warlike nations or persons (Aen. 1. 14; 11. 664).

l. 5. **in manus**, 'to close quarters.'

l. 7. **enitercntur**: cp. the similar use of 'enisus' in 1. 70, 6.

l. 9. **c. 81. adpugnare**, a Tacitean word, used of a feint attack in 4. 48, 4; 15. 13, 1; and so perhaps here.

l. 10. **pro muris**, not here in the sense of c. 80, 5; but 'standing forth on the walls,' as in c. 13, 4, etc.

l. 11. **adflictando**, 'buffeting:' cp. 'mulieres adflictare se,' Sall. Cat. 31. 3.

praemiis, i. e. by the promise of a bribe (see Introd. p. 20, § 53).

l. 14. **occanere**, a rare word, adopted from Sall. Fr. ('cornicines occanuere').

peti aggerem, 'that earth for a mound be collected' (cp. 1. 65, 10), in order to fill the ditch and make the wall easier to scale: hence the addition 'erigi scalas.'

l. 15. **succedere**: cp. c. 20, 3.

l. 16. **maneret** = 'manere sineretur:' cp. 1. 79, 1.

l. 20. **c. 82. valetudo**, sc. 'adversa,' as in c. 69, 5; 3. 3, 2; 58, 2, etc.

l. 21. **ut** = 'ut fieri solet:' cp. 1. 65, 4, etc.

aucta in deterius, 'exaggerated for the worse.' On the force of 'in' in such constructions, see Introd. p. 17, § 38.

l. 22. **dolor ira**, sc. 'erant;' 'erumpebant questus' being added with emphasis. Some would less well supply 'erumpebat' with 'dolor,' etc.

l. 23. **hoc egisse**, 'this was the result of.' The 'sermones' are those spoken of in c. 43, 5.

l. 25. **de Druso**. His republican leanings are mentioned in 1. 34. 1; his popularity and early death in c. 41, 5: the contemporary testimony of Livy ascribes his death to a fall from his horse; but an idle tale, disbelieved even by Suetonius, represented him as poisoned.

civilia: cp. 1. 33, 5. 'Regnantibus' is used bitterly of the princeps: cp. 'domus regnatrix' 1. 4, 4.

l. 26. interceptos: cp. c. 71, 3.

l. 27. **aequo iure complecti,** 'to comprehend under equal rights,' bring into unity on a footing of equality.

l. 28. incendit: cp. 1. 23, 1.

l. 29. sumpto, sc. 'sponte.'

l. 30. domus, 'the great houses:' cp. 1. 73, 2, etc.

l. 32. **neque:** see on c. 34, 7. The 'insignia' would be change of dress, etc.: cp. 'atrata plebes,' 3. 2, 2; 'pullati proceres,' Juv. 3. 213.

P. 126, l. 2. **leviter,** 'uncritically,' without waiting for authentication.

l. 3. **illi,** used of the more remote in thought, irrespective of the order of mention: cp. 'huic,' c. 77, 1.

l. 4. moliuntur: cp. 1. 39, 4.

l. 6. falsis, substantival neut., see Introd. p. 9, § 2.

tempore et spatio, a common hendiadys.

l. 8. **c. 83. ingenio.** Some did not really care for Germanicus, but displayed their ingenuity in devising new forms of compliment.

l. 9. **nomen eius,** etc. The name of Augustus had been inserted in his lifetime in this hymn; the greater part of which was so old as to be unintelligible (Hor. Epp. 2. 1, 86).

l. 10. **sedes curules,** etc. An empty chair was to be placed in his honour in the theatre at feasts, with a civic crown laid on it, among the seats of a body to which he had belonged (1. 54, 2). This honour had been paid to Julius Caesar in life, and to Marcellus after death. Julius also in his lifetime had his ivory figure borne in procession at games, as here decreed.

l. 12. **flamen,** sc. 'Augustalis,' a priesthood recorded in inscriptions as held by Germanicus, and after him by Drusus. On his augurship, cp. 1. 62, 3.

l. 14. **Amano,** the range encircling the gulf of Issus. The arch probably stood on one of the passes leading from Cilicia to Syria.

l. 16. **sepulchrum,** a cenotaph, in the forum (c. 73, 5).

Epidaphnae, a famous grove and temple of Apollo, situate about five miles from Antioch. The name here is an error for Daphne.

l. 19. **clipeus,** 'a medallion bust,' sometimes called 'imago clipeata.' Those of great orators were preserved in the Palatine library (cp. c. 37, 3). The eloquence of Germanicus as an advocate is extolled by Ovid, who had heard him before his exile (Fast. 1. 21).

l. 20. **solitum paremque ceteris,** 'of the usual material (bronze) and size;' as opposed to one 'auro et magnitudine insignis.' On the omission of 'se' with 'dicaturum,' see Introd. p. 9, § 3.

l. 21. fortuna: cp. c. 71, 6.

23. cuneum. The 'cuneus iuniorum' appears to have been one of

the wedge-shaped divisions (cp. Verg. G. 2. 509. etc.) of the knights' seats ('quatuordecim ordines') in the theatre. This honour, and that of carrying his effigy at the great procession ('transvectio') of Roman knights on the 15th of July, are supposed to indicate that he had been 'princeps iuventutis' (see 1. 3, 2).

l. 28. c. 84. **Livia.** She had been some years married to Drusus, but had hitherto only a daughter (see Introd. p. 34). Of the twins here mentioned, one died in childhood (4. 15, 1), the other, called Tiberius Gemellus, was put to death by Gaius (Caligula) in A. D. 37.

l. 29. **modicis penatibus,** probably abl. abs. 'Penates' is used of family circumstances in 3. 34, 3.

l. 30. **temperaverit,** sc. 'sibi,' 'refrained from:' cp. 3. 67, 2, etc.

P. 127, l. 2. **urgueret,** 'depressed;' made its forlorn condition, without a head, more set off by the increased importance of the rival house.

l. 5. c. 85. **eques Romanus.** The prohibition extended 'a fortiori' to senatorial families.

l. 6. **licentiam . . . vulgaverat,** 'had made open profession of prostitution.' The regulation of such persons was a duty of the aediles.

l. 9. **exactum** = 'quaesitum:' so Ov. A. A. 2. 130, 'Calypso | exigit Odrysii fata cruenta ducis.'

l. 10. **delicti.** For the genit., cp. 4. 53, 2; Introd. p. 13, § 21 c.

ultionem legis, 'enforcement of the legal penalty,' i.e. that of the 'lex Iulia' (cp. c. 50, 2), whereby he had for sixty days the exclusive right of proceeding against her. In so flagrant a case, he was called to account for not exercising this prerogative.

l. 13. **Seriphon,** one of the Cyclades, often chosen as a place of banishment: cp. 4. 21, 5; Juv. 10. 170.

de sacris Aegyptiis, etc. Josephus states that these decrees were caused by a flagrant outrage committed in the temple of Isis at Rome, and by a pecuniary fraud committed by some Jews. The Jews in Rome were mostly freedmen, and lived in the trans-Tiberine district. Several allusions to them are found in Horace, Ovid, etc.

l. 16. **Sardiniam.** This island, with Corsica, was by ordinary rule a senatorial province, but governed at this time by a Caesarian procurator. Its unhealthy climate is often mentioned.

l. 17. **vile damnum,** a similar sentiment to that on the 'vilis sanguis' of gladiators (1. 76, 5).

l. 21. c. 86. **praesederat.** Any Vestal might in a sense be said to 'preside over the rites of Vesta;' more especially the 'virgo Vestalis maxima,' who was the eldest of the body. Occia could only have filled this rank during the latter part of her fifty-seven years' service. The Vestals were chosen at from six to ten years old, and might retire and marry after thirty years' service.

Fonteio Agrippae: cp. c. 30, 1.

l. 25. **discidio** = 'divortio,' as in 3. 34, 10, etc.

imminuerat, 'had lowered in dignity:' cp. c. 34, 4.

l. 26. **deciens sestertii**: cp. c. 37, 2; 1. 75, 5. Such a sum appears to have been not an unusual dowry among wealthy people: cp. Juv. 10. 335.

l. 27. c. 87. **saevitiam**, a bold metaphor, analogous to 'saevitia hiemis,' 'maris,' etc. Tacitus has also 'gravitas annonae' (6. 13, 1), 'acris annona' (4. 6, 6).

statuit frumento pretium; i.e. it was to be sold at less than the current price, and the difference made up out of the 'fiscus.'

l. 29. **negotiatoribus**: cp. c. 62, 4; 3. 42, 1, etc.; here specially used of corndealers.

l. 30. **et antea**: cp. 1. 72, 2.

l. 31. **increpuit**, etc. Suetonius states that for 'divinae' or 'sacrae' he made the speakers substitute 'laboriosae.' He is also stated to have said that he was 'dominus' only to his slaves, 'imperator' to his soldiers, and to all others no more than 'princeps.'

l. 32. **angusta et lubrica**, 'constrained by narrow limits and perilous:' cp. 'lubricum iuventae,' 6. 49, 3; 'in lubrico egit,' 6. 51, 3.

P. 128, l. 1. c. 88. **scriptores senatoresque eorundem temporum**, 'contemporary writers who were also senators.' The fact that they were senators is added to show their means of information.

l. 2. **Chattorum**: cp. 1. 55, 1, etc. They were generally bitter enemies of the Cherusci, though at times united with them against Rome.

l. 5. **occultis**, 'by covert attack,' substantival: cp. Introd. p. 9, § 2.

l. 6. **priscis imperatoribus**. The story is especially told of the consul C. Fabricius, in B.C. 278. Tacitus probably speaks in general terms.

l. 7. **venenum**, 'the preparation of poison:' cp. 3. 22, 2; Introd. p. 20, § 53.

l. 8. **abscedentibus**, probably a concise aoristic use of the participle: cp. c. 2, 4.

l. 9. **regnum adfectans**. Though of royal race, he had hitherto presented a contrast to Maroboduus (c. 44, 3). He may have desired kingly power to consolidate North Germany against Rome.

libertatem, 'the spirit of freedom among his countrymen.'

l. 11. **liberator**, etc. This admission (cp. below 'bello non victus') is to be qualified by the Roman belief (c. 26, 2; 73, 3) that another campaign would have compelled submission.

l. 12. **reges ducesque**, such as Pyrrhus and Hannibal.

l. 13. **ambiguus**, 'of doubtful success;' rather so used of the battles themselves, as in c. 21, 4, etc.

l. 14. **duodecim**. This would date from the defeat of Varus, so that he must have died in A. D. 21; but this is the last notice of him.

l. 17. **haud perinde**, 'not as he should have been;' an implied comparison is dropped out of sight.

celebris. Tacitus has this masc. form also in 13. 47, 2; 14. 19; and a similar masc. of other such adjectives is sometimes found.

vetera extollimus. A similar protest against indiscriminate admiration of antiquity is found in 3. 55, 6.

BOOK III.

P. 129, l. 1. c. 1. Nihil intermissa, etc. The journey of Agrippina has already been given as far as the Lycian coast (see c. 75, 1; 79, 1).

l. 2. **advehitur**: cp. 'Uticam advehitur,' Sall. Jug. 86. 4; 'advehor Ortygiam,' Ov. Met. 5. 499, 640; and the personal accus. noted in 2. 45, 4.

contra. This anastrophe (Introd. p. 19, § 49), by which the prep. follows a genit., is to be noted as especially rare and poetical, and is found also in 13. 15, 8 ('cubiculum Caesaris iuxta'), and in 14. 9, 3 ('viam Miseni propter').

l. 4. **nescia tolerandi**, 'unskilled in endurance:' cp. c. 67, 2; 4. 54, 2.

l. 5. **plerique** = 'permulti,' as in c. 28, 6, etc.: cp. 'plerumque,' 4. 42, 1, etc.

ut quique, etc., 'according as each had served;' i. e. prompted by having done so.

l. 7. **officium . . . rati**, 'thinking it an attention' (cp. 1. 24, 4; 2. 42, 2). The 'pars' and 'plures' are subdivisions of the 'multi ignoti' only, and 'illos' refers to 'pars.'

l. 8. **celerrimum fidissimumque**, 'most quickly reached and safest.' The sense of the former word is ἅπ. εἰρ.; that of the latter from Vergil (Aen. 2; 23, 400): 'adpulsu' is supine or contracted dative.

l. 9. **ex alto**, sc. 'propinquans;' 'is seen in the offing.'

l. 10. **proxima maris**, 'the sea just outside,' which, as well as the harbour, was crowded with boats.

l. 11. **quaque**, etc., 'places commanding the furthest sea-view;' 'qua' having here apparently the force of 'unde.'

l. 13. **quid pro tempore foret,** 'which course (cp. 1. 47, 2) would be suited to the occasion' (cp. 'pro opibus,' c. 2, 2, etc.).

l. 14. **successit,** 'approached:' so usually with 'ad' or dat.

l. 15. **duobus.** Gaius (Caligula) is said by Suetonius to have been with his father in Syria; the other must have been Julia (2. 54, 1).

l. 16. **defixit, sc.** 'in terram:' cp. 1. 68, 2.

l. 18. **nisi quod,** etc., the only distinction being between the new comers and the train of Agrippina. 'Obvii,' and 'recentes,' etc., are the same persons ('those who met them and whose grief was fresh'); and 'anteibant' refers to the 'planctus' above mentioned.

l. 23. c. 2. **fungerentur,** with accus., as in 4. 38, 1, and in old writers.

l. 25. **versi.** Similar reversal of arms in mourning is mentioned by Vergil (Aen. 11. 93).

ubi . . . transgrederentur, subjunct. of frequent occurrence (Introd. p. 16, § 34). The route was that of the Appian Way; the chief towns on which are mentioned in Hor. Sat. 1. 5. Most of them had the rank of 'coloniae.'

l. 26. **trabeati.** The 'trabea' was worn not as mourning but as full dress.

vestem odores. At an actual funeral, clothes (Verg. Aen. 6. 221) and spices were cast on the pile.

l. 28. **diversa,** 'off the route.'

P. 130, l. 1. **Claudio fratre,** the subsequent emperor. The children here mentioned would be all, except the two with Agrippina (c. 1, 5): see Introd. p. 32.

l. 4. **disiecti,** 'in scattered groups:' cp. 1. 32, 7; 2. 61, 1.

l. 7. c. 3. **publico abstinuere,** 'kept at home.'

inferius maiestate, 'beneath their dignity:' cp. c. 64, 2. The comparative expresses disproportion, like 'curatio altior fastigio suo' (Liv. 2. 27, 6), etc.: see note on 4. 21, 4.

l. 9. **falsi,** 'dissemblers:' cp. 1. 7, 2, etc.

matrem Antoniam: see Introd. p. 33.

l. 10. **auctores rerum,** 'historians:' Sallust is so styled in c. 30, 3.

diurna actorum scriptura. The construction is changed for variety. These journals, called also 'acta populi,' 'acta publica,' etc., answered mainly to a modern newspaper. 'Scriptura' is used for 'writings' in 4. 32, 1; where also 'veteres res' is a similar enallage to that of 'diurna' for 'diurnorum' here.

l. 14. **perferre visu non toleravit,** 'had not resolution to realise by sight the greatness of her affliction.' The expression appears taken from the Greek *φέρειν οὐκ ἔτλη.*

l. 15. **Tiberio et Augusta.** The instances quoted (Introd. p. 12, § 16)

hardly cover such use of the simple abl. of a principal agent, unless taken as quasi-instrumental, equivalent to 'Tiberii et Augustae exemplo:' it is very possible that 'Augustae' should be read (Introd. p. 10, § 8).

l. 16. **par maeror, sc.** 'videretur,' supplied from 'viderentur.'

attineri, 'to be restrained' (kept at home): cp. 1. 35, 5.

l. 19. **c. 4. vastus,** 'desolate.' The proper epithet of the silence itself (4. 50, 6) is here transferred to the day.

l. 20. **faces.** The ancient custom of carrying torches at funerals is alluded to by Vergil (Aen. 11. 142).

l. 21. **cum armis,** 'fully armed.' This also (cp. c. 2, 2) was a parade in full dress. Usually, soldiers within the city, even when on duty, wore the toga, and retained only the sword and spear.

per tribus, sc. 'dispositus,' 'marshalled in tribes.'

l. 25. **accensa:** so 'studia in Iugurtham accensa,' Sall. Jug. 6. 3.

l. 26. **solum Augusti sanguinem.** Her sister Julia (see Introd. p. 32) was alive, though in exile, and had descendants in good position: but these are ignored; the only point being the invidious contrast to Tiberius.

unicum antiquitatis specimen, 'a peerless model of old-fashioned morals.'

l. 27. **integram,** 'might be preserved unharmed.'

l. 28. **iniquorum** = 'inimicorum:' cp. 4. 68, 1, etc.

l. 29. **c. 5. requirerent** = 'desiderarent' ('missed'). We gather that the most characteristic solemnities of a funeral, the procession of ancestors and 'laudatio,' were absent on this occasion. A 'publicum funus' (c. 48, 1) had perhaps some further ceremonies.

l. 30. **in Drusum,** equivalent to a dative: cp. 1. 76, 5.

l. 32. **Ticinum,** the present Pavia. Augustus had not gone thither from Rome, but was on his way back from Gaul, and there met the funeral train.

neque abscedentem: cp. 1. 7, 6.

l. 33. **Claudiorum Iuliorumque.** Some of these ancestors are specified in 4. 9, 3. Drusus was not strictly a 'Julius,' even by adoption; so that it was a special honour to treat him as such.

P. 131, l. 1. **pro rostris,** 'from the rostra,' the usual place (c. 76, 3; 4. 12, 1); cp. 'pro contione' (2. 22, 1), etc.

l. 4. **sane,** concessive, as in 1. 3, 4, etc. He could not be brought home for the cremation, which was therefore done anyhow, i.e. 'sine imaginibus et pompa' (2. 73, 1).

l. 6. **prima,** those at the first ceremony. On the use of 'quanto,' cp. 1. 57, 1, etc.

l. 7. **fratrem:** cp. c. 2, 4. Perhaps Claudius alone is meant, as the corresponding term 'patruus' takes no account of adoptive relationship.

l. 8. **propositam** = *προτεθεῖσαν* ('laid out'): 'toro,' like 'externis terris' above, is a free use of the abl. of place (Introd. p. 11, § 14).

l. 9. **meditata,** 'prepared:' so used passively in 4. 57, 1; 70, 6, etc, and in Cicero.

carmina, verses to be sung by a choir: the 'laudatio' was an oration in prose.

l. 11. c. 6. **Gnarum:** cp. 1. 5, 4, etc.

premeret. This sense of 'repressing' is mostly poetical, and oftener used of self-control (e. g. c. 11, 2).

l. 14. **si modus adiceretur,** 'provided that limit be imposed:' the usual expression would be 'modum adhibere.'

l. 15. **imperatori,** adjectival, as in poetry: cp. 'mari Oceano' (1. 9, 6), etc.

l. 16. **convenisse,** etc. Stress is laid on 'recenti' ('the time when their sorrow was fresh'). The sense of 'ex' resembles that in 1. 29, 3, etc., and the sentiment is that of Ovid (Trist. 4. 3, 38), 'expletur lacrimis egeriturque dolor.'

l. 18. **divus Iulius . . . divus Augustus.** Julia, only daughter of Caesar and wife of Cn. Pompeius, died while her father was in Britain, in B. C. 54. On the death of the grandsons of Augustus, see 1. 3, 3.

l. 21. **amissas nobiles familias,** referring apparently to the story of the slaughter of the Fabii at the Cremera, given as having taken place in B. C. 477.

l. 22. **principes,** here used in a general sense ('great men').

l. 23. **sollemnia,** 'their usual employments.'

l. 24. **ludorum Megalesium.** These games, in honour of the Great Mother, began April 4, and lasted six days.

suberat, 'was at hand.' The indic. is used, because these words are a note by the writer, not a part of the edict.

l. 26. c. 7. **exuto iustitio.** This had begun on the news of his death (2. 82, 4), and may probably have been renewed (after an interval) when the remains reached Rome.

Drusus . . . profectus est. For his original mission, see 2. 44, 1, foll. He returned for the trial (c. 11, 1).

l. 27. **erectis,** 'roused to energy:' cp. 2. 25, 1, etc. 'Spe' is absent from the MS., having apparently dropped out between 'erectis' and 'petendae.'

l. 30. **probationes subverteret,** 'he was destroying the evidence;' referring to the death of Martina, which he is assumed to have somehow caused.

l. 31. **ut dixi,** 2. 74, 2.

l. 32. **nodo crinium** = *κορύμβῳ*, possibly in a hollow in the *βελόνη*.

l. 33. **nec . . . reperta.** The inference seems to be that she had not committed suicide, but had been murdered in some subtle manner.

P. 132, l. 1. c. 8. **filio:** see 2. 76, 2, etc.

l. 2. **haud . . . quam.** The constructions 'haud tam . . . quam' and 'haud . . . sed' are mingled; the second clause softening the negation of the first.

l. 3. **sperabat, sc. 'fore:'** cp. 56, 4.

l. 4. **integrum, 'unprejudiced:'** cp. 'integris . . . animis,' c. 12, 3.

l. 6. **liberalitate:** cp. 2. 37, 2, etc.

quae iacerentur, 'the stories flying about;' used of casual expressions in 1. 10, 7; 2. 55, 5, etc., and in Sallust.

l. 8. **nec cuiquam . . . exitiosam,** 'should prove fatal to none,' i. e. should involve no one in a charge of guilt.

l. 9. **secreto,** 'private interview:' cp. 'frequens secretis,' 4. 3, 5.

neque dubitabantur. On the construction, cp. Introd. p. 15, § 29.

l. 11. **facilis,** 'affable:' cp. 'sermone facilis,' Agr. 40, 4.

l. 13. c. 9. **Flaminiam viam.** This road led from Rome through Umbria to Ariminum.

l. 14. **legionem, sc. 'nonam:'** cp. 1. 23, 6; 4. 23, 2.

l. 15. **ut,** 'how.' The verb of speaking, with which Tacitus elsewhere uses this construction (cp. 1. 61, 9; 2. 4, 5), is implied in 'agitata rumoribus.'

in agmine atque itinere, 'as they were marching, and on the route.' The latter is a wider term, and would include also their times of halting.

l. 16. **vitandae suspicionis.** On the genit., see Introd. p. 14, § 23. The suspicion is that of tampering with the legion, which he here ceases to accompany.

l. 18. **tumulo Caesarum,** that of Augustus (c. 4, 1), near the Tiber (Verg. Aen. 6. 875).

l. 19. **die quo et ripa frequenti,** 'at a busy time of day and a crowded part of the bank,' probably in the forenoon, and at a common landing-place.

l. 22. **festa:** cp. 2. 69, 3.

celebritate loci nihil occultum, 'the fact that the publicity of the spot precluded all concealment.' On the construction, see Introd. p. 16, § 36.

l. 24. c. 10. **Fulcinius Trio,** the accuser of Libo Drusus (2. 28, 3). Here, as in that case, he goes to the consuls, in order to bring the charge before the senate, instead of the ordinary court (see notes on c. 12, 10; 2. 79, 2).

l. 27. **indices et testes:** cp. 4. 28, 2. Here it appears to be meant that they were collectors of evidence (cp. 2. 74, 2), as well as actual witnesses of what they themselves knew.

l. 28. **perlaturos**: cp. 1. 26, 1.

l. 29. **cognitionem exciperet**, 'to take up the case.' The power of the princeps to try offences before his personal court (Introd. p. 24) existed under Augustus, but was rarely used till the time of Claudius and Nero, when it became a great engine of tyranny.

l. 31. **contra**, sc. 'ratus,' supplied from 'metuens.'

spernendis rumoribus, probably abl. of respect; nearly repeated in 4. 37, 2.

l. 32. **conscientiae . . . innexum**, 'implicated in the complicity of' (cp. 2. 77, 6).

in deterius: cp. 2. 82, 1, etc.

P. 133, l. 2. **quaque . . . fama distraheretur**, 'the reports by which his character was being torn in pieces.' The verb is so used of a struggle in the mind, as in 2. 40, 1; 4. 40, 8. The metaphor in 'dominos . . . differebant' (1. 4, 3) is perhaps similar.

l. 3. **hinc**, 'from the other side:' cp. 'illic' 1. 70, 6.

l. 5. c. 11. **Illyrico**. On the abl., cp. 2. 69, 1, etc.: on the departure of Drusus, see c. 7, 1.

l. 6. **censuissent**: cp. 2. 64, 1.

l. 8. **L. Arruntium**: see 1. 13, 1, etc. He and the others here mentioned are known from other sources as the chief pleaders of the day. On Sex. Pompeius, cp. c. 32, 2.

l. 9. **iisque . . . excusantibus**, an abl. abs. interpolated into the construction, as bringing in another circumstance. Examples are found in earlier Latin, and more frequently in Greek, as *καὶ πάντα διαπραξάμενος . . .*, *καὶ ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων . . .*, *τῶν τε . . . στρατηγῶν ἕνα προσελόμενος* (Thuc. 4. 29, 1). 'Excusare' here means 'to plead in excuse:' cp. 'excusare laborem' (Hor. Epp. 1. 7, 67), etc.

l. 10. **M'. Lepidus**: see on c. 32, 2; 1. 13, 2, etc.

L. Piso, probably the same mentioned in 2. 34, 1.

l. 11. **adrecta**, 'excited to see.' The construction is such as would follow a verb expressing expectation or wonder.

quanta fides . . . quae fiducia. The 'fides' spoken of is apparently their fidelity to their solemn promise (2. 71, 8); while 'quae fiducia' means 'on what the accused relied:' cp. 'quae sit fiducia capto' (Verg. Aen. 2. 75).

l. 13. **haud alias**. This is repeated in thought with 'permisit;' the sense being that seldom were the people more on the alert, and seldom had they allowed themselves more licence.

l. 16. c. 12. **meditato temperamento**, 'of studied discretion:' cp. the use of 'temperamentum' in describing the character of M'. Lepidus (4. 20, 4), and its use in the sense of compromise' ('eleganti temperamento') in 11. 4, 7.

l. 17. **legatum,** in the Caesarian province of Hispania citerior or Tarraconensis (c. 13, 2).

l. 20. **asperasset,** 'whether he had exasperated,' etc., i. e. whether he had done this and no more, or had criminally caused his death. Cp. 'tractaverit,' etc., below (§ 6).

l. 21. **integris,** 'unbiassed:' cp. c. 7, 2, etc.

nam si, etc. On the change to oratio recta, cp. 2. 77, 2, etc.

l. 22. **officii,** 'his position,' a frequent sense in Suetonius: with 'terminos,' 'exuit' is used by zeugma; and Germanicus is called 'imperator,' as in c. 14, 1; 2. 76, 4, etc.

l. 23. **seponam,** i. e. by 'renuntiatio amicitiae:' cp. 2. 70, 3, and note there.

l. 25. **facinus . . . vindicandum,** 'an atrocity, such as in the murder of any human being would demand punishment;' i. e. irrespectively of the rank and position of the person killed.

l. 26. **vero,** expostulatory, as in Plautus and Terence.

l. 27. **turbide,** 'in a spirit of mutiny:' cp. 'turbidus,' c. 27, 4; 1. 38, 4, etc.

l. 28. **per ambitionem,** 'by intrigue,' referring to what is stated in 2. 55, 4.

l. 29. **in maius vulgaverint,** 'spread in such manner as to exaggerate;' i. e. whether they took up a tale not even originally true, and spread it with further additions. On the use of 'in,' cp. Introd. p. 17, § 38; also 'in maius celebrare' (*ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον κοσμεῖν*), Sall. Jug. 73, 5.

l. 31. **nudare corpus:** see 2. 73, 5.

contrectandum oculis. Cicero speaks by a still bolder metaphor of 'mente contrectandas voluptates' (Tusc. 3. 15, 33).

l. 32. **differri,** 'that report should be spread:' cp. 4. 25, 5, and note on 1. 4, 3.

tamquam, with the force of *ὡς*, as used in stating a fact.

l. 33. **interceptus:** cp. 2. 71, 3.

P. 134, l. 3. **iniquitas,** alluding to the countercharges made by Piso (2. 78, 1),

l. 5. **propinquus sanguis,** alluding to L. Piso (c. 11, 2), who is thought to have been a brother; 'fides' to the loyalty of friendship, acting on Lepidus and Regulus.

l. 9. **super leges,** 'beyond ordinary course of law:' see 2. 79, 2.

l. 11. **cetera,** etc., 'let the other charges (as distinct from that 'de morte eius') be handled with equal moderation:' on 'modestia,' cp. 1. 11, 1, etc.

nemo . . . spectet, 'let none pay attention to.'

l. 13. **adversa finguntur,** 'fictions to our discredit,' such insinuations as are alluded to in c. 2, 5, etc.

l. 16. c. 13. **Fulcinius.** He had obtained leave to accuse the 'prior vita' (c. 10, 3) of Piso, apparently as giving evidence of his general character.

ambitiose avareque habitam, 'administered (cp. 4. 6, 1) with intrigue and extortion.'

l. 17. **convictum . . . defensum,** 'if proved,' . . . 'if warded off' ('refuted'). The participles are used concisely (cp. Introd. p. 16, § 35) for hypothetical clauses.

l. 18. **teneretur,** 'were held by,' i. e. 'could not clear himself,' 'was convicted of:' cp. c. 67, 2, and 'criminibus haerebant,' 4. 19, 4.

l. 19. **Servaeus:** cp. 2. 56, 5. On the others, cp. 2. 74. 2, etc. The speech of Vitellius was published, and is quoted as extant by the elder Pliny.

l. 21. **odio . . . studio,** causal abl. On this charge, cp. 2. 56, 5.

l. 25. **devotionibus et veneno:** see 2. 69, 5.

l. 26. **sacra . . . et immolationes nefandas,** hendiadys, 'his atrocious thankofferings' (see 2. 75, 3).

l. 27. **petitam armis,** etc.: see 2. 80, 81.

reus agi, 'to be prosecuted:' 'agere' is here equivalent to διώκειν.

l. 29. c. 14. **in ceteris,** opposed to 'veneni crimen' below: 'trepidavit' = 'faltered.'

l. 30. **obnoxiam,** 'placed at the mercy of' (cp. 2. 75, 1). It is meant that he courted the soldiers by letting them plunder the subjects (c. 13, 3).

l. 32. **visus est,** sc. 'defensor,' supplied from 'defensio.'

l. 33. **firmabant.** The simple verb is used for 'confirmo' here and in c. 60, 1; 4. 14, 1, etc., oftener for 'adfirmo,' as in 1. 81, 1, etc.

P. 135, l. 3. **tot adstantium visu** = 'tot adstantibus et videntibus:' 'visu' appears to be an extension of the modal abl. (Introd. p. 12, § 16) to denote an attendant circumstance.

l. 4. **ministros,** the slaves of Germanicus who had waited at table, as distinct from his own 'familia,' whose evidence he offered as to the alleged preparation of the poison.

l. 7. **scripsissent expostulantes.** There is probably here a considerable gap. The arrangement laid down in c. 13, 1 appears to have been departed from, and the trial to have now reached a further stage, at which the accusers demand production of some private letters. 'Expostulare' is used as in 1. 19, 3, etc.

l. 11. **Gemonias,** sc. 'scalas,' a flight of steps from the Forum to the Capitol, where the bodies of criminals were exposed after execution.

l. 13. **deductus est,** 'he was escorted home.'

custos saluti, poetical dat.: cp. Introd. p. 11, § 9.

l. 15. c. 15. **Eadem,** etc., she was exposed to the same popular outcry, but protected by a greater influence; hence men doubted how far Caesar

could venture against her (a bitter allusion to his mother's ascendancy over him).

l. 17. **mediae,** 'hung in the balance.'

l. 18. **si ita ferret,** a phrase found only here and in H. 2. 44, 4. and apparently an abbreviation of 'fors (or 'res') ferret.'

l. 20. **dividere,** 'to separate her defence from his:' cp. 'dividite,' 1. 43, 5.

l. 21. **experiretur,** sc. 'ius:' cp. the full expression in c. 36, 3.

l. 24. **nullo**='nulla re:' cp. 'nemo ullius nisi fugae memor,' Liv. 2. 59, 8.

l. 26. **perrumperetur,** probably best taken to mean that he allowed no internal emotion to escape him and betray itself in words.

l. 28. **solita . . . exsequitur,** i. e. he bathed and supped.

P. 136, l. 2. **c. 16. destinatum,** sc. 'fuisse,' 'it was his purpose.'

l. 6. **duraverunt,** 'lived on,' a Tacitean sense of the word.

l. 8. **conquestus,** etc. The context makes it appear that some such words as those here supplied by Halm must have dropped out.

l. 11. **codicillos,** the memorial mentioned in c. 15, 5.

l. 13. **quatenus,** for 'quoniam,' as in Hor. Od. 3. 24, 30. etc.

veritati, 'uprightness:' cp. 1. 75, 2.

l. 16. **consulatis.** From the ordinary sense of 'consulere alicui,' this verb is often used by Tacitus as equivalent to 'parcere,' as in c. 46, 4. etc.

l. 17. **qualicumque,** i. e. whether deserved or not.

l. 18. **M. Piso:** see 2. 76, 2.

l. 22. **per collegium,** etc. His consulship (B. C. 7) was a mark of approval from Augustus, who conferred it, and a tie of friendship with Tiberius, his colleague in it. 'Collegium' is used in this abstract sense in c. 31, 1, etc., and by Livy.

l. 27. **c. 17. 'iussa,'** sc. 'fuisse,' as in c. 16, 1, etc.

l. 33. **quod . . . leges obtineant,** i. e. the punishment of their murderers.

P. 137, l. 2. **proinde,** 'let her then:' cp. 1. 11, 3; 2. 65, 6, etc.

l. 5. **hac imagine cognitionis,** the trial of Plancina, whose acquittal was already secured. Sentence had, however, yet to be pronounced on the whole case.

l. 7. **perorarent:** cp. 2. 30, 1.

l. 8. **miseratio quam invidia:** cp. Introd. p. 17, § 40 a.

l. 9. **Aurelius Cotta:** cp. c. 2, 5; apparently the same person called elsewhere Cotta Messalinus, and noted as a proposer of severe sentences (2. 32, 2; 4. 20, 6, etc.).

l. 10. **eo etiam munere,** the duty of giving their 'sententia' on the question being put to them. Usually the consuls or tribunes, or one of them, themselves made the 'relatio,' putting the question first to the

consuls designate (cp. c. 22, 6, etc.); and other magistrates might speak at any time unasked. The imperf. ('fungebantur') is used, because in the time of Tacitus the princeps did not usually thus preside in person.

l. 11. **eradendum fastis,** 'should be erased from the record of consuls.' The name of Seianus is thus found erased in all inscriptions of the date of his consulship.

partem, 'half' (cp. 4. 20, 2, etc.), i.e. the share of M. Piso, who was to have a portion given back out of it.

l. 13. **praenomen mutaret.** He is thought to have taken that of 'Lucius,' and to have been the consul of A.D. 27 (4. 62, 1).

dignitate, sc. 'senatoria.' Relegation was the mildest form of banishment, and did not necessarily involve any penalty beyond itself; though it is here accompanied by loss of property.

l. 17. **c. 18. M. Antonii.** His name had been erased (cp. Cic. Phil. 13. 12, 26), but subsequently restored. On his son Iullus Antonius, see on 1. 10, 3.

l. 19. **ignominiae,** i.e. from loss of rank and from relegation: the 'paterna bona' are the 'pars' that was to be confiscated (c. 17, 8).

l. 20. **saepe:** cp. 1. 75, 4; 2. 48, 1; and below, c. 23, 3.

l. 21. **absolutae Plancinae,** participle for abstract noun (Introd. p. 16, § 36 b).

l. 22. **Valerius Messalinus,** probably the same mentioned in 1. 8, 5.

Martis Ultoris: cp. 2. 64, 2.

l. 23. **Caecina Severus,** the former legatus of Lower Germany (1. 31, 2, etc.).

l. 25. **tristitia,** probably causal abl. = 'ob tristitiam' (Introd. p. 18, § 18).

l. 27. **omiseratque Claudii mentionem:** see 2. 71, 3.

l. 29. **prudens,** 'intentionally:' cp. 'non inprudentem,' 4. 70, 6.

l. 31. **revolvo,** sc. 'animo:' cp. 4. 21, 2, etc.; Verg. Aen. 2. 101.

l. 32. **ludibria rerum mortalium,** 'the mockery pervading human affairs;' i.e. the way in which fortune mocks the expectation of men.

P. 138, l. 4. **c. 19. suffragium,** 'his support,' i.e. his 'commendatio' (see on 1. 15, 2). Fulcinius became cos. suff. in A.D. 31, a little before the fall of Seianus.

l. 6. **non modo . . . etiam.** On the abbreviation, see Introd. p. 17, § 40.

l. 7. **agebant,** 'were living:' cp. 1. 4, 4; 68, 1; 4. 28, 3, etc.

l. 9. **dum,** 'inasmuch as:' cp. 2. 88, 4, etc.

l. 10. **utrumque,** credulity and falsification.

l. 11. **posteritate,** probably abl. of time, like 'secutis temporibus,' above.

repetendis auspiciis, i.e. to recover his 'imperium,' which he had

lost by entering Rome (c. 11, 1). On the gerundive dat., see Introd. p. 11, § 11. The date of his ovation is given in an inscription as May 28.

l. 12. **Vipsania**: see on 1. 12, 6. Agrippa had also children by his second wife, Marcella (see 2. 51, 2), but their fate is not known. His children by Julia (Introd. p. 32) are here referred to. On the suspicion respecting Gaius and Lucius, see 1. 3, 3; on the murder of Agrippa Postumus, 1. 6: Agrippina died of starvation in the island of Pandateria in A. D. 23 (6. 25, 1); Julia also in exile, though not, as far as we know, by actual violence (4. 71, 6).

l. 16. c. 20. **priore aestate**. These words are an error, and perhaps an interpolation; the former campaign being given in A. D. 17 (2, 52).

l. 22. **flagitii**; such a genitive may be treated as akin to that of quality, or partitive, like 'morum' (1. 80, 2): cp. 'consilii quam formidinis arbitrantur,' G. 6, 6.

l. 23. **pro castris**: cp. 2. 80, 5.

l. 25. **desertoribus**. Tacfarinas himself is described (2. 52, 2) as a deserter from the Roman service. His troops had undergone some discipline (l. l.), but are 'inconditi' as compared with Romans.

l. 26. **exceptat**, a probable correction for 'excepta' (sc. 'sunt'), which Halm retains. Tacitus is apt to prefer frequentative to simple verbs, and may here have followed Silius, who has (9. 367) 'per pectora saevas | exceptat mortes.'

l. 28. **suis**, best taken as dat. (Introd. p. 10, § 8).

l. 29. c. 21. **L. Apronio**, formerly a legatus in Germany (1. 56, 1; 72, 1).

l. 31. **facinore**, not used here in a bad sense, but of a signal act of discipline.

decumum quemque, etc. This mode of selection is called 'decimatio,' and the punishment itself 'fustuarium.' It was a kind of running the gauntlet; the punishment being inflicted by the comrades, at a signal from the tribune.

l. 33. **vexillum veteranorum**: see on 1. 17, 4.

P. 139, l. 2. **Thala**, not the city of that name mentioned in Sall. Jug. 75. 1, which must have lain further south.

l. 4. **torquibus et hasta**. These were usual 'dona militaria' (1. 44, 7) for distinguished service: cp. Juv. 16. 60, and Mayor ad loc.

l. 5. **civicam coronam**, the crown of oakleaves, the distinctive reward for saving a citizen in battle. With it considerable privileges were conferred (see Dict. of Ant.). An inscription shows that Helvius assumed from it the cognomen 'Civica.'

l. 6. **questus**, i. e. affecting to complain, but really well pleased. The proconsul was not formally a legatus; but the supreme command of Caesar extended to all soldiers, wherever stationed.

l. 7. **spargit bellum**, 'spreads the area of war.'

l. 9. **inritum**, 'baffled:' cp. 1. 59, 7, etc.

l. 13. **legionum**, 'of the legionary soldiers.'

l. 15. c. 22. **Aemiliorum**. Outside the imperial family, this was then by far the greatest patrician gens, and included many of the noblest and most famous families, the Lepidi, Paulli, Scauri, etc.

L. Sulla et Cn. Pompeius. A son of the dictator Sulla had married a daughter of the great Pompeius, and their daughter Cornelia was mother of this Lepida.

l. 16. **defertur**, with inf., as in 2. 27, 1.

l. 17. **P. Quirinio**: see c. 48.

l. 18. **venena**, 'charges of poisoning:' cp. similar pregnant senses of the word in 2. 88, 2; 4. 10, 2.

quaesitumque, etc., 'and that she had consulted astrologers (see 2. 27, 2) against (or respecting) the house of Caesar.' This was always made a capital offence, as any sinister prediction would encourage conspiracies.

l. 19. **Manio Lepido**: see 1. 13, 2, etc.

post dictum repudium, 'after declaration of divorce.' The divorce is said to have taken place many years before this trial; and during the interval she had married Scaurus (c. 23, 3).

l. 21. **dispexerit**, potential subjunct. (Introd. p. 16, § 33).

l. 22. **vertit**, sc. 'inter se,' 'showed by turns.'

l. 25. **quae velut reicere voluerat**, 'what he had apparently desired to exclude from the case.'

l. 26. **militari custodia**, that of the praetorian guard (cp. Acts 28. 16); the custody of the consuls would be that of the ordinary prison. The motive of the change may have been merely to indicate Caesar's wish to exercise no influence in the trial.

l. 28. **exemit**, with dat., as in 1. 48, 2, etc. The consul designate was by old custom asked first (cp. on c. 17, 8); a famous instance being that of Silanus, who in this position pronounced for the execution of the Catilinarians. See also instances in c. 49, 4; 4. 42, 3.

l. 31. **ad saevitiam trahebant**, 'were assigning to (or interpreting as evidence of) severity;' i. e. as showing that Tiberius insisted on a condemnatory vote and severe sentence, and that Drusus was aware of it. On this sense of 'trahere,' cp. 1. 62, 3.

neque enim cessurum, sc. 'fuisse' (Introd. p. 14, § 25). 'Drusum' is probably to be supplied as subject, and 'officio' taken as abl.; the construction being like that of 'possessione cedere,' etc. The full expression would thus be 'neque enim Drusum cuiquam cessurum fuisse quoquam officio nisi officio damnandi:' 'he would not have given way to others in respect of any duty but that of condemning' (would gladly

have put himself forward to give the initiatory vote, if it were to have been one of acquittal). Drusus voted at a later stage for the severe sentence initiated by Rubellius Blandus (c. 23, 2).

l. 33. c. 23. **ludorum**, probably the 'ludi magni Romani' (Sept. 4–19).

intervenerant. The accus. is analogous to that with 'interfluere' (2. 9, 1) and other verbs: see Introd. p. 10, § 5 c.

P. 140, l. 2. **cuius ea . . . visebantur** = 'cuius erant ea . . . quae visebantur.' The theatre of Pompeius (cp. c. 72, 4; 4. 7, 3), in the Campus Martius, was the largest and most famous in Rome.

l. 4. **detestanda** = 'detestabilia,' as in 4. 69, 3, etc.

l. 5. **obscurissimae domui**: see c. 48, 2. Though of low origin, Quirinius was a man of distinguished public career; and Lepida appears to have been undoubtedly guilty and undeserving of sympathy.

l. 8. **itum**, sc. 'pedibus' ('they divided in favour of').

Rubelli Blandi: cp. c. 51, 1. He afterwards became the husband of Julia, daughter of Drusus.

aqua et igni arcebatur. This sentence of exile, conveyed by forbidding any to supply the condemned with fire and water within certain localities, might leave a limited choice of the place of residence, or might be accompanied with deportation to a particular island. In any case it involved loss of property and political rights. It was the proper penalty for 'maiestas' (c. 50, 6, etc.). The imperf. is used to express the sentence proposed to be inflicted.

l. 10. **Scauro**, apparently the person mentioned in 1. 13, 4.

l. 11. **conpertum sibi**, etc. It would appear that the slaves of Quirinius had been examined privately by Tiberius, but only those of Lepida at the public trial.

l. 16. c. 24. **repetam**, 'I will retrace' ('go back over the past to relate'): cp. c. 33, 1, and 'supra repetere,' Sall. Cat. 5. 9.

in rempublicam: cp. 1. 8, 7.

l. 18. **filiae et neptis**, the two Juliae: see 1. 53, 1; 4. 71, 6. Iulus Antonius (1. 10, 3) suffered penalty of death, Silanus that of banishment ('fuga').

l. 20. **violatae maiestatis**: see on 2. 50, 1.

l. 21. **egrediebatur**, with accus., as in 1. 30, 2, etc. His own 'lex Iulia de adulteriis' (see 2. 50, 2) enacted less severe penalties than those which he thus arbitrarily inflicted.

l. 22. **sed . . . memorabo.** This promise appears never to have been fulfilled.

l. 23. **in quae tetendi**, 'my present object.'

curas. The use of this word for literary work (cp. 4. 11, 5) appears to be taken from Ovid, ex P. 4. 16, 39.

l. 25. **amicitia . . . prohiberetur**: cp. c. 12, 4; 2. 70, 3.

l. 26. **demonstrari**, 'was indicated by it.'

l. 28. **potentia** = 'per potentiam,' a kind of quasi-instrumental, or causal (cp. 4. 43, 4) abl.: see Introd. p. 12, §§ 15, 18. It is possible that 'fretus' may have dropped out by standing near 'fratris.'

l. 30. **peregrinatione**, emphatic, as his absence was voluntary: 'longinqua' is used of time, as in 1. 53, 3.

l. 32. **sibi tamen**, etc., i.e. the renouncement of friendship would be kept up. This, it will be observed, sufficed to exclude him from all the magistracies of the state.

P. 141, l. 3. c. 25. **Papia Poppaea**, sc. 'lege.' This was passed in A.D. 9, in the names of the coss. suffecti of that year, and absorbed into itself the earlier 'lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus,' passed in B.C. 18, and alluded to by Horace (Carm. Saec. 17–20).

l. 4. **incitandis caelibum poenis**, 'to encourage the enforcement of penalties on celibacy,' especially by offering rewards to informers (c. 28, 4). Penalties already existed, but were probably also increased in severity; the principal of them consisting in a disability to receive inheritances or legacies except from very near relations. Childless married persons forfeited half of such bequests.

l. 5. **augendo aerario**. Property left to those thus debarred from taking it ('caducum') might go to other heirs or legatees who had children, but in default of such, escheated to the treasury.

l. 6. **praevalida orbitate**, 'childlessness being too powerful' (cp. 'praevalida vitia,' c. 53, 2), by reason of the court paid in society to such persons (see Hor. Sat. 2. 5, 28; Juv. 4. 19; 12. 99, etc.).

l. 7. **periclitantium**, 'exposed to prosecution:' cp. c. 12, 9.

l. 8. **interpretationibus**, 'constructions,' straining the law to include more cases under it.

l. 9. **ea res**, 'this fact,' i.e. the oppressive working of this particular law.

l. 11. **altius disseram**, a new phrase, analogous to 'altius coniectare.' 1. 32, 7 (where see note).

l. 12. c. 26. **Vetustissimi mortalium**. This view of a primitive golden age is taken by Tacitus from the Stoic philosophy of his time, with perhaps also a reminiscence of Sall. Cat. 2. 1, etc. The Epicurean view is set forth in Lucr. 5. 1105–1160, and humorously touched in a few lines by Horace (Sat. 1. 3, 99, foll.).

l. 14. **neque**, answering to 'et . . . nihil (equivalent to 'neque . . . quidquam') . . . vetabantur.'

suopte ingenio, best taken as causal abl. (Introd. p. 12, § 18): 'virtue used to be sought from (i.e. 'from a love for') its own qualities.' The same words ('suopte ingenio') occur in a fragment of Sallust,

where 'ingenium' is used of the nature or qualities of a thing: cp. 'locus arvorum ingeniis' (Verg. G. 2. 177).

l. 16. exui aequalitas: cp. 1. 4, 1; here used not of accepting an inferior position, but of seeking preeminence. On the infin., see Introd. p. 15, § 30.

modestia; cp. 1. 11, 1; here opposed to 'ambitio,' as 'pudor to 'vis.'

l. 17. dominationes, 'despotisms,' such as the monarchies of the old world, of which the Parthian of his own day was a survival. On the adverbial use of 'aeternum,' cp. Introd. p. 9, § 2.

l. 18. statim, during the regal period, as he shows to have been the case with the Romans.

l. 22. ac mox, etc. Here 'quas' is to be again supplied in sense.

l. 24. religionibus et divino iure, 'by religious institutions and the body of law belonging to such:' 'ius divinum' is frequently distinguished, in this sense, from 'humanum.' The reference is to the ancient priesthoods and ritual ascribed to Numa.

l. 26. sanctor, ἅπ. εἰρ. The great institution ascribed to him is that of the centuries and their comitia, by which laws were to be enacted. He is said (Liv. 1. 46, 1) to have afterwards taken a popular vote of approval on his own position as king.

l. 28. c. 27. tuendae libertatis, etc. On the genitive, see Introd. p. 14, § 23. The chief measures taken before the decemvirate were the laws forbidding restoration of the kings (aimed against a 'patrum factio'), and establishing the right of 'provocatio;' also the institution of tribunes of the people, passed against an extreme section of patricians.

l. 29. creatique decemviri, B. C. 451. Commissioners are said to have been sent previously, to collect the most famous Greek codes.

l. 30. finis aequi iuris, 'the close of equitable law.' Tacitus appears to mean that in this code all orders had united for the common good; whereas most subsequent laws had aimed at personal or party objects.

l. 31. ex delicto, 'according as crimes arose:' cp. 'ex re' (1. 24, 1), etc.

dissensione ordinum, causal abl.: cp. c. 26, 1, etc.

l. 32. apiscendi inlicitos honores, a rare extension to the gerund of the construction so common with the gerundive (see above). The reference is to the Licinian and other laws, by which the consulship, etc., were opened to plebeians.

pellendi claros viros. These seem distinct from the banishments by special decree of later date (§ 5). Perhaps a loose reference is intended to the banishment of Camillus, the retirement of Scipio Africanus, etc.

P. 142, l. 1. Gracchi et Saturnini. The latter must be a rhetorical

plural (cp. 1. 10, 3); so that perhaps 'Gracchi' is also to be so taken, and Gaius Gracchus alone intended.

l. 2. **Drusus.** The description would suit either the rival of Gaius Gracchus or his more famous son, the tribune of B. C. 91. Perhaps Tacitus may have confused them.

l. 3. **socii,** the Italians, who were bribed by hope of the franchise, and then cheated out of it by the veto of a tribune. The proposals of Gracchus were vetoed by the elder Drusus.

bello Italico, B. C. 91–88: the civil war following it was that of Marius and his successors against Sulla, B. C. 88–82.

l. 4. **L. Sulla.** His 'leges Corneliae' (B. C. 82–79) formed an important epoch in the criminal code of Rome.

l. 6. **otium eius rei,** a repose from fresh legislation.

statim turbidis . . . rogationibus, best taken as abl. abs. with 'turbidis' (in an active sense) as predicate: 'the proposals of Lepidus immediately throwing all into disorder.' M. Lepidus, father of the triumvir, when consul in B. C. 78, made an attack on various enactments of Sulla.

l. 7. **neque multo post.** Pompeius and Crassus in their consulship (B. C. 70) restored all the powers which Sulla had taken away from the tribunes.

l. 9. **in singulos . . . latae quaestiones,** 'impeachments were enacted against individuals,' i. e. by special decrees or 'privilegia,' such as that of Clodius against Cicero.

corruptissima republica, abl. abs., 'when the republic was in its greatest decay laws were most numerous.'

l. 11. **c. 28. Pompeius tertium consul.** This consulship (B. C. 52) was a virtual dictatorship, being held by him for seven months without a colleague.

l. 12. **gravior remediis,** etc.; by his severe laws 'de vi' and 'de ambitu;' by his military rule in Rome; by overawing the court with a guard of soldiers at the trial of Milo.

l. 13. **subversor.** By securing to himself the government of Spain for the next five years; by allowing Caesar to be a candidate for the consulship when absent; and by preventing the conviction of his father-in-law Scipio for bribery, he was breaking laws which he had himself caused to be enacted.

l. 14. **viginti annos,** B. C. 48–28; from Pharsalia to the sixth consulship of Augustus, in which he cancelled the acts of the triumvirate, and laid the foundations of the principate, which formally begins with the following year (Introd. p. 23). In this view of an anarchy of twenty years, the dictatorship of Julius Caesar, and his legislation, are strangely ignored.

non mos non ius, sc. fuit,' 'there was neither morality nor law.'

l. 15. **inpune,** sc. 'fuere:' cp. 1. 72, 3.

l. 16. **potentiae securus**, 'sure of his ascendancy:' cp. 'securus veniae,' Lucan 8. 784. With genit., 'securus' usually means 'regardless' of some evil or danger.

l. 17. **triumviratu**, a free use of the abl. of time during which (cp. Roby, 1184, 1185). Here the use is supported by 'consulatu' close above.

dedit iura, 'established principles of law,' or 'imposed a constitution.' The expression is so used by Livy (1. 8, 1) of Romulus, and by Vergil of kings or founders of states (Aen. 3. 137; 5. 758).

l. 18. **quis ... uteremur**. Here 'quis' might be taken as an instrumental abl. and 'pace et principe' as dependent on 'uteremur;' but it is perhaps better to make these abl. abs. and to take 'quis' with 'uteremur' ('which we were to enjoy in peace and under a prince').

l. 19. **inditi custodes**, 'watch (that of informers: cp. c. 25, 2) was set upon us:' cp. 'additus miles,' 4. 67, 6. The final 'ut' expresses the purpose of the whole marital legislation.

si a privilegiis, etc., 'if men neglected to earn the rewards of paternity,' chose to remain unmarried.

l. 21. **vacantia**, 'property without an owner.' On these penalties and forfeitures, see note on c. 25, 1.

altius penetrabant, 'they were forcing their way too far (cp. 2. 36, 2) into private life.'

l. 22. **quod usquam civium**. The law did not apply to non-citizens.

corripuerant, used of laying indictments (c. 49, 1; 2. 28. 4, etc.).

multorumque excisi status, 'and many had their position undermined;' e. g. in cases where the possession of a senatorial or equestrian census depended on bequests that could be invalidated.

l. 26. **nexus**, 'snares' woven by the subtlety of informers; many of whose 'interpretationes' (c. 25, 2) were pronounced to be not within the intention of the law.

l. 28. c. 29. **Neronem**, the eldest son (see Introd. p. 32), apparently now entering his fifteenth year.

l. 30. **vigintiviratus**, a collective name for certain minor magistracies, comprising the 'tres viri capitales' and 'monetales,' quattuor viri viis in urbe purgandis,' and 'decemviri stlitibus iudicandis.' Candidates for the quaestorship were required to have held one of these offices or that of military tribune.

l. 31. **per leges**. The earliest legal age for the quaestorship was the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year.

non sine inrisu; because a request which could not be refused was a mockery.

P. 143, l. 1. **ac tamen**, etc., i. e. such a request was not then so ludicrous; for a refusal was not so out of the question. Three reasons are given for this difference.

initia fastigii, 'the supremacy of the Caesars was but beginning:' cp. 'pulcherrimo fastigio,' c. 73, 3. The decrees for Tiberius and Drusus were passed in B.C. 24 and 19.

l. 3. **levior necessitudo,** 'the tie of connexion was slighter;' whence it might be supposed that Augustus cared less about the request than Tiberius.

l. 5. **congiarium.** This was now a gift, not in oil or wine, but in money: see note on 2. 42, 1. The date is given in a calendar as June 7.

l. 7. **Iuliae:** see Introd. p. 34. On an earlier betrothal of Nero, see 2. 43, 3.

secundo rumore, 'with approbation:' so used of cheering or applause in Verg. Aen. 8. 90; Hor. Epp. 1. 10, 9.

l. 9. **destinaretur,** used of announced intention rather than formal betrothal. They must have been then in mere infancy; and the son of Claudius, called Drusus, died in boyhood, soon after actual betrothal.

l. 14. **c. 30. censoria ... potestate.** The regular censorship had not existed since B.C. 22. The 'decuriae' were the subdivisions of the judicial body, which now consisted mainly of persons of equestrian census.

l. 16. **inmensum,** poetical adv., as in c. 52, 1; 4. 27, 3, etc. (Introd. p. 9, § 2).

adcumulator, *ἅπ. εἰρ.*

Crispum, addressed by Horace (Od. 2. 2, 2) as 'inimice lamnae ... nisi temperato | splendeat usu.'

l. 17. **C. Sallustius,** only here mentioned by Tacitus, who has shown his study of Sallust's writings by frequent imitation: see Introd. p. 22, § 58.

l. 18. **in nomen adscivit,** 'gave his own name to him' (cp. 1. 31, 5; 2. 60, 3), i.e. adopted him: cp. 'adsciri per adoptionem,' 1. 3, 5.

l. 22. **luxu propior,** 'inclined to luxury.' This form of dat. is used by Tacitus in c. 33, 3; 34, 9, etc.: cp. 'non se luxu dedit,' Sall. Jug. 6, 1.

l. 25. **mox.** Maecenas retired from public life in B.C. 16, and died in B.C. 8.

l. 26. **interficiendi, etc.:** see 1. 6, 6. He was also employed to deal with the attempt to personate Agrippa (2. 40, 3).

l. 28. **fato,** apparently causal abl., another alternative cause being suggested by 'an satias capit' (cp. 'pavore an ... retinens,' 2. 38, 9). 'Fatum' would stand here for the working of some inexplicable cause, and is contrasted with a more intelligible one.

l. 29. **illos ... hos,** the giver and receiver, implied in the sense.

l. 32. **c. 31. Tiberi quartus, Drusi secundus:** see 2. 53, 1; 1. 55, 1. On the use of 'collegium,' cp. c. 16, 7.

P. 144, l. 1. **neque natura tam conexus,** 'nor so close a con-

nexion in respect of birth,' i. e. the association in distinction ('idem honor') was not then that of persons of so near a natural relationship.

l. 3. **firmandae valetudini**: see Introd. p. 11, § 11.

in Campaniam. His absence lasted till the next year (c. 64, 1). His final departure was four years after that time (4. 57, 1).

l. 4. **meditans,** 'practising' (= μελετῶν), as in the expressions 'meditari praelia,' etc. (Vergil and Juvenal).

l. 7. **Domitius Corbulo,** probably the father of the famous general who served under Claudius and Nero. It is possible that what is further said of him (§ 7) belongs properly to the son.

l. 10. **patrius mos.** Cicero (de Inv. 1. 30, 48) cites the rule 'ut maioribus natu adsurgatur' as part of the common usage of nations: cp. his anecdote of the Lacedaemonians (de Sen. 18. 63); also Juv. 13. 55.

l. 15. **patruus simul ac vitricus.** He must have been half-brother to Sulla's father; whose widow he must also have married, after having divorced Lepida (cp. c. 23, 3).

l. 17. **mancipum,** 'contractors' ('redemptores'), over whom the 'magistratus' ('curatores viarum') ought to exercise supervision.

l. 19. **exsecutionem,** 'judicial prosecution.'

l. 20. **publice usui,** 'for the public advantage.' On the dat., cp Introd. p. 11, § 12.

habitum, 'was administered:' cp. 4. 6, 1, etc.

l. 21. **damnationibus et hasta,** 'by convictions and auctions,' i. e. of the property of those who did not make good their defalcations.

l. 23. c. 32. **motam rursum Africam**: see c. 20, 1.

iudicio patrum, i. e. by selection, not by lot.

l. 25. **bello suffecturum,** 'who would be competent for war.'

Sex. Pompeius: cp. c. 11, 2.

l. 26. **Marcum Lepidum.** This person must be carefully distinguished from Manius Lepidus (1. 13, 2, etc.), with whom the MS. text constantly confounds him. He is mentioned as of moderate or small means in c. 72, 3; 2. 48, 1.

l. 27. **etiam Asiae sorte,** i. e. even from the lot for a peaceful province. Asia and Africa were usually thus disposed of to two senior consulars (Introd. p. 28); but as the latter was now to be given 'extra sortem,' there were really no lots to be drawn, and Lepidus would have Asia as matter of course; unless the senate or the princeps exercised their power to prevent him from taking it.

l. 29. **paternas ei angustias**: cp. 1. 75, 5, where 'esse,' here supplied, is expressed.

l. 30. **honori quam ignominiae.** On the omission of 'potius,' cp. c. 17, 7, and on the dative, c. 31, 7. From 'habendam ducebat,' 'habebat' is supplied with 'Lepidum.'

l. 33. c. 33. **Severus Caecina**: see c. 18, 3; 1. 31, 2, etc.

P. 145, l. 1. **obvenisset**, sc. 'sorte,' as in 4. 56, 3, etc.

multum ante repetito, 'having first recounted at length.' On the abl., see Introd. p. 12, § 19 a; on the use of 'repetere,' c. 24, 2.

l. 3. **cohibita** = 'cum eam cohibuisset:' See Introd. p. 12, § 19 b.

l. 4. **quadraginta**: see 1. 64, 6.

l. 5. **frustra**, 'without ground:' cp. 1. 30, 3.

l. 7. **pacem**, 'peaceful duties:' cp. 'pacis impedimentum,' c. 34, 3.

l. 8. **barbari incessus**, 'the progress of a barbaric king,' with his train of women, servants, etc.

l. 10. **ambitiosum**, 'intriguing:' cp. 'ambitiose,' c. 13, 2, etc.

l. 12. **nuper**. The allusion is to Plancina (2. 55, 5), perhaps not without some intention to glance also at Agrippina (1. 69, 2). On the dat. 'decursu,' cp. c. 30, 4.

l. 16. **duorum egressus, etc.**, 'there were two to be escorted to public places, two seats of government.' 'Praetorium' is the regular term for the governor's residence (as in N. T., etc.); and the figure is here explained by the allusion to the 'mulierum iussa,' more persistent and imperious (cp. 'inpotentia,' 1. 4, 4) than those of their husbands.

l. 18. **Oppiis**, probably here, and in c. 34, 6, a rhetorical plural (cp. 1. 10, 3). This law to restrain the dress and other luxuries of women was passed in the midst of the second Punic war (B. C. 215), and repealed twenty years later.

l. 21. c. 34. **neque relatum**, sc. 'dicentes.' Caecina had spoken 'per egressionem' (cp. 2. 33, 2, etc.).

l. 22. **censorem**, used invidiously, the only censorial functions being now vested in Caesar (see Introd. p. 25).

Valerius Messalinus: see on 1. 8, 5. His father Messalla Corvinus, the celebrated orator, and friend of Horace, Ovid, and Tibullus, died about A.D. 8.

l. 23. **duritiae**, partitive genit., like 'multa laudis et artium' (c. 55, 6).

l. 25. **obsideri . . . bellis**, 'had war at its gates,' as when the Oppian law was passed (see above): 'provincias hostiles' would refer to a later period, before the empire was consolidated.

l. 26. **necessitatibus**, 'requirements,' alluding to the 'luxus' (c. 33, 2).

l. 27. **penates** = 'rem familiarem,' used of the house and its position in 2. 84, 1.

adeo . . . non, 'much less;' so in H. 3. 39, 4: also 'adeo numquam,' 6. 15, 6, and 'adeo' ('much more'), H. 1. 9, 1, etc.

cetera promisca, etc., 'all else (save the 'pauca' above) is shared with the husband,' would be given to him, were he alone.

l. 28. **pacis**: cp. 'pacem,' c. 33, 2.

plane, concessive, like 'sane' (c. 5, 4, etc.) or 'sine dubio' (1. 10, 3, etc.).

l. 29. **accinctis**, 'in marching order,' i. e. without superfluities.

quod, sc. 'levamentum,' supplied from below. The same sentiment is expressed in the recommendation of the marriage of Claudius (12. 5, 5), 'quod porro honestius censoriae mentis levamentum quam adsumere coniugem;' and the sense of 'levamentum' ('relaxation') resembles that of 'levaretur' in 4. 58, 1.

l. 30. **at**, meeting an objection, as 'at enim,' 4. 40, 8, etc.

P. 146, l. 4. **frustra . . . transferri**, 'it is useless to put other names on our own indolence;' an inversion of expression for 'alia vocabula ad nostram ignaviam transferri,' i. e. 'nostrae ignaviae imponi.'

l. 6. **unius aut alterius**, 'one or two:' cp. 'una alterave,' c. 47, 2.

l. 8. **luxu**, dative: cp. c. 30, 4.

l. 9. **praesenti custodia**, 'with the guardian on the spot.'

l. 10. **in modum discidii oblitterentur**, 'become forgotten (cp. 2. 83, 5) by a virtual divorce.'

sic . . . ut, 'they should so deal with faults abroad, as not to forget enormities at home;' i. e. while they deal with one, let them not forget the other.

l. 12. **principibus**, used of the imperial family, as in c. 6, 5.

l. 15. **Illyricum**: cp. 1. 24, 1; 2. 44, 1; 3. 7, 1.

l. 18. **elusa est**, 'was parried:' so 'eludere,' c. 67, 2, etc.

l. 20. c. 35. **cuncta curarum**: see Introd. p. 13, § 20 b. They had left to him the choice of a proconsul for Africa (c. 32, 3).

l. 21. **M'. Lepidum et Iunium Blaesum**: see 1. 13, 2; 16, 2, etc.

l. 22. **intentius**, 'more in earnest:' cp. 1. 52, 3, etc.

l. 23. **aetatem liberum, nubilem filiam**; i. e. that he had children too young to be left behind, and had to arrange a marriage for his daughter. He became afterwards proconsul of Asia (4. 56, 3).

l. 26. **adseveratione**: cp. 2. 31, 4.

l. 27. **haud adiutus est**, i. e. his flatterers unanimously refrained from supporting, or rather overruled, his insincere objections.

l. 28. c. 36. **promptum**, sc. 'est,' 'was made public.'

l. 29. **incedebat**, 'was spreading:' cp. c. 26, 3; 2. 55, 5, etc. The dative is best taken as depending on it, though Tacitus elsewhere (as 1. 16, 1, etc.) uses this verb with the accusative.

l. 30. **arrepta imagine Caesaris**. This appears to be an extension of the privilege of sanctuary (on which see c. 69, 2). See the advice given to Agrippina (4. 67, 6). The privilege was perhaps restricted to particular statues (see c. 63, 6); but the story is told that it was an offence even to have beaten a slave who held a coin of Tiberius.

l. 32. **ultro metuebantur**, not only had themselves nothing to fear, but even caused fear, by threatening those who would touch them.

P. 147, l. 3. **subsidio**, 'refuge,' as in c. 60, 2.

l. 4. **versas** = 'eversas,' as in 2. 42, 4, etc.

l. 5. **damnavisset**, 'had caused to be condemned.' In many such expressions (cp. c. 23, 2; 4. 20, 3; 42, 3; 66, 1), persons are said to do what they cause or recommend to be done.

l. 6. **ius experiri**, to prosecute her for this fresh offence.

l. 9. **attineri**: cp. 1. 35, 5, etc. The common prison ('publica custodia') was under charge of the consuls (c. 22, 5).

l. 14. **c. 37. utrumque**, both the punishment of Annia Rufilla (c. 36, 4) and the missive from his father (supposed to have been procured by his influence) against these persons. Tiberius was still absent from Rome (see c. 31, 2).

ab eo: such a verb as 'existimabant' is supplied from 'trahebatur,' as again below from 'neque . . . displicebat.'

l. 15. **secreta**, 'the solitary thoughts;' so 'secreto suo satiatus' (of Domitian), Agr. 39. 3.

l. 16. **huc potius intenderet**, 'he had better give his mind to this' (cp. 2. 6, 1).

l. 17. **aedificationibus**. Drusus may have had a passion for building such mansions as were a leading extravagance of the age (cp. c. 53, 5; Hor. Od. 3. 1, 33–37, etc.), and may have spent his days in planning them. Other accounts mention no such propensity, and describe him as addicted to plays and shows (cp. 1. 76, 5); so that the text may perhaps be wrong.

l. 19. **malas**, 'pernicious;' illustrated by 'non enim,' etc., following.

l. 20. **c. 38. fatiscebant**, 'were becoming exhausted;' a metaphorical sense apparently derived from the literal meaning found in Verg. G. 1. 180, etc.

et, giving an instance, as in 2. 50, 1.

l. 21. **postulaverat**. The result of this prosecution is given in c. 70, 1. This verb is elsewhere used by Tacitus with genit. (1. 74, 1, etc.), and by Cicero with 'de,' which should perhaps be inserted here.

l. 23. **complementum**, 'the makeweight.' Several instances are given in which this charge is added to others (2. 50, 1; c. 22, 2; 67, 3, etc.).

l. 27. **[fratre]**, probably a blundering interpolation; as Tacitus would hardly have forgotten that Cotys was described as the nephew of Rhescuporis (2. 64, 3).

volverat, 'had contemplated:' cp. 'volvens,' 1. 64, 7, etc.

l. 28. **aqua et igni interdictum**: see c. 23, 2, and note there.

adpositum, 'it was added.'

l. 29. **opportuna,** 'convenient,' i. e. 'near:' cp. 'locorum opportuna,' 4. 24, 2.

l. 30. **diviso imperio, etc.**: cp. 2. 67, 4.

l. 31. **insolentia nostri,** 'from being unused to our rule.' The position of Trebellenus was that of a virtual governor. 'Discors' is used of disaffection, as in 1. 38, 1.

l. 32. **incusans . . . sinere.** The sentence is obscure from its brevity. Trebellenus is accused of oppressing the people, and Rhoemetalces of permitting it. The inf. with this verb is ἀπ. εἰρ. and may be compared to that with 'accuso,' found only in 4. 22, 4; 14. 18, 1.

P. 148, l. 2. **paribus . . . per ignobilitatem,** 'equally undistinguished,' so that neither could be selected for supreme command.

l. 3. **praesentia,** 'things on the spot;' a sense similar to that in c. 34, 10, etc.

l. 5. **Philippopolim,** founded by Philip, father of Alexander the Great, and still one of the chief towns of Roumelia.

l. 6. **sitam,** 'founded:' for 'positam,' as in 1. 39, 4, etc.

l. 7. **c. 39. exercitum praesidebat.** This accus. is used in the Annals (4. 5, 1; 72, 6, etc.) after the example of Sallust: see Introd. p. 10, § 5 c. The army must have been that of Moesia.

l. 8. **levis cohortium,** poetical usage for 'levis cohortes' (Introd. p. 13, § 20 c).

l. 10. **robur peditum,** the legion mentioned below.

l. 12. **eruptione . . . adventu,** instrumental ablatives, coupled to the abl. abs. preceding (cp. c. 37, 1).

l. 13. **aciem aut proelium,** 'pitched battle or even conflict.'

l. 15. **c. 40. Galliarum**: the provinces of Gallia Lugdunensis and Belgica are here meant. To the former belong the Aedui, also the Andecavi and Turoni (c. 41, 1), to the latter the Treveri. The pressure of debt in Gaul is noticed as early as the time of Cicero.

l. 17. **Treveros**: cp. 1. 41, 1, etc. This people inhabited a considerable district on both sides of the Mosel, their chief town being the colony of Augusta Treverorum, now Trier or Treves.

Iulius Florus, a person of this name is mentioned by Horace (Ep. 1. 3, 1; 2. 2, 1) as a companion of Tiberius in the East in B. C. 20.

Aeduos. This people, the most prominent of all the Gauls at the time of Caesar, and still noted for wealth (c. 43, 1; 46, 4), extended from the Loire to the Saone, having for their chief city Augustodunum (c. 43, 1), now Autun, the Bibracte of Caesar's time.

l. 18. **bona facta,** 'loyal service' (to Rome): cp. 'bona societas,' 1. 57, 7. They had probably assisted Julius Caesar, and received the 'civitas' from him.

l. 19. **cum id rarum.** Before the time of Tacitus, especially under Claudius, citizenship had come to be purchased wholesale.

l. 21. **metum ex flagitiis**: cp. 'ex duce metus,' 1. 29, 3.

l. 22. **componunt,** 'they agree' (= *συντίθενται*): cp. '**compositum,**' 4. 10, 2; 68, 3. etc. On the inf. following, see Introd. p. 14, § 27. By 'propiores,' those nearer to Rome are meant.

l. 23. **conciliabula et coetus.** The former are ordinary public gatherings, utilised by the conspirators, the latter, meetings specially convened.

l. 24. **continuatione,** 'perpetuity,' without abatement.

l. 25. **discordare,** 'was mutinous:' cp. 1. 16, 3; and 'discors,' 1. 38, 1, etc.

l. 28. **nihil validum,** etc. Even the legions were now chiefly recruited from the provinces (see 4. 4, 4, etc.).

l. 31. **c. 41. Andecavi et Turoni,** the people inhabiting Anjou and Touraine.

l. 32. **legatus,** governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, a Caesarian province of the second rank: see Introd. p. 29.

P. 149, l. 1. Visellius Varro, apparently the successor of Caecina (1. 31, 2, etc.).

l. 3. **in tempore,** 'opportunely:' cp. 1. 19, 2.

l. 4. **efferrent,** 'might proclaim it:' cp. 'effert animi motus,' Hor. A. P. 111.

l. 5. **ostentandae . . . virtutis**: see Introd. p. 14, § 23.

l. 8. **dubitatione,** 'indecision,' whereby he allowed the rebellion to gather strength.

l. 9. **c. 42. insistere,** 'persists in:' cp. 2. 21, 3.

l. 11. **negotiatoribus.** These were Romans, usually of equestrian rank, practising the calling of bankers or money-lenders in the provinces. Such persons had much to do with the general state of debt from which the outbreak rose (c. 40, 1.)

l. 12. **aliud vulgus,** 'the rest, the common herd;' not implying that the 'equites' also belonged to the 'vulgus.' Cp. *μήτηρ . . . οὐδ' ἄλλαι δμωαί* (Hom. Od. 2. 412). The debtors of a Gallic noble were virtual bondsmen, and the tie of clientship was also very strong among them.

l. 14. **Arduenna,** Ardennes, now the name of a department having for its chief town Mezieres, but then that of a much larger district extending from the Mosel through the Treveri, etc., to the Sambre.

l. 15. **C. Silius,** legate of Upper Germany (1. 31, 2, etc.).

l. 17. **discors Floro.** On the dative, cp. 2. 56, 1.

l. 18. **inconditam multitudinem adhuc,** 'still a mere rabble:' cp. 'nulla adhuc . . . libidine' (c. 26, 1). From the position of 'adhuc,' it would appear that 'inconditam multitudinem' are taken as one word.

l. 21. **tumultus**, used strictly of a Gallic, as also of an Italian rising: see Cic. Phil. 8. 1, 2.

l. 23. c. 43. **comprimendi procul praesidium**, 'the coercive force more distant,' i. e. in the armies of the 'Germaniae.' 'Magis' is supplied from the comparative above; and the use of the gerund appears nearly to resemble that noted in 1. 76, 3, etc.

Augustodunum: see on c. 40, 1. Augustus had founded there the seminary for Roman youths here mentioned, which was still flourishing at the end of the third century.

l. 25. **studiis ibi operatam**: so 'conubiis arvisque novis operata iuventus,' Verg. Aen. 3. 136 (cp. Hor. Ep. 1. 2, 29).

l. 27. **quadraginta milia**, the sum, not of the youths, but the whole Aeduan force.

l. 28. **quinta sui parte legionariis armis**, 'to the extent of one-fifth armed as legionaries.' 'Legionariis armis' appears to be an abl. of quality, here harshly joined to another abl., that of the part referred to.

l. 31. **cruppellarios**, a Celtic word, found nowhere else. They are called 'ferrati' in c. 45, 3.

l. 32. **accipiendis**. This gerundive dat. is not elsewhere found with 'inpenetrabilis;' but the construction is here assimilated to that of 'inhabiles.'

l. 33. **ut . . . ita**: cp. 1. 12, 1, etc.

P. 150, l. 1. **viritim**, 'of individuals:' cp. 'et viritim et publice,' Bell. Alex. 65, 4.

l. 4. c. 44. **quattuor et sexaginta**, 'the sixty-four:' such being the number of all the Gaulish tribes, exclusive of those in the old 'Provincia Narbonensis.'

l. 6. **Hispanias**, 'the Spanish provinces,' on which see 4. 5, 3.

l. 7. **credita**. From this is supplied 'creditum' with 'desciviss e,' etc. For the force of 'in maius,' cp. c. 12, 6, etc.

l. 10. **libellis**, 'the informations:' cp. 2. 29, 3. The 'cruentae epistulae' below are those sent by the princeps, with the charges, to the senate.

l. 13. **mutari**, used by Horace, Livy, etc., with similar abl. of the thing taken in exchange.

inpensius in securitatem compositus, 'with a more studied air of unconcern:' so 'in dissimulationem sui compositus,' 13. 25, 1: cp. also 1. 7, 2; 2. 34, 6, etc.

l. 15. **altitudine animi**, causal abl. The same word is used in describing the characters of Domitian (H. 4. 86, 3) and Sulla (Sall. Jug. 95, 3), where it evidently means 'profound reserve,' or 'dissimulation.'

l. 18. c. 45. **Sequanorum**. This people were the last within the border ('finium extremi') of Gallia Belgica, between Upper Germany

and the Aedui; their territory answering on the whole to Franche Comté, between the Jura and the Saone, and their chief town being Vesontio (Besançon).

l. 23. **duodecimum**, i. e. from Augustodunum.

l. 25. **ferratos**: see c. 43, 3.

cohortes, those who had 'legionaria arma' (c. 43 2).

l. 26. **adire**, sc. 'singulos:' cp. the description of Arminius in 2. 45, 4.

l. 28. **intolerantior**, perhaps 'a slavery more intolerant' (more arbitrary), on the master's part. It is doubtful whether it can mean 'intolerable.' Cp. 'infensius servitium,' 1. 81, 3.

l. 32. c. 46. **conpetebant**, 'were in fit condition neither as regards their eyes or ears' (could use neither rightly). The expression seems taken from Sallust (see Introd. p. 22, § 58, 1).

P. 151, l. 2. **una . . . cohors**, etc. The forces employed against these tribes are described in c. 41, 3; 42, 3; 45, 1. The Andecavi are not here mentioned, but are perhaps rhetorically understood with the Turoni.

l. 5. **evincite**, perhaps = 'devincite;' the participle 'evictus' having often this force, as in 4. 57, 5; Vergil, Ovid, etc. Others would supply 'esse,' and translate 'prove them to be,' as 'ratio esse evincet' (Hor. Sat. 2. 3, 250).

l. 6. **consulite** = 'parcite' (cp. c. 16, 5), i. e. 'make them prisoners.' The motive was probably avarice (cp. 4. 19, 4) rather than humanity, as some of the noble youths (c. 43, 1) might fetch a heavy ransom.

circumfudit, 'spread round the flanks.'

l. 7. **cunctatum** = 'dubitatum' (2. 80, 7). The part. is here alone used passively, but an archaic form 'cuncto' is found.

l. 8. **restantibus** = 'resistentibus,' a frequent use in Livy.

l. 11. **trudibus**, from Verg. Aen. 5. 208.

l. 12. **nullo . . . nisu**, 'without an effort.' Their armour deprived them of all power to rise.

l. 15. **super**, 'over their heads:' cp. 1. 68, 2.

l. 17. c. 47. **senatu**, dative: cp. c. 30, 4, etc.

l. 18. **sed**, sc. 'scripsit.'

l. 19. **superfuisse** = περιγενέσθαι, 'had got the better:' cp. 'superesse labori,' Verg. G. 3. 127.

l. 21. **principibus**, here used to include Drusus: cp. c. 34, 1.

l. 22. **turbet**, absol., as in 4. 1, 1; Terence, etc.

omissa urbe: cp. 'omittere caput rerum,' 1. 47, 1. Most editors mark a lacuna before 'omissa' or after 'regimen;' but it is possible to supply 'proficisci' from 'profecti forent.'

l. 23. **metu**, 'a state of panic:' cp. 1. 40, 1.

praesentia: cp. 1. 30, 5, etc.

l. 25. **Dolabella Cornelius,** afterwards proconsul of Africa (4. 23, 2). Other base acts are recorded of him in c. 69, 1; 4. 66, 2.

l. 29. **ferocissimas gentes,** alluding to his wars against the Germans, and his suppression of the Illyrian revolt. See 1. 4, 3; 2. 26, 3, etc.

l. 30. **tot . . . triumphos.** He appears to have three times received triumphal distinctions of one kind or another; but his flatterer Velleius says that he might have claimed seven.

l. 32. **c. 48. Sulpicii Quirini:** see c. 22, 1; 2. 30, 4.

publicis exsequiis, 'a funeral at the public cost.'

l. 33. **frequentaretur,** 'should be celebrated.' Tacitus has thus 'celebrare mortem' (6. 27, 2).

P. 152, l. 4. **Homonadensium,** a Cilician people living in Pisidia or Isauria. Tacitus may have thought that they were spread over parts of Cilicia itself.

insignia triumphi: see on 1. 72, 1.

l. 5. **datusque rector,** etc. This appointment dates probably from the death of Lollius (A.D. 2). Gaius Caesar (see on 1. 3, 3; 2. 2, 2; 42. 3, etc.) was then in military possession of Armenia.

Tiberium quoque. The return of Tiberius from Rhodes (see on 1. 4, 4) belongs to the same year as the death of Lollius; the passage has therefore been stopped so as to imply that the attention paid to him by Quirinius may have been at an earlier date, probably when the latter appears to have been proconsul of Asia (B.C. 7–3).

l. 7. **M. Lollio.** This person is praised highly by Horace (Od. 4. 9, 31–44), but is painted in the blackest colours by Velleius and Pliny. On his defeat in Germany, see 1. 10, 3.

l. 8. **pravitatis et discordiarum,** 'perverseness and enmity' (towards Tiberius himself), or perhaps, as a hendiadys, 'perverse enmity.'

l. 9. **ut memoravi,** c. 22, 3. His childlessness, there mentioned, would explain the great influence here ascribed to him (see c. 25, 2).

l. 14. **c. 49. corripuit:** cp. 2. 28, 4.

l. 15. **maiore praemio vulgaretur,** 'might be published and more liberally rewarded.' As having speculated on the death of Drusus, he was presumed to have desired it; the offence being somewhat similar to that of consulting astrologers 'in domum Caesaris' (c. 22, 2, etc.).

l. 18. **legerat.** The difficulty of supposing that one of the persons present could have denied having heard what had been formally recited gives some ground to a correction, 'iecerat' (cp. c. 66, 2); which would imply no more than that he had talked of it, and perhaps quoted bits of it.

l. 20. **arguentibus ad perniciem,** 'witnesses supporting the charge to his destruction.'

Haterii Agrippae: see on 1. 77, 3. As consul-designate, he gave

the first vote (cp. c. 22, 6) for the punishment of death ('ultimum supplicium'); which was beyond the proper penalty even for 'maiestas' (see c. 50, 6).

l. 22. c. 50. **M'. Lepidus**: see 1. 13, 2, etc. This speech illustrates the discretion ('temperamentum') ascribed to him in 4. 20, 4.

l. 23. **nefaria.** The poem must have been complimentary; but to speak of Drusus as already dead was ominous and therefore shocking.

l. 25. **carcer . . . laqueus.** These are parts of the same punishment; the dungeon being that in which criminals are strangled (cp. c. 51, 1). Two well-known cells, usually called the Mamertine Prison, or the 'Prison of St. Peter,' are to be seen near the Capitol; the lower dungeon being apparently the 'Tullianum,' in which the Catilinarian conspirators were executed (see Sall. Cat. 55). The vaulted room over it, though of later date, is also an ancient prison.

l. 26. **sin flagitia,** etc. The apodosis does not begin till 'est locus,' and the protasis is to be taken as if it had been divided into two parts, as 'sin flagitia quidem . . . , suppliciis vero,' etc.

l. 30. **impune**: cp. 1. 72, 3.

l. 31. **saepe audivi**: cp. c. 16, 3; 2. 31, 4.

l. 33. **in integro,** sc. 'statu,' 'still untouched.'

qui neque, etc., 'whose survival will not be in its issue dangerous to the state, nor his execution exemplary;' he is too insignificant for either result.

P. 153, l. 2. **fluxa,** mere 'fugitive pieces,' that would soon be forgotten.

l. 4. **animis . . . adrepit**: cp. 1. 74, 2.

l. 5. **quod perinde,** etc., 'this I propose, as if he were guilty (cp. 2. 50, 1) under the law of treason;' which law did not strictly include his offence, being limited to what touched the princeps or his parent (see 4. 34, 3).

l. 7. c. 51. **Rubellius Blandus**: see c. 23, 2.

l. 10. **ambagibus,** 'circumlocution.'

l. 14. **decimum.** This lost word is supplied from the account in Suetonius and Dio.

ad aerarium. The registration of a decree of the senate in the 'aerarium' was essential to its validity.

l. 18. c. 52. **C. Sulpicius D. Haterius.** The former was the elder brother of the emperor Galba; the latter is the Haterius Agrippa of c. 49, 4, etc.

inturbidus . . . annus. The construction is here strained for conciseness of expression; 'annus' stands in apposition to 'consules,' and the ablatives follow as if the words had been 'turbidus non externis rebus, sed . . . severitate.' 'Inturbidus' is a wholly Tacitean word.

l. 19. **suspecta severitate**, 'through an apprehension of strict measures:' cp. 'suspectas . . . insidias,' 4. 70, 7.

l. 21. **alia sumptuum**. On the genit., see Introd. p. 13. § 20 b.

l. 23. **paratus**, 'the sumptuousness:' cp. c. 55, 3; also 'lauto cenare paratu,' Juv. 14. 13.

princeps antiquae parsimoniae. So Vespasian is described as 'antiquo cultu victuque' (c. 55, 5).

l. 24. **adverteret**: cp. 2. 32, 5.

l. 25. **aediles**. It was part of their duty to regulate the market.

l. 26. **utensilium**, 'articles of food' (cp. 1. 70, 6). It is said that at that time three mullets had once sold for 30,000 H. S.

l. 27. **sisti posse**, sc. 'rem,' 'that no stop could be put to it.'

l. 30. **in rem publicam**, probably not used as in c. 24, 2, but nearly with the force of a simple dat. (cp. 1. 76, 5, etc.).

l. 31. **obtineret**, potential subjunct., 'what he could not maintain:' varied in the next line to 'retentum' (used concisely for 'si retentum esset').

P. 154, l. 4. **c. 53. e republica**: cp. 2. 33, 2.

l. 6. **denotantibus**, 'marking,' by looking at them and making them conspicuous. 'Ora et metum,' a hendiadys for 'metum in ore.'

l. 11. **impares**, 'unable to cope with:' so 'impar curis,' 14. 54, 3, etc.

l. 16. **sibi quisque . . . trahant**, 'men appropriate, each to himself.' Cp. 'in se trahere,' 1. 2, 1.

unius invidia. All social vices were ascribed to the laxity of the princeps, who alone could check them. The construction is nearly that of abl. abs.

l. 18. **recidere**, used with a pregnant force for 'recidendo reducere.'

villarum . . . spatia: see the complaint of Horace (Od. 2. 15 and 17).

l. 19. **familiarum**, etc., 'the host of slaves of all nations.' The vast numbers of the slave population are again mentioned in 4. 27, 3. Pliny mentions a person who at his death, in B.C. 8, left 4116 slaves.

argenti et auri pondus, taken from Verg. Aen. 1. 359. The quantity of plate is alluded to in 2. 33, 2.

l. 21. **vestes**: cp. 2. 33, 1.

quis, best referred to 'illa . . . propria;' 'the special extravagances of women, through which,' etc. Pliny estimates that in his time the East took 100 million H. S. annually from the Romans for jewels, etc.

l. 26. **c. 54. verti**: cp. c. 36, 2; 2. 42, 4, etc.

l. 29. **coerceas**, potential subjunct.: so also 'timeas,' below.

aeger et flagrans, 'enfeebled and feverish,' i. e. full of passionate longings, but without healthy energy.

l. 30. **restinguendus**, 'to be cooled:' the metaphor of a fever is carried through the sentence.

libidinibus, attracted for 'libidines quibus.'

l. 33. **contemptu**; their recent date precluding the excuse of oblivion.

P. 155, l. 1. **si prohibita . . . transcenderis**, 'if you have passed the forbidden line;' apparently a pregnant construction for 'transcenderis leges et prohibita feceris.'

l. 4. **unius urbis cives.** In legal status they were still and always such; but the reference is apparently to the time before the great foreign conquests ('externae victoriae'), when all Romans were really such in home and nationality, and lived together as citizens. The sentence 'ne . . . dominantibus' does not appear to distinguish another period, but to add another reason: not only had men then more self-control, but also fewer temptations; as foreign luxuries were comparatively unknown.

l. 8. **in levi**, a common Greek construction: cp. *οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ* (Theocr. 22. 213).

quod Italia . . . indiget. The chief dependence of Rome for its corn supply was on Egypt: see 2. 59, 4, etc.

l. 10. **volvitur** = 'agitatur.'

l. 11. **subvenerint**, used in two senses, of supplying the deficiency of arable land, and the needs of the master and the slave.

l. 15. **nos pudor**, etc. He associates himself with the senators, implying that they should be restrained not only (as a rich knight or freedman might be) by surfeit of luxury, but by self-respect.

l. 18. **exonerari**, 'is being removed:' so 'multitudinem . . . exoneratum,' H. 5. 2, 3.

l. 20. **me quoque non**, 'that neither am I.' 'Quoque non,' like 'nec' and 'neque' (see note on 2. 34, 7), has sometimes the force of 'ne . . . quidem.'

l. 24. **c. 55. remissa aedilibus talis cura**, 'the aediles were excused (cp. 1. 8, 6) from such a duty,' i.e. from that of an energetic enforcement of the laws; and luxury in feasting ran riot without check till the death of Nero.

l. 25. **arma** = 'bellum,' more strictly 'the time when arms were taken up:' so 'post arma . . . Vindicis,' 15. 74, 2.

l. 26. **adeptus**, used with genit. by Tacitus alone; the construction being analogous to that of 'potior,' and apparently taken from that of *τυγχάνειν*.

l. 27. **exerciti . . . exolevere**, 'were practised, but have since gone gradually out of fashion.' Two distinct statements are here condensed for brevity: cp. 'perempti . . . retinent,' 4. 35, 3.

l. 29. **prolabebantur**, a metaphor (cp. 1. 31, 3; 2. 10, 2; 4. 18,

2, etc.) from persons slipping their footing and unable to recover themselves. 'Olim' is perhaps best taken with 'prolabebantur,' but could also be taken closely with 'dites.'

l. 29. **etiam tum,** in the earlier part of the period, opposed to 'postquam.'

l. 30. **regna,** the dependent kingdoms, and especially their kings, those of Judaea, Thrace, etc.

coli, sc. 'ab iis.'

l. 31. **paratu**: cp. c. 52, 2.

l. 33. **ceteri,** 'the survivors.'

P. 156, l. 1. **municipiis et coloniis,** used specially by Tacitus to designate the Italian towns (1. 79, 1, etc.), and thus in contrast to 'provinciis.' The Spanish Cornelii Balbi, and other provincial families, had for some time been senators; and Claudius extended this privilege to the Aedui and other tribes of 'Gallia comata.'

l. 5. **antiquo . . . cultu,** cp. c. 52, 2. Vespasian was a 'novus homo' from Reate, and his parsimony is proverbial.

l. 7. **nisi forte.** The thought is that, if these causes do not seem sufficient, the real explanation of the change may be that there are cycles of moral vicissitude in the world, as of the seasons; and that a frugal may succeed to an extravagant, as an extravagant to a frugal age, by the mere order of destiny.

l. 10. **nostra . . . aetas,** the age of Trajan.

multa laudis et artium, 'many examples of noble character and talent' (cp. 'bonae artes,' 2. 73, 4, etc.).

l. 11. **in maiores certamina.** Most editors have inserted 'in,' though the construction 'certamen in aliquem' is not known; the nearest parallels being 'ambitio in posteros' (6. 46, 4) and other uses of 'in' with the sense of 'in relation to' (4. 11, 2, etc.). Several other alterations of the MS. text have been suggested.

certamina ex honesto, sc. 'orta,' 'honourable rivalries.'

l. 13. **c. 56. ingruentis,** i. e. those who would have seized the opportunity, if strict enforcement of sumptuary laws had been enjoined.

l. 15. **summi fastigii vocabulum,** 'title of supremacy:' 'fastigium' is thus used with 'summum' in 13. 17, 5, etc., and without it in c. 29, 2, etc. The formal title was borne by Augustus from B. C. 23; but the power in some form had been held by him much earlier and also by his uncle.

l. 16. **ne regis,** etc.: cp. 1. 9, 6.

l. 18. **Agrippam.** He was associated with Augustus in this power from B. C. 18 till his death (B. C. 12).

l. 19. **Tiberium Neronem.** He was first associated in this power B. C. 6 1, but was during the whole of that time absent in Rhodes. From

the time of his adoption (A. D. 4) he was associated in it during the remainder of the life of Augustus (see I. 3, 3).

ne successor, etc. The princeps had not formally the right to choose a successor, but could guide the choice of the senate in favour of the person thus associated with himself.

l. 21. **modestiae**, 'his unambitious character' (cp. I. 11, 1).

l. 22. **summae rei admovit**, 'brought him near to the chief place,' by thus pointing him out as successor.

l. 25. **in falsum**: cp. Introd. p. 17, § 38.

l. 27. **aetatem**. He was apparently about thirty-five years old.

l. 28. **per octo annos**, dating from his suppression of the Pannonian mutiny in A. D. 14. On the war settled by him, see 2. 44; 62; on his triumph, c. 19, 1; on his consulships, I. 55, 1; c. 31, 1.

l. 32. c. 57. **Praeceperant**, 'had anticipated' (cp. I. 55, 1; 2. 35, 3); here explained by 'animis.' They had guessed his proposal and studied their compliments.

P. 157, l. 2. **M. Silanus**: see on c. 24, 5. His 'sententia' seems to have dropped unheeded.

l. 6. **Q. Haterius**: see I. 13, 4; 2. 33, 1; 4. 61, 1.

aureis litteris, 'on a golden tablet.'

l. 7. **deridiculo**, explained by 'senex.' He was so old that he could have nothing to get by his servility but the disgrace of it: cp. 'sola . . . gloria usurum,' 4. 39, 5.

l. 9. c. 58. **Blaeso**: cp. c. 35, 1; 72, 6.

l. 11. **frustra**: cp. I. 30, 3.

l. 13. **duxissent**, sc. 'sorte.'

l. 14. **non**, sc. 'id,' supplied from 'de eo,' and explained from 'id vetitum' above.

l. 16. **quinque et septuaginta**. Between the suicide of Merula at the return of Marius and Cinna (B. C. 87) and the restoration of the office by Augustus (B. C. 11), seventy-five complete years had intervened.

l. 22. **summum pontificum**, etc. Since Augustus had assumed that office on the death of Lepidus (B. C. 12), it continued to be regularly held by the princeps.

l. 24. **obnoxium**, 'liable:' cp. c. 34, 5.

l. 27. c. 59. **notione** = 'cognitione.' The answer is given in c. 71, 3.

l. 29. **insolentiam**, explained by 'aureasque literas:' cp. 'carmina et devotiones,' 2. 69, 5.

l. 31. **ad modestiam flexae**, 'with studied expressions of deference:' cp. 'flexo in maestitiam ore,' c. 16, 3.

pro superbissimis. They took offence at his addressing them by letter at all, instead of in person.

l. 32. **huc decidisse cuncta,** sc. 'dicebant:' 'things had come to such a pass.'

P. 158, l. 1. **gentile . . . solum,** 'his fatherland:' cp. 'gentile imperium' (6. 32, 5), etc.

bellum scilicet: 'esse' is supplied, as in 2. 4, 4.

diverso terrarum, 'distant regions of the world:' cp. 'diversas terras,' 1. 17, 5, etc.

l. 2. **litora . . . peragrantem,** stating the fact, to refute the ironical supposition.

cum maxime; 'just now' (cp. 4. 27, 2, etc.). The phrase is apparently shortened for 'nunc cum maxime,' a modification of 'nunc ut cum maxime' (cp. Ter. Hec. 1. 2, 40), which means 'now especially.'

l. 3. **imbui,** 'was being instructed.'

l. 4. **gravaretur,** 'might be weary of:' cp. 'spem ac metum iuxta gravatus,' 5. 8, 3.

l. 8. c. 60. **postulata provinciarum.** The decision of all such questions belonged anciently to the senate. Those brought before them here, and in 4. 14, 1–3, concern senatorial provinces only, as Asia, Cyprus, and Crete.

l. 10. **asyla.** These were in the precincts of many temples, such as those specified in these chapters, and gave refuge ('subsidium'), as the context shows, to runaway slaves, debtors, and criminals, similar to that afforded by the 'imago Caesaris' at Rome (c. 36, 1).

l. 14. **flagitia . . . protegentis,** 'protecting human outrage no less than religious observances.' 'Hominum' is subjective, and 'deum' objective genitive.

l. 15. **iura,** here alone used for 'charters' or 'documents.'

l. 19. **beneficia,** 'privileges granted by.'

l. 21. **libero,** abl. abs. (cp. Introd. p. 12, § 19 a), 'it being open to them.'

l. 23. c. 61. **Ephesii.** The asylum claimed by them was attached to their famous temple of Artemis.

l. 24. **Delo,** abl. of place: cp. 'saxo Seripho' (4. 21, 5), and other instances (Introd. p. 11, § 14) of its free use by Tacitus.

l. 25. **Ortygiam.** The same name ('quail-land') appears as another name of Delos (Verg. Aen. 3. 124, etc.), also as that of the island forming the acropolis of Syracuse.

l. 26. **tum etiam,** 'at the day on which they were speaking, answering to 'nunc' in oratio recta.

l. 28. **post interfectos Cyclopas.** The legend makes him slay them for having forged the thunderbolts with which Zeus had slain Asklepios (Eur. Alc. 3–8).

l. 30. **insederant:** the MS. has 'insiderant': cp. 16. 27, 1.

l. 31. **cum Lydia poteretur.** He is generally represented as having been there the slave of Omphale (Soph. Trach. 248, etc.).

caerimoniam, 'sanctity,' a sense restricted to the singular (cp. 4. 64, 5, etc.).

l. 32. **dicione,** abl. of time: cp. 'triumviratu' (c. 28, 3), etc.

P. 159, l. 1. c. 62. **Magnetes,** the people of Magnesia on the Maeander, distinct from 'Magnesia a Sipylo' (2. 47, 4). It was the first city to join Rome after the defeat of Antiochus (B. C. 190), and the only city in Asia which held out for Rome against Mithridates (B. C. 88).

l. 3. **decoravere,** 'honoured by the grant.'

l. 4. **Leucophrynae,** named from Leucophrys, an older town on the site of Magnesia.

Aphrodisienses, etc. Aphrodisias and Stratoniceia are in Caria. The language is concise even to ambiguousness, as the decree of the dictator refers to the former, that of Augustus to the latter city.

l. 7. **Parthorum inruptionem,** that led by Q. Labienus in B. C. 40.

l. 8. **sed,** marking a return from a digression, as in 1. 74, 3, etc.

l. 10. **altius . . . exposuere,** 'made out a case with deeper foundation' (more remote date): 'altius' has this force in c. 25, 3. Hierocaesarea is in Lydia.

l. 11. **rege Cyro** = 'regnante Cyro:' cp. 'principe Augusto,' c. 71, 3.

l. 12. **Perpennae, Isaurici.** The former was the conqueror and captor of Aristonicus of Pergamum in B. C. 130, the latter was proconsul of Asia in B. C. 46.

l. 13. **duobus milibus passuum,** i.e. a radius of that distance round it.

l. 14. **tribus de delubris,** sc. 'exposuere.' The prep. appears to have been lost in the first syllable of 'delubris.'

l. 15. **quorum,** etc. Some obscurity here results from the attempt to combine concisely the mention of the locality of the three temples (Paphos, Amathus, Salamis), the worship to which they were dedicated, and the names of their founders.

auctor, 'founder:' so 'auctorem . . . Ptolemaeum,' H. 4. 84, 6.

l. 17. **Teucer:** cp. Hor. Od. 1. 7, 21, foll.

posuissent, 'had founded.' The subjunct. appears to be used because this forms part of the statement of the Cyprians.

l. 18. **c. 63. quorum,** 'such things:' the word refers to the whole matter.

l. 19. **studiis,** partialities of certain senators to particular cities.

l. 20. **si,** best taken as depending on 'perspecto,' with the sense of 'whether' (cp. 1. 4^8, 1).

involveretur, 'should be fraudulently concealed in the claim.'

l. 22. **Pergamum,** in Mysia, the capital of the dominion bequeathed by Attalus to Rome, forming the original province of Asia.

l. 25. **Stratonicidi.** This epithet appears to be the same as that of Ἀφροδίτη Στρατεία or Νικηφόρος; whence the Roman 'Venus Victrix.'

Tenios. Tenos, like the other Cyclades, belonged to the province of Asia.

l. 27. **propiora, sc.** 'referre,' 'made a claim of more modern date.' Sardes had suffered greatly from an earthquake (2. 47. 3).

id, sc. 'ius asyli:' 'esse' is supplied with 'donum.'

l. 28. **Milesios.** Their territory included a very famous temple and oracle of Apollo at Didyma or Branchidae.

Dareo, probably the most famous of the name, the father of Xerxes.

cultus . . . venerandi, 'their worship consisted in the honouring;' defining genit., as in 1. 76, 3, etc.

l. 29. **Dianam aut Apollinem;** i.e. the one worshipped Diana, the other, Apollo: cp. 'perfidia aut fide' (1. 55, 2), etc.

petere, sc. 'ius asyli.'

l. 30. **simulacro divi Augusti.** On the 'imago principis,' cp. c. 36, 1.

l. 31. **honore,** 'expressions of respect:' cp. 'honora oratione,' 1. 10, 7.

modus; new asyla were not to be set up, and the limits of those existing were to be strictly defined.

l. 32. **aera,** etc., 'tablets to consecrate the record (of such right as had been proved) and to prevent ('neu' = 'et ne') their falling into rivalry (by future extensions of sanctuary) under colour of religion.'

P. 160, l. 2. c. 64. reditus. He had been absent more than a year (c. 31, 1).

l. 3. **sive,** supplied also with 'sincera.' Tacitus indicates a preference for the latter alternative, by suggesting a probable reason for it ('neque enim,' etc.).

l. 4. **theatro Marcelli,** a theatre of which remains still exist, between the Capitol and the Tiber, dedicated by Augustus in B.C. 11, in memory of the young Marcellus, his nephew.

l. 6. **inferius maiestate;** cp. c. 3, 1.

l. 7. **abdidisse,** 'stored in memory.' On this trait in his character, see 1. 7, 11, 69, 7, etc.

l. 8. **supplicia** = 'supplicationes,' as in Plautus, Sallust, and Livy.

ludi magni, 'votivi circenses,' an extraordinary celebration of the great games held usually in September.

l. 9. **pontifices,** etc. These, with the augurs, the 'quindecimviri sacris faciundis' (who had charge of the Sibylline books), and the 'septemviri epulones' (who presided at the 'epulum Iovis'), constituted the great priestly colleges; the 'flamines' (c. 58, 1, etc.) being individual priests of particular deities.

simul, used as a prep., as in 4. 55, 3; 'simul his' (Hor. Sat. 1. 10, 86), etc.; after the analogy of ἅμα.

l. 10. **sodalibus Augustalibus:** see 1. 54, 1.

L. Apronius: see 1. 56, 1, etc.

l. 12. **distincto,** etc., 'distinguishing the legitimate functions of the priesthoods, and going back (cp. c. 24, 2) for precedents.' These are explained by 'neque enim,' etc., as showing that the 'fetiales,' who presided over ceremonies of war and treaties, had never ranked with the great priestly colleges.

l. 13. **ideo Augustales, etc.,** added to meet the objection that neither were they among the old great 'collegia.'

l. 16. c. 65. **exsequi,** 'to set forth in detail:' so in 4. 4, 6, etc.

l. 17. **notabili dedecore,** best taken as abl. of quality; 'notabili' being made to answer to 'insignes' rather than depend on it.

quod, explained by the following sentence, as in 4. 3, 6.

munus annalium, 'the office of history:' 'annales' has this general sense in 4. 32, 1, etc. 'Quod' is explained by the following clause, as in 4. 4, 6.

l. 19. **posteritate et infamia,** hendiadys, 'posthumous infamy.'

l. 20. **infecta,** 'poisoned;' more usually with abl., as in 2. 85, 5, etc.

l. 23. **pedarii senatores,** those of the lower rank, who had not filled a curule office. It would appear here that they were not altogether precluded from speaking; nevertheless, they were not generally asked their 'sententia,' but gave their vote by swelling the ranks on a division ('pedibus ibant in sententiam').

l. 27. **qui . . . nollet,** 'though he did not wish for;' a rare concessive use of the relative.

proiectae, 'abject:' cp. 1. 42, 4.

l. 29. c. 66. **ab indecoris ad infesta,** 'from self-degradation to persecution,' i.e. to delations; by fastening an imaginary charge of 'maiestas' on a person indicted for other offences.

l. 31. **Scaurus:** cp. 1. 13, 4: further account of Otho and Niger is given below.

P. 161, l. 1. **iaciens:** cp. 'veteres Persarum . . . terminos . . . iaciebat,' 6. 31, 2; where, as here, the verb has the force of 'iactare.'

L. Cottam, etc. Cotta was accused of 'repetundae' by the younger Scipio Africanus in B.C. 130; Galba of cruelty and treachery in Lusitania by Cato in B.C. 149; Rutilius of 'ambitus' by Scaurus, the famous 'princeps senatus,' in B.C. 116.

l. 3. **videlicet,** often thus used ironically by Cicero, etc.

l. 4. **ille Scaurus.** Sallust represents this person as full of vices, though skilled in concealing them; and as having undoubtedly taken bribes from Jugurtha.

l. 6. **litterarium ludum**, 'an elementary school.'

l. 7. **ausis**: cp. 2. 39, 3.

propolluebat. Many alternative readings have been proposed for this word. Tacitus has elsewhere (6. 25, 1) coined 'provixisse' ('continued to live'), and must here, if the text is sound, have coined a compound of 'polluo,' in the sense of 'was yet further defiling.'

l. 8. **copiosum**, 'richly endowed:' cp. 'copiosa vita,' 13. 43, 7.

l. 16. **c. 67. teneri**: cp. c. 13, 2 (and note there); here used with genit. after the analogy of verbs of accusing, condemning, etc.: cp. 'pecuniae captae accersebat,' Sall. Jug. 32, 1.

l. 20. **proprio in motu**, 'in fear for his own person,' not merely as an advocate for another.

exercitam, 'trained:' cp. c. 20, 2; 4. 11, 2, etc.

l. 23. **eludere**: cp. c. 34, 13.

ne frustra quaesivisset, sc. 'Tiberius;' lest he should be irritated if his questions failed to elicit anything.

l. 25. **actor publicus**: cp. 2. 30, 3.

l. 26. **iuvaret periclitantem**, repeated from c. 12, 9.

subdebantur: cp. 1. 6, 6.

l. 28. **ausis**: the participle is here alone used passively; but such use appears in the subst. 'ausum' (c. 66, 4, etc.), and the verb is used passively in poets (Verg. Aen. 9. 320, etc.), Livy, etc.

l. 29. **invidiam**, 'reproach:' so in 4. 52, 3; and so coupled with 'preces' in 4. 53, 1.

l. 30. **c. 68. excusatius**, 'with more justification.'

l. 31. **sub exemplo**, 'by putting forward an example:' cp. 4. 11, 5.

libellos, not used here of the indictment (as in 2. 29, 3, etc.), but of the letter from the prince to the senate on the case ('epistulae,' c. 44, 3, etc.).

Voleso Messalla. He is said (cir. A.D. 12) to have beheaded three hundred in one day, to have gazed proudly on the carnage, and boasted of it as a 'res regia.'

P. 162, l. 3. Gyarum, in the Cyclades (see c. 69, 8; 4. 30, 2), spoken of by Juvenal (1. 73; 10. 70, etc.) as a common and typical place of exile.

Cn. Lentulus: see 1. 27, 1; 4. 29, 1; 44, 1.

l. 4. **separanda**, to be taken out of the confiscation always implied in 'interdictio aqua et igni.'

Atia, a correction for the MS. 'alia.' If his mother was an Atia, she would be entitled to respect as belonging to the same family with the mother of Augustus (Introd. p. 32).

l. 6. **c. 69. Cornelius Dolabella**: see c. 47, 4, etc.

longius sequitur, 'pursues further the strain of flattery:' 'sequi'

is thus used in 1. 49, 6, of falling in with and stimulating a prevalent feeling.

l. 9. **a legibus.** The use of the prep. is suited to the personification.

l. 12. **vulgabantur,** indic., of a matter of fact: cp. 1. 10, 1, etc.

l. 15. **sua scientia,** etc., 'to bring all cases within the scope of his own knowledge.'

l. 16. **ambitione aliena,** i. e. the intrigues of those who wished to supplant a rival candidate for a province.

l. 19. **placita:** cp. 2. 66, 3.

l. 21. **imperio** = 'vi principis' (c. 12, 4).

l. 22. **popularitas,** 'the effort to please:' cp. 'favorabili oratione,' 2. 36, 5. See the remarks on another act of magnanimity in Tiberius (4. 31, 1).

l. 23. **prudens moderandi,** 'thoughtful to enforce moderation.' Other instances of such action in respect of sentences occur in 2. 50, 4; 3. 18, 1, etc.

l. 25. **sine cultu hominum.** In 4. 30, 2, it is called destitute of water.

l. 26. **quondam.** His senatorial rank was a thing of the past; its loss being implied in sentence of exile.

Cythnum, another of the Cyclades, larger than Gyarus, and containing a town.

l. 27. **priscae sanctimoniae virginem.** She was 'virgo Vestalis maxima.'

l. 28. **in hanc sententiam facta discessio,** i. e. 'this was assented to without discussion,' without asking the several 'sententiae;' the feeling of the house being shown by the number ranging themselves on the side of the proposer (see notes on c. 23, 2, 3; 65, 2).

l. 30. **c. 70. Cyrenenses.** Cordus was proconsul of Crete (c. 38, 1); with which province was also held the territory of Cyrene, answering to the western half of modern Tripoli.

l. 33. **promiscum,** etc., i. e. had melted it down into plate. From the sanctity of these images (c. 36, 1), it resulted that any act implying their desecration was treasonable (see 1. 73, 2; 74, 4).

P. 163, l. 1. **vetuit,** by exercise of his tribunician power (cp. 4. 30, 1, etc.).

aspernante, 'protesting:' cp. 4. 30, 2, etc.

Ateio Capitone: see on c. 75, 1.

l. 2. **non enim.** The verb of speaking, introducing the oratio obliqua, is to be supplied, as in 2. 28, 2; 4. 70, 5, etc.

l. 3. **impune,** predicate, as in 1. 72, 3, etc.

sane, concessive, 'he might be, if he pleased,' etc.

l. 4. **ne largiretur,** 'he should not make him a present of his wrongs

done to the state,' i.e. should not stretch his generosity to forgiving these.

l. 5. **ut erant**, etc., 'his real thought rather than his words.'

l. 7. **egregium publicum.** The analogy of 'bonum,' 'malum,' 'optimum,' 'pessimum publicum' suggests that 'egregium' is here the substantive. The words have been taken to mean 'his distinction in the state,' as a consular and leading senator, contrasted with the 'accomplishments of his private life' (cp. 1. 13, 1; 4. 6, 2), i.e. his juristic learning: or (on the analogy of the expressions quoted above) 'the honour of the state,' disgraced by baseness in so eminent a citizen.

l. 9. **c. 71. religio**, here 'a religious difficulty,' or question: cp. below ('de religionibus').

l. 10. **pro valetudine Augustae**: cp. c. 64, 1.

l. 12. **nullum . . . erat.** A temple so designated is known to have existed earlier in Rome, but may have perished at the time here spoken of.

l. 13. **Antium.** Fortune was especially worshipped in this town (Hor. Od. 1. 35, 1), and may have had more than one temple there. The famous one is called that of the 'Fortunae Antiates.'

l. 14. **caerimonias**, 'forms of worship:' cp. c. 60, 3, etc.

l. 15. **iuris . . . Romani esse**, inserted to show that the gift might be dedicated as lawfully at Antium as at Rome.

l. 17. **dilatum nuper**: cp. c. 59, 1.

l. 19. **quotiens**, etc. This would mean that the flamen could be absent for one or two nights at discretion; but that any further absence required the permission of the chief pontiff, who could allow it only on the plea of illness, and not even on that plea at all times or more than twice a year. Some have thought that the rule could not have been so severe, and that the text requires correction; but the old ordinance given in Livy (5. 52, 13) is still more stringent ('flamini Diali noctem unam manere extra urbem nefas est').

l. 22. **in annum**: cp. the Greek construction εἰς μίαν ἡμέραν (Thuc. 6. 16, 6).

principe Augusto, abl. abs.: cp. 'rege Cyro' (c. 62, 4).

l. 26. **attinuisset**: cp. c. 36, 4, etc.

sors Asiae: see c. 32, 2; 58, 1.

l. 28. c. 72. **Lepidus.** It would appear that Marcus Lepidus (see on c. 32, 2) is meant; and perhaps the praenomen should be inserted.

basilicam Pauli. This basilica, adjoining the Forum, was begun by the grandfather of this Lepidus, and dedicated by his son Paulus Aemilius Lepidus, the husband of Cornelia (Prop. 5. 11), in B.C. 34.

l. 30. **etiam tum.** In the time of Tacitus himself all such acts were those of the princeps: cp. 'adhuc,' 2. 33, 2.

publica, towards the state.

l. 31. **Taurum.** Statilius Taurus, one of the most trusted officers of Augustus, built an amphitheatre in the Campus Martius, which was dedicated in B.C. 30.

Philippum. L. Marcius Philippus, son of the stepfather of Augustus, built a temple of Hercules and a 'porticus' in the Campus Martius.

Balbum. L. Cornelius Balbus, a consular of Spanish extraction, built a theatre in the Campus Martius in B.C. 13.

hostiles exuvias; so 'bellorum exuviae,' Juv. 10. 133: here for the general's prize-money ('manubiae').

l. 32. **ornatum ad urbis.** On the anastrophe, see Introd. p. 19, § 49.

l. 33. **pecuniae modicus.** On the genit., cp. 2. 73, 3. M. Lepidus is mentioned as of small means in c. 32, 2; cp. 2. 48, 1.

P. 164, l. 1. **recoluit**, 'renewed:' so used of restoring statues in H. 3. 7, 3.

l. 2. **haustum.** This verb is used to express destruction by fire in Liv. 5. 7, 3 ('incendium . . . hausit'), and elsewhere in Tacitus.

extructurum, sc. 'se:' cp. Introd. p. 9, § 3.

l. 4. **tamquam**, 'on the ground (or plea) that.' Here, as in 4. 31, 7, etc., it is not necessarily implied that the pretext was false.

l. 5. **intra . . . stetisset**, 'had not gone beyond:' cp. c. 75, 4; 4. 6, 7, etc.

l. 6. **apud theatrum** = 'in theatro:' cp. 1. 5, 5, and note there.

l. 7. **Blaesum**: see c. 35, 1, etc.

l. 11. **c. 73. Nam Tacfarinas**, etc. The account in these chapters is a condensed summary of events from c. 32.

l. 13. **ultro**, i.e. not only did not submit, but had the effrontery to demand, etc.

l. 14. **inexplicabile**, 'endless,' a metaphor from an insoluble knot.

l. 16. **desertor**: cp. 2. 52, 2.

hostium more, 'as a belligerent.'

l. 17. **Spartaco.** During his rising (B.C. 73–71) he defeated two consuls, a proconsul, and two praetors. The Sertorian war lasted through a year of this period, the Mithridatic war through all of it.

l. 21. **fastigio**: cp. c. 29, 2; 56, 2, etc.

l. 23. **noxa**, 'punishment;' a sense frequent in Livy, etc.

l. 25. **haud dissimili modo**: so Hannibal is said 'suis artibus peti' (Liv. 22. 16, 5).

l. 27. **c. 74. furandi melior.** On the genit., see Introd. p. 13, § 21 c.

l. 28. **incursarèt**, etc., subjunct. of frequent occurrence, as also 'inclinarent' (§ 3): cp. Introd. p. 16, § 34.

l. 29. **incessus**, best taken to mean 'directions of advance;' some such sense as 'deliguntur' being supplied with it by zeugma from 'parantur.'

l. 30. **qua praedatio**, etc., sc. 'erant,' 'where he plundered the people of Leptis (Leptis minor, between Thapsus and Hadrumetum), and had his places of retreat (4. 47, 2, etc.) among the Garamantes' (a people occupying an interior tract, probably in and west of Fezzan).

l. 31. **Cirtensium**, Cirta, the chief town of Numidia (Liv. 30. 12, 2; Sall. Jug. 21, 2, etc) or New Africa. Constantine subsequently called it after himself; which name it still bears as the capital of the French province.

l. 32. **traherentur**, 'should be plundered:' cp. 'pagos trahebat,' H. 2. 61, 2.

Blaesus filius: see 1. 19, 4.

P. 165, l. 7. veteris provinciae, Africa proper, as distinct from Numidia.

ut in limine belli, 'as being close to the seat of war:' cp. 1. 47, 5, and note there.

l. 8. **solitudinum gnaros**, 'acquainted with the deserts:' so 'regionum gnari,' H. 2. 56, 2, etc.

mutantem mapalia; adapted, like 'positis mapalibus' (4. 25, 1), from terms used of a camp. Such moveable 'mapalia' are described by Vergil (G. 3. 331–334), and answer to the goatskin tents, in shape like an inverted boat, of the Bedoweens. In Sall. Jug. 18, 8, they are called 'aedificia.'

l. 10. **properantius**, etc., 'more quickly than was expedient for the people of the province:' for this use of 'ex,' cp. 1. 58, 2, etc.

l. 12. **id quoque**, 'this besides the triumphalia' (c. 72. 6).

ut imperator . . . salutaretur: see 1. 9, 2; 2. 18, 2, and notes. The title was also given by the senate (Cic. Phil. 14. 4. 11). On the distinction between it and the 'praenomen imperatoris,' see Introd. p. 24.

l. 14. **conclamabantur**, apparently shortened for such an expression as that of Caesar (B. C. 2. 26, 1), 'exercitus conclamatione imperator appellatur.'

l. 18. **c. 75. Asinius Saloninus**, a son of Asinius Gallus and of Vipsania, the former wife of Tiberius (cp. 1. 12, 6).

l. 20. **progener**, as husband to a daughter of Germanicus.

de quo memoravi: cp. c. 70, 2; also 1. 76, 3; 79, 1.

l. 21. **studiis civilibus**, here used specially of juristic knowledge.

l. 23. **Labeonem Antistium**. This person and Capito were founders of two schools of jurisprudence, afterwards called those of the Sabinians and Proculians.

l. 26. **incorrupta libertate**, abl. of quality. On the 'obsequium' of Capito, cp. c. 70, 2.

l. 28. intra stetit: cp. c. 72, 5.

l. 30. **c. 76. Iunia.** Servilia, half sister of Cato, and, by her first marriage, mother of M. Brutus, afterwards married D. Iunius Silanus, by whom she had this daughter, known also as Tertia or Tertulla.

l. 31. **genita**, here used loosely of a niece by blood.

l. 32. **multo . . . rumore fuit**, 'was one of much notoriety:' on this extension of the abl. of quality to denote a circumstance, cp. Introd. p. 12, § 17.

l. 33. **in magnis opibus**, 'in a case of (cp. 2. 41, 5) great wealth:' cp. 'in magna copia,' Sall. Cat. 2, 9.

P. 166, l. 2. quod civiliter acceptum, 'which Tiberius took as a citizen should' (cp. 4. 21, 2, etc.), i. e. did not exert his imperial power by prohibiting her funeral honours.

l. 3. **cohonestaretur**, 'should receive general honour.'

l. 7. **non visebantur.** It is not known whether their images were prohibited to be shown (cp. 2. 32, 2), or only withdrawn as a matter of prudence. They were certainly preserved in households (4. 35, 3, etc.).

BOOK IV.

P. 167, l. 1. c. 1. nonus. He had completed eight years of rule in the preceding August: see note on 1. 9, 1.

l. 3. **turbare**, absol., as in 3. 47, 2, etc.

l. 4. **saevire**, to show increased vindictiveness in prosecutions.

l. 6. **supra**: see 1. 24, 3; 69, 7; 3. 29, 5; 35, 2; 72, 5.

l. 7. **facinore**, the murder of Drusus (c. 3, 2, foll.). For similar uses of 'ire' with a supine, cp. c. 66, 2; 73, 6, etc.

l. 8. **Vulsiniis**, in Etruria, now Bolsena. Juvenal (10. 74) hence calls him 'Tuscus.'

Seio Strabone. He had been 'praefectus praetorio' (1. 7, 3) with his son as colleague (1. 24, 3), but was now praefect of Egypt.

l. 9. **Gaium Caesarem**: cp. 1. 3, 2, etc.

l. 10. **Apicio.** An epicure of this name is mentioned often in literature: see Juv. 4. 23 (with Mayor's note), and other references in Dict. of Biog.

l. 11. **veno dedisse**, *ἅπ. εἰρ.*, analogous to the construction 'dono dare.'

l. 12. **intectum**; cp. 2. 59, 2: not elsewhere used in the sense of 'unguarded,' but answering to a common use of 'tectus.'

l. 13. **isdem artibus**, i. e. 'sollertia.' Tiberius showed himself to be really his master in cunning by the craft with which he planned his fall (see Appendix, p. 210).

l. 14. **pari exitio**, referring to the crimes caused by him during his ascendancy (described in this Book), and the reign of terror following on his death (see Appendix l. l.).

l. 16. **obtegens**: cp. 1. 76, 2 (only here with genit.): Seianus is supplied as subject.

iuxta, 'were side by side:' the subject is again changed.

l. 17. **summa**, probably neut. pl., as 'summa adeptus' (11. 26, 5).

l. 22. c. 2. **cohortes** These were nine in number (c. 5. 5). Augustus had kept most of them in neighbouring towns, retaining in Rome only three, not quartered together. One was always on guard at the Palatium, or with the princeps elsewhere.

una in castra. The site, close outside the Servian 'agger,' is clearly marked by the square excrescence in the present walls.

l. 24. **in ceteros**, answering to the dat. above: cp. c. 59, 3; 1. 76, 5, etc.

l. 25. **maiore auxilio pariter subveniri**, a condensed expression for maius auxilium foret si pariter (cp. 1. 32, 7) subvenissent:' cp. 'maiore praemio vulgaretur,' 3. 49, 1.

l. 26. **severius acturos**, 'they would live (cp. 1. 68, 1, etc.) under more discipline.'

l. 27. **procul**. The camp was close outside the old walls and practically within the city (see above); but 'procul' is used of any interval (Verg. Ecl. 6. 16; Hor. Sat. 2. 6, 105); and to live in camp at all was a separation.

inrepere . . . animos: see Introd. p. 10, § 5 c.

l. 29. **senatorio ambitu**, 'from courting senators.' The 'ambitus' is explained by the defining genit. (cp. 3. 65, 6, etc.) 'ornandi.'

P. 168, l. 4. **per theatra**: cp. 3. 72, 5.

interque principia legionum: see notes on 1. 39, 7; 61, 3.

l. 6. c. 3. **filius**, Drusus.

nepotes adulti: cp. c. 4, 1; 3. 29, 1. There were also three younger boys, Gaius (see 1. 41, 3, etc.), and the twin sons of Drusus (2. 84).

l. 7. **et quia**, etc. This is best taken by supposing the opposition to lie between 'simul corripere' and 'intervalla scelerum,' not between 'vis' and 'dolus;' 'vi corripere' being simply to assassinate, or bring to a violent end, whether by poison or other means.

l. 9. **tamen**, though it involved delay. He elected to proceed by degrees, and to make Drusus the first victim. The plot is further explained by 'igitur' (§ 3); the intermediate words being parenthetical.

l. 10. **commotior**: cp. 1. 33, 6, etc., and, on the character of Drusus, 1. 29, 4; 76, 5.

l. 11. **contra tendentis**, 'when he offered resistance.'

l. 12. **promptissimum**: cp. 2. 2, 6; 5, 4.

l. 13. **Liviam**: cp. 2. 43, 7, etc.

l. 15. **ut**, 'as if.'

adulterio, probably abl. instr.; 'pellexit' being equivalent to 'sibi devinxit,' as in 1. 2, 1, etc.

l. 17. **abnuerit**, potential subjunctive.

consortium. Apparently to avoid a double genit., the mention of the thing hoped for stands for that of the hope itself, as that of the thing thought of for that of the thought in 1. 41, 3, etc.

l. 18. **avunculus**, 'great-uncle' (cp. 2. 43, 6). Tiberius also was her 'patruus' as well as 'socer.'

l. 20. **municipali**, of Vulsinii (c. 1, 3); i.e. a 'novus homo' at Rome.

praesentibus, 'already assured,' by the position of Drusus as heir.

l. 22. **frequens secretis**, 'constantly with her alone' (cp. 3. 8, 4, etc.); 'secretis' may be taken as a dat. ('frequens' = 'qui saepe aderat'), or a kind of local abl.

l. 24. **suspectaretur** = 'suspectus haberetur.' On the verb, see on 1. 5, 1.

l. 27. **c. 4. Drusus**; the second son (see Introd. p. 32).

l. 28. **quaeque ... repetita**: see 3. 29, 1.

l. 33. **saepe simulatum**: see 1. 47, 5; 3. 47, 3.

P. 169, l. 1. refertur, 'is repeated:' cp. 1. 26, 4.

veteranorum, i.e. of those who had a right to expect dismissal (see on 1. 36, 4; 78, 2), and whose places would have to be supplied by recruits.

l. 2. **dilectibus**, by conscription among those provincials who were Roman citizens. Even the legions were now mainly recruited from provincial sources (see 3. 40, 5).

l. 6. **quod**, explained by 'quae,' etc.: cp. 3. 65, 1.

exsequendum, 'to be given in detail:' cp. 'exsequi sententias,' 3. 65, 1.

l. 8. **angustius**, as compared with the time of Trajan: see 2. 61, 2, and note there.

l. 10. **c. 5. rostratae naves**, 'a fleet of warships:' cp. 'ora navium ... rostrata,' Hor. Epod. 4, 18.

praesidebant, with accus., as in 3. 39, 1.

l. 11. **oppidum Foriuliense**, Frejus: cp. 2. 63, 6.

l. 14. **octo**, four in each German army: see 1. 31, 3; 37, 4.

Hispaniae. The two Caesarian provinces are meant, that of Hispania Tarraconensis or Citerior (cp. c. 45, 1), and Lusitania. These

comprised all Spain and Portugal except the senatorial province of Hispania Ulterior (see c. 13, 2).

l. 14. **recens perdomitae.** The final submission of the Cantabrians had taken place in B.C. 19 (Hor. Od. 3. 8, 21).

l. 15. **Mauros,** the kingdom of Mauretania, corresponding to the modern Morocco and the western half of Algeria.

Iuba rex, son of the king defeated at Thapsus in B.C. 46. He had lately been succeeded by his son Ptolemaeus (c. 23, 2).

l. 16. **duas,** usually only one (2. 52, 5); the second being a temporary reinforcement for the war with Tacfarinas (c. 23, 2; 3. 9, 1).

l. 17. **initio ab Suriae.** On the position of the prep., see Introd. p. 20, § 49.

l. 18. **ingenti sinu,** 'the vast sweep of territory.' The eastern frontier of the empire was formed partly by the Euphrates, partly by the desert to the east of Syria and Palestine.

l. 19. **Hibero.** This people dwelt in the upper part of the basin of the Cyrus (Kour), answering to the western part of modern Georgia.

Albano: cp. 2. 68, 1.

aliis. Some are known in Cilicia (2. 78. 3), Armenia Minor, and part of Pontus. Even the large kingdom of Armenia (2. 3, 2, etc.) received protection from Rome against Parthia.

l. 21. **Rhoemetalces,** etc.: cp. c. 47; 2. 67; 3. 38.

l. 22. **duae in Pannonia,** usually three (1. 16, 2); the third being here reckoned in Africa (see above).

l. 23. **Delmatiam,** the proper designation of the tract on the eastern coast of the Adriatic: this province and Pannonia are often included under the name of Illyricum (cp. 1. 46, 1; 2. 44, 1, etc.).

l. 26. **tres urbanae, novem praetoriae;** cp. Introd. p. 30: the urban cohorts were under the command of the 'praefectus urbis.' The seven cohorts of 'vigiles,' who were firemen and police rather than soldiers, are omitted; as are also the 'cohortes civium Romanorum' (1. 8, 3) in the provinces.

Etruria, etc., abl. of place: see Introd. p. 11, § 14.

l. 27. **vetere Latio,** etc. These expressions include the Italian towns which had the 'ius Latii' before B.C. 90 (when they acquired the 'civitas'), and the Roman colonies in Italy, as distinct from those afterwards planted in the provinces.

l. 29. **secus,** sc. 'quam in legionibus.' For an estimate of the whole force under arms, see Introd. p. 30.

l. 30. **fuit.** This tense views the previous enumeration as already closed.

ex usu temporis, 'in accordance with the needs of the time:' cp. 'ex vestris utilitatibus,' 1. 58, 2.

l. 33. c. 6. **partes**, 'departments.'

habitae, 'were administered:' cp. 'opes . . . modeste habitae,' c. 44, 1.

P. 170, l. 2. **iam primum**, 'to begin:' so in Verg. Aen. 8. 190, etc. On the functions of the senate at that time, see Introd. p. 26. The 'privata negotia' would be chiefly the judicial proceedings, so prominent throughout this narrative.

l. 4. **cohibebat ipse**: see 3. 47, 5; 59, 2, etc.

l. 6. **inlustres domi artes**: cp. 3. 70, 4; here used in contrast to 'militiae,' to include oratorical or literary, as well as juristic accomplishments.

l. 7. **potiores**, 'preferable' (cp. 'potiora instituta,' 16. 22, 7); i.e. that those chosen were really the best that could have been found.

sua . . . species, 'their prestige.' The magistrates retained outwardly most of their ancient functions (see Introd. p. 25).

l. 8. **leges . . . bono in usu**, 'the enforcement of laws was salutary,' neither too lax nor too strict (alluding to such discretion as is mentioned in 3. 28, 6; 55, 1). The law of 'maiestas' is noted as having been from the first severely strained (see 1. 72, 3, etc.).

l. 9. **frumenta**, 'the corn tribute.'

l. 10. **pecuniae vectigales**, indirect taxes, such as 'portoria,' 'scriptura,' etc.

l. 11. **agitabantur**, 'were managed:' so 'agitare faenus,' 6. 16, 3.

res suas, the collection of 'res fisci,' by his own procurators in all provinces, senatorial (c. 15, 3) as well as Caesarian (see Introd. pp. 28, 29).

l. 12. **ex fama**, with 'mandabat.' He often appointed, on consideration of their reputation, those personally unknown to him.

l. 13. **tenebantur prorsus sine modo**. This was also often the case with his 'legati:' cp. 1. 80, 2.

l. 14. **acri . . . annona**: for similar metaphors, see note on 2. 87, 1.

l. 17. **ne provinciae**, etc. On the general condition of the provinces, see Introd. p. 29.

l. 21. **modesta servitia**, 'his slaves not insolent.'

intra paucos libertos domus, 'his domestic staff limited to (cp. 3. 72, 5) a few freedmen.' The allusion is to such responsible posts as those of secretary, accountant, etc. Sometimes subsequently such offices were filled by knights; or the freedmen (who under Claudius practically governed the state) received equestrian or senatorial distinctions.

l. 22. **forum et ius**, sc. 'exercebantur.' His suits were prosecuted in the ordinary courts.

l. 23. c. 7. **via**: cp. 'morum via,' 1. 54, 3.

horridus, 'repulsive:' he is called 'acerbus' in 1. 75, 6.

l. 26. **notescere**: cp. 1. 73, 3.

l. 27. **occultus odii**. On this genit., see Introd., p. 13, § 21 c.

incolumi, 'during the life of:' cp. 3. 56, 5, etc.

l. 28. **quantum superesse**, 'how slight a further step to be styled colleague,' as Tiberius had been to Augustus (1. 3, 3): he had already reached the first and most difficult point in being called 'adiutor;' this once gained, there would be always ready tools to aid his further rise.

l. 31. **sponte**, 'at the sole will of;' with genit., as in 2. 59, 3. On the camp, see c. 2, 1.

effigiem: cp. 3. 72, 5.

l. 32. **communes . . . nepotes**, referring to the project of marriage mentioned in 3. 29, 5.

l. 33. **precandam . . . modestiam**, sc. 'ei.' The sense is 'we can no longer resist him, and can only pray that he may use his power forbearingly.'

P. 171, l. 2. **corrupta uxore**, c. 3, 3. On 'secreta,' cp. c. 3, 5.

l. 6. c. 8. **octo post annos**; on the information of Apicata (see c. 11, 4; Appendix, p. 210), after the fall of Seianus in A. D. 31.

l. 7. **nullo metu an ut**, etc. For such variations, see Introd. p. 21, § 54 h.

l. 9. **sede vulgari**, among the mass of senators, instead of on their curule chairs upon a platform.

l. 10. **per speciem**. Their mourning was probably insincere (c. 12, 1).

l. 12. **ignarum**='ignotum,' as in 3. 13, 1, etc.

posse argui: the clause 'quod . . . senatus' is the subject. 'That the fact of his having faced the eyes of the senate, etc, could be blamed.'

l. 16. **e complexu reipublicae**, i. e. from energetic public action: cp. 'negotia pro solaciis accipiens,' c. 13, 1.

miseratusque, etc. Augusta was eighty years old, he himself sixty-five; the 'nepotes' appear especially to mean his real grandchildren (see 2. 84, 1).

l. 18. **liberi**. The context shows that Nero and Drusus alone are meant, who were about eighteen and fifteen years old.

l. 20. **deductos**, 'escorted.'

l. 23. **ne**='ut non:' cp. the force of 'neque' in 2. 34, 7, etc.

l. 24. **attolleret**, 'exalt them in the state' (cp. 3. 72, 6, etc.). Tiberius could hardly hope himself to live to superintend their public career.

sibique et posteris conformaret, 'train them to be helpful to himself (in government) and to those who should come after.' 'Sibi' might also mean 'so as to be worthy of himself.'

l. 29. **bona malaque**, used similarly of qualities in 6. 51, 6 ('inter

bona malaque mixtus'). The sense is that any good and evil in persons born in so exalted a position must affect the state, and that this training is therefore of extreme importance.

l. 31. **c. 9. gloria,** 'pride' (cp. 1. 43, 4), at the position which they were to fill towards the young princes.

l. 32. **impleverat.** What would have happened is described vividly as if it actually had happened (cp. Introd. p. 16, § 32).

l. 33. **de reddenda . . . utque:** cp. **c.** 8, 2.

P. 172, l. 2. quae in Germanicum: see 2. 83.

l. 3. **ut . . . amat . . . adulatio,** sc. 'pleraque addere.'

l. 4. **origo,** 'founder:' thus Verg. (Aen. 12. 166) calls Aeneas 'Romanae stirpis origo.' His son Iulus was regarded as the founder of Alba, from whose royal race (Liv. 1. 3; Verg. Aen. 6. 760, foll.) the mother of Romulus sprang.

l. 6. **Sabina nobilitas,** opposed to 'Iuliae gentis.' Livy (2. 16) makes Attus Clausus a Sabine of Regillus, who migrated to Rome with his followers and founded the Claudian gens and tribe, cir. B.C. 504.

l. 12. **c. 10. vinxisse,** 'bound to his service:' usually 'devincire' (as c. 1, 3).

l. 13. **erat,** a statement of fact, in the indic., interposed in the oratio obliqua: cp. 'inierat' and 'struxerat' (§ 3).

l. 14. **conposita,** 'were agreed upon:' cp. 'componunt,' 3. 40, 3.

l. 15. **ut verteret,** sc. 'rem:' the nature of the change is shown in the context.

l. 19. **iuveniliter** = *νεανικῶς*, **i. e.** 'eagerly.'

l. 22. **c. 11. super id quod** = 'praeterquam quod:' the story, besides resting on very slender authority, can easily be shown to be in itself improbable.

l. 24. **inaudito:** cp. 2. 77, 5.

l. 26. **ministrum,** the slave who handed him the cup: cp. 3. 14, 3.

auctorem, 'the instigator:' cp. 'illum auctorem sceleris, hunc ministrum vocant' (H. 4. 27, 3). He would not assume Drusus to be so, but try to find who was, by examining the slave.

l. 28. **flagitii conpertum:** cp. 1. 3, 4.

l. 29. **omnium,** 'of all kinds.'

l. 32. **erga,** 'in relation to:' cp. 2. 2, 5; 76, 3; **c.** 74, 5, etc.

alioqui = 'praeterea.' Besides the absurdity of the story, there is direct evidence against it.

l. 33. **Apicatam Seiani,** sc. 'uxorem:' cp. 'Hectoris Andromache,' Verg. Aen. 3. 319. On the disclosure made by Apicata, see on c. 8, 1.

P. 173, l. 3. intenderent, either 'were aiming at him,' or 'were exaggerating' (as in 2. 57, 3, etc.).

l. 4. **sub exemplo:** cp. 3. 68, 1.

l. 5. **cura nostra**, 'my work:' cp. 3. 24, 4.

l. 6. **in miraculum corruptis**: cp. 'in maius credita' (3. 44, 1), etc., 'nihil compositum miraculi causa,' 11. 27.

l. 9. **c. 12. habitum**, 'the bearing:' cp. 1. 10, 7, etc.

l. 11. **mater . . . male tegens**, 'the fact that their mother ill concealed her hope;' a rare extension to the present of the construction so common with a past participle (Introd. p. 16, § 36).

l. 14. **ferox scelerum**, 'daring in crime:' the nearest parallel is 'animi ferox' (1. 32, 5).

prima provenerant, 'his first essay had succeeded' (cp. 1. 19, 4).

l. 19. **vetus . . . odium**: see 1. 33, 6; 2. 43, 5, etc.

conscientiam: cp. 1. 39, 3, etc.

exagitare, 'to stimulate:' so 'plebem exagitare,' Sall. Cat. 38. 1.

l. 21. **apud Caesarem**, taken with 'arguerent.'

atque haec. The pronoun should be referred to Livia, and taken as the subject of 'efficiebat.' She was by natural descent granddaughter of Augusta, whose 'nurus' (='pronurus') was Agrippina.

l. 22. **callidis criminatoribus**, an extension of the abl. inst. (Introd. p. 12, § 15).

l. 25. **potentiae**, best taken as genit. of respect: cp. 2. 75, 1 (Introd. p. 13, § 21 c).

l. 26. **inliciebantur**, with infinitive, as in 2. 37, 2.

l. 27. **perstimulare**, *ἅπ. εἰρ.*: for other new words so formed, see Introd. p. 18, § 43 c.

l. 28. **c. 13. ius civium**, the judicial proceedings mentioned below.

l. 30. **Cibryaticae**. Cibrya, noted by Horace (Ep. 1. 6, 33) as a place of trade, was in south-western Phrygia.

l. 31. **Aegiensi**. Aegium (Vostitza), on the Corinthian gulf, had been the chief city of ancient Achaia.

l. 32. **subveniretur**, etc.: cp. the similar remissions granted in 2. 47.

Vibius Serenus, one of the accusers of Libo Drusus (2. 30, 1): see further below (c. 28–30).

l. 33. **ulterioris Hispaniae**, the senatorial province otherwise known as Hispania Baetica, having for its chief town Corduba (Cordova), and corresponding to Andalusia and other parts of southern Spain.

de vi publica. This crime consisted in the execution, torture, scourging, or incarceration in a public prison of any Roman citizen who had appealed to Caesar. The proper penalty at this time was 'interdictio aqua et igni,' which did not always involve deportation to a particular island (see on 3. 23, 2); this additional severity being here explained by the character of Serenus.

P. 174, l. 1. **Amorgum**, one of the Cyclades, not among the worst islands used as places of exile (c. 30, 2).

l. 2. **tamquam ... iuvisset**, 'on the ground of having assisted:' cp. 3. 72, 5.

l. 4. **pater Sempronius**: see 1. 53, 4.

l. 7. **sordidas**, i.e. 'petty,' and thus mean by comparison with the large dealings of knights in the corn trade.

l. 8. **magnae fortunae**, 'belonging to high rank' (cp. 2. 73, 3, etc.).

Aelius Lamia, probably the same who was a friend of Horace, died in honour in A.D. 33. The date of his proconsulate of Africa is uncertain: on that of Apronius, see 3. 21, 1.

l. 12. c. 14. **is quoque**, like the preceding year (3. 60–63).

l. 13. **Iunonis**. The Heraeum at Samos is mentioned by Herodotus (2. 148; 3. 60) as the greatest temple known to him.

l. 16. **qua tempestate** = 'quo tempore,' a sense mostly found in old writers, poets, Sallust, and Livy.

l. 18. **ex loco**, 'connected with the place.'

l. 19. **cum ... trucidarentur**, in the year B.C. 88.

l. 20. **variis ... questibus**: see the accounts of former riots in 1. 54, 3; 77, 1. The praetors were the presiding magistrates at the chief public games. For 'in publicum,' cp. 2. 48, 1.

l. 23. **Oscum quondam ludicrum**. The pantomimes had originated in the old Oscan 'fabulae Atellanae.'

l. 27. c. 15. **alterum ex geminis**: see 2. 84, 1.

l. 30. **unusque e senatoribus**, 'the only senator.' On the retirement of Tiberius to Rhodes, see 1. 4, 4, etc.

l. 31. **censorium funus**; by some taken as equivalent to 'funus publicum' (see 3. 48, 1), as the contracts for such would probably in republican times have been let by censors; by others explained to mean a public funeral of the highest kind, such as would have been given to one who had been censor. In neither case is the term used strictly, as there were then no censors.

l. 33. **etiam tum**, in contrast to the later prevalence of private trials before the princeps (see note on 3. 10, 3), especially in such a case as that of a charge against his own procurator.

procurator Asiae: see on c. 6, 5. In a senatorial province, this officer was agent only to the emperor's private revenues: public money being collected by the quaestor.

P. 175, l. 1. **causam dixerit**, sc. 'apud eos,' supplied from 'apud quos.'

l. 3. **servitia**. The force of 'familiares' extends also to this word: 'his own slaves and his own property.'

praetoris, 'of a governor;' used here as a general term, though the proconsul of Asia was always of consular rank.

l. 6. **priore anno**: cp. 3. 66–69.

l. 8. **permissum statuere.** This permission to erect it was general: the city in which it was to be placed was yet to be determined (c. 55; 56).

egitque Nero grates. Youths of the imperial family often thus acted as 'patroni' of provinces.

l. 12. **principe viro:** cp. 3. 6, 5; 34, 11.

l. 14. **c. 16. Servi Maluginensis:** see 3. 58; 71.

l. 18. **neque adesse,** etc. The whole passage gives two reasons for the scarcity of candidates; the first being that few were born of 'confarreati parentes;' the second, that the loss of 'patria potestas' was objected to ('et quod exiret,' etc.). The parenthetical sentence contains two explanations of the first cause, namely, natural negligence of a cumbrous ceremony, and deliberate avoidance of its accompanying impediments.

l. 20. **penes,** usually with accus. of the person, but here of a quality belonging to persons.

l. 21. **ipsius caerimoniae difficultates.** One of these was the difficulty of dissolving such a marriage, which interfered with the great freedom of divorce then usual among Romans.

l. 22. **exiret e iure patrio.** On the 'patria potestas' generally, see Ramsay, Manual of Roman Antiquities, p. 247. Besides the 'flamen Dialis,' all women who became Vestal virgins passed out of it. This might make parents unwilling that their children should be chosen to such offices, and the persons chosen might lose the fruits of a profitable adoption.

l. 23. **quaeque . . . conveniret.** 'Conventio in manum,' whereby the husband acquired a power over his wife analogous to the 'patria potestas,' was essential, not to all marriage, but to the older forms of it, such as 'confarreatio' (see Ramsay, p. 251); and the flamen was obliged to have a wife, and to have been married to her by this ceremony.

l. 27. **sacrorum causa.** The wife of the flamen had public duties as priestess of Juno. By the fiction here proposed she was to be so far treated as if she had complied with the full ceremonies of marriage as to be enabled to perform these duties legally; but was to be otherwise as other women, who in those days usually were married 'sine conventione,' and thereby gained considerable independence.

l. 31. **caerimonias,** 'the duties of a religious office.'

l. 32. **sestertium viciens.** Half that sum had been given on a former occasion to a rejected candidate (2. 86, 2).

P. 176, l. 2. **c. 17. pro incolumitate principis vota.** These were offered annually on Jan. 3.

l. 4. **caritate . . . adulatione,** causal abl.: cp. Introd. p. 12, § 18.

l. 5. **anceps,** 'perilous:' cp. c. 59, 1; 73, 4; 1. 36, 3. 'Si' and 'ubi' are similarly interchanged in 1. 44, 8.

l. 10. **quamquam abnuerent,** i. e. though they took the whole blame

on themselves, they were not severely rebuked. The mildness of the censure is explained by the sentence 'etenim . . . erant.'

l. 15. **partium**, partitive genit., 'members of the party.'

l. 20. c. 18. **Silio et quod**, etc., 'it was also fatal to Silius that,' etc. The construction is equivalent to 'quod plus formidinis dispergebatur, quanto maiore mole ('with a greater crash') procideret ingentis exercitus moderator,' etc. The seven years of his command in Upper Germany are from A. D. 14 (1. 31, 2) to 21, the year of his victory over Sacrovir (3. 42–46). He received 'triumphalia' in A. D. 14 (1. 72, 1).

l. 25. **suum militem . . . duravisse**: see 1. 31, 3; 37, 4; 40, 1.

l. 26. **mansurum**, sc. 'fuisse:' see Introd. p. 14, § 25.

l. 28. **destrui . . . fortunam suam**, 'his supremacy was lowered:' 'fortuna' by itself has this force in 6. 6, 3 ('Tiberium non fortuna . . . protegebat').

inparem, 'unable to discharge such an obligation.'

l. 30. **ubi multum antevenere**, 'when they have been far in excess' (beyond power of requital). The word seems not elsewhere thus used.

l. 32. c. 19. **caritate Agrippinae**, 'affection for Agrippina;' the usual meaning (e. g. c. 17, 1): for the other use, cp. c. 11, 3.

l. 33. **corripi**: cp. 2. 28, 4, etc.

dilato ad tempus, 'being deferred for the moment:' his arrest took place four years later (c. 68, 1).

inmissus, 'was set on;' a metaphor from 'inmittere equum,' etc.; cp. c. 54, 1, etc.: so 'Tarquinium a Cicerone inmissum,' Sall. Cat. 48, 8.

P. 177, l. 1. **paternas**. The elder Varro had disputed with Silius the right of commanding against Sacrovir (3. 43, 4).

l. 6. **proprium**, 'characteristic.' His answer had implied an allusion to the old form of decree 'darent operam consules ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet,' whereby, in an extreme crisis, such as that of the Catilinarian conspiracy (Sall. Cat. 29. 2), a kind of martial law was proclaimed.

l. 8. **adseveratione**: cp. 2. 31, 4.

quasi . . . aut Varro consul, etc., 'as if Varro were in any true sense a consul, or that state of things a republic' (instead of being merely so in name).

l. 10. **non occultante**, etc., 'showing that he knew who his real enemy was.' The allusion may be to Seianus (§ 1) or Tiberius (c. 18, 2).

l. 11. **conscientia . . . dissimulatus**, 'that the doings of Sacrovir had been long ignored through complicity in his rebellion:' cp. 'conscientia rebellionis,' 12. 31, 6, etc.; 'Acilia . . . dissimulata,' 15. 71, 12; 'consulatus dissimulatus,' H. 2. 71, 3.

l. 12. **uxor Sosia**, sc. 'parum coercita.'

l. 13. **haerebant, sc.** 'Silius et Sosia,' 'could not clear themselves of the charges.' The case ('criminibus') is abl., as in 1. 65, 4, etc.

l. 14. **cuncta . . . exercita,** 'the whole case was conducted on the charge of treason:' cp. 'iudicium . . . exercuit,' 1. 44, 3.

l. 15. **praevertit,** 'anticipated:' so 'praevertit tristia leto,' Lucan 8. 30.

l. 16. **c. 20. tamen,** i. e. though it was not customary to confiscate, where the accused committed suicide before condemnation (see 6. 29, 2).

stipendiariis, 'the provincial tribute payers.'

l. 17. **liberalitas:** cp. 2. 37, 2.

l. 18. **singillatim,** i. e. gifts made at different times.

ea prima, etc. Cp. the character given to him in 3. 18, 2.

l. 20. **pellitur.** This, and 'concessit' below, are used to express the sentences advocated by these senators: see note on 3. 37, 3.

Asinii Galli: cp. 1. 12, 2, etc.; and, on M'. Lepidus, 1. 13, 2, etc.

partem, 'half' (cp. 3. 17, 8). Probably the property of Sosia alone is here meant; that of Silius having been already confiscated.

l. 22. **quartam,** sc. 'partem.' We gather that the informer was entitled to this as a legal minimum, which the senate could increase.

l. 24. **gravem . . . comperior,** imitated from Sallust: see Introd. p. 22, § 58, 1.

l. 25. **ab,** 'in an opposite direction to.'

neque tamen, etc., 'nor yet (though apt to take an independent course) was he wanting in the matter of self-control (cp. 'ministrorum egens,' 12. 66, 2; 'temperamento,' 3. 12, 1), as is shown by his having prospered in the unvarying respect and favour of Tiberius.' The discretion of Lepidus may be illustrated from 1. 13, 2; 3. 35, 2; 50.

l. 27. **unde,** etc.: the success of such a man leads me to think that character, as well as destiny, has to do with the regard or aversion of princes.

l. 28. **sorte nascendi,** 'the lot of our nativity,' i. e. the star under which we were born (cp. c. 58, 2, etc.).

l. 30. **abruptam contumaciam,** 'perilous defiance.' Such a sense of 'abruptus' appears in H. 1. 48, 7 ('in abruptum tractus'), and is a figure from the sense occurring in 2. 55, 3. It thus answers to 'periculis' below, as 'obsequium' to 'ambitione' ('seeking favour').

l. 31. **Messalinus Cotta:** cp. 2. 32, 2, etc.; and see the debate on the conduct of governors' wives in the provinces (3. 33; 34).

P. 178, l. 1. **proinde quam.** The MS. text can here be defended by Plaut. Truc. 2. 3, 3 ('si proinde amentur mulieres, diu quam lavant'), and the analogy of 'proinde ac' (Lucr. 3. 1035, 1053); but most editors here read 'perinde' (cp. 2. 1, 2).

l. 3. **c. 21. ferocі,** in a good sense, as in 1. 2, 1, etc.

l. 4. **ut rettuli:** see 2. 34.

l. 7. **civiliter habuit**: cp. 'civile,' as used (2. 34, 5) of what Tiberius then did; also 'civiliter acceptum,' 3. 76, 3.

l. 9. **memoria valebat**: see 1. 7, 11.

l. 11. **gladio accinctum.** It was unlawful for civilians to carry arms anywhere within the city.

l. 12. **atrocius vero**, 'too atrocious to be true;' a kind of 'comparatio compendiaria,' = 'atrocius quam quod verum esse solet:' see note on 3. 3, 1.

l. 13. **receptus . . . peractus**; the indictment was lodged, but the trial not carried out.

l. 14. **Cassio Severo**, banished in the later years of Augustus (1. 72, 4).

l. 15. **orandi validus.** On the genit., see Introd. p. 13, § 21 c.

l. 16. **iurati senatus**: cp. 1. 74, 5; c. 31, 5.

l. 18. **advertit**, 'drew on himself:' cp. the use with personal accus. (1, 41, 1, etc.).

interdicto, etc.: cp. 3. 23, 2. It is to be inferred that his former sentence was one of mere 'relegatio,' without loss of property.

saxo Seripho, local abl. (Introd. p. 11, § 14). On Seriphos, see 2. 85, 4.

l. 21. **c. 22. in praeceps, i. e.** from the upper story, by the stairs or window.

l. 22. **L. Apronio**: cp. 1. 56, 1, etc.

l. 23. **tamquam ipse**, sc. 'fuisset:' see Introd. p. 14, § 25.

l. 24. **sumpsisset**: cp. 3. 7, 2.

l. 25. **impulsae**, 'thrown by violence.'

l. 26. **datisque iudicibus.** This is thought to mean that the senate appointed a committee of its own members to try the case.

l. 28. **quasi principis monitu**, sc. 'factum.'

l. 30. **accusata iniecisse.** For the construction, see Introd. p. 15, § 29.

l. 32. **c. 23. longo.** It had lasted on and off for seven years (see 2. 52, 1).

P. 179, l. 2. **tres**, those of Camillus (2. 52, 9), Apronius, and Blaesus (3. 72, 6). The second of these had not apparently received 'triumphalia' for this service (3. 21), but previously (1. 72, 1).

l. 3. **raptabat**, 'was ravaging:' so 'trahere,' 3. 74, 2; 'rapiunt . . . Pergama,' Verg. Aen. 2. 374.

l. 4. **Iubae**: see c. 5, 3.

l. 5. **libertos**, etc., hendiadys, for 'libertorum regiorum servilia imperia:' for 'bello mutaverant,' cp. 3. 44, 4.

l. 6. **Garamantum**: see 3. 74, 2.

l. 7. **non ut**, etc., 'not so far as to take the field:' changed in the next clause to abl. abs.

l. 7. quae, etc., 'which as coming from afar, were reported with exaggeration:' 'in maius audiri' appears to be ἄπ. εἰρ, but analogous to many other phrases (Introd. p. 17, § 38).

l. 10. a Blaeso: see 3. 73; 74.

l. 11. nonam legionem, the legion temporarily transferred from Pannonia (see on c. 5, 4).

l. 12. P. Dolabella: see 3. 47, 4, etc.

l. 15. c. 24. decedere, sc. 'Romanos,' supplied from 'rem Romanam.'

l. 16. reliquos, those remaining in the country.

circumveniri, 'cut off,' 'destroyed:' so in 1. 13, 3, etc.

l. 17. incubuissent, 'made an effort:' cp. 'si simul incubuissent,' c. 73, 3.

Thubuscum. This town must be in Numidia, but its situation is uncertain.

l. 21. Musulamiorum: see 2. 52, 2.

l. 24. non gravi nec uno, 'not by a concentrated attack, nor one in heavy marching order.'

l. 29. c. 25. semirutum, 'half-levelled:' cp. 1. 61, 3.

Auzea, apparently the place afterwards known as 'colonia Auziensis,' on or near the site of the modern Aumale.

l. 30. positis mapalibus: cp. 3. 74, 5.

l. 33. aderant . . . in barbaros, pregnant constr., like 'in contionem nuntiatum est' (c. 56, 2), etc.

P. 180, l. 1. praepeditis, 'shackled,' or 'hobbled.'

l. 2. ab Romanis, 'on the side of the Romans;' analogous to 'a tergo,' 'a fronte,' etc.

l. 3. dispositae, 'stationed at intervals.'

provisa: cp. 2. 14, 2.

l. 5. trahi, occidi, capi, i. e. were dragged away, and then either slain or kept as captives.

l. 6. et . . . pugnae, dependent on 'memoria;' the sense being that of 'memor quotiens pugnam optasset adversum eludentes.' 'Eludere' is used, as in 3. 74, 1, for 'bellum eludere' (2. 52, 5).

l. 7. differtur, 'the word is passed:' cp. 'differri,' 3. 12, 7.

l. 10. effusis undique, 'opening out on all sides,' so as to enclose him.

l. 14. c. 26. tribuens, 'paying Seianus the compliment, that his uncle's glory should not be effaced.' On the action of Blaesus, see 3. 72-74; on the sense of 'tribuere,' cp. c. 17, 2, and the use of 'dare' in 1. 7, 10, and of 'praestare' in 3. 12, 10.

l. 16. minore exercitu: see c. 23, 2.

insignis captivos. Among them was the son of Tacfarinas (c. 25, 6).

l. 17. **deportarat**, used by zeugma with 'caedem ducis' in the sense of 'had achieved.'

l. 19. **set culpae nescia.** If this reading be correct, it must be taken to mean that the people were not cognisant of the action of their king (c. 23, 2), but feared it might be visited upon them. Other readings, giving an opposite sense, have been suggested.

l. 21. **repetitus**, 'was revived.'

l. 22. **antiqua patrum munera.** Such gifts are recorded as sent to Masinissa through Scipio (Liv. 30. 15, 11). Vergil describes somewhat similar presents (Aen. 7. 246; 11. 334).

l. 25. c. 27. **mota . . . semina**, 'the seeds already scattered.'

l. 28. **positis** = 'propositis,' 'published:' cp. 1. 7, 5.

l. 29. **longinquos**, probably best taken as 'remote,' i.e. distant from any such town as Brundisium. The alternative translation 'extensive' may derive support from the meaning of 'longinquitas' in 3. 5, 4, etc.

l. 30. **biremes**, the smaller class of war ships ('Liburnae') from the fleet at Ravenna.

l. 32. **provincia . . . calles evenerant.** Certain quaestorial 'provinciae' ('districts') existed in Italy down to the time of Claudius, who finally abolished them. One took its name from Ostia, and had important duties connected with the corn trade. Another, called 'Gallica,' comprehended north-east Italy; and there were probably at least two others. If the MS. text is correct, it is possible that the quaestorial duty in this district was connected with the rent of public pastures: many read 'Cales,' supposing that the 'provincia' was designated from that town.

l. 33. **classiariorum**, the marines (ἐπιβάται) from these ships.

coeptantem cum maxime, 'at its very outset:' cp. 3. 59, 4.

P. 181, l. 4. **multitudinem familiarum**: cp. 3. 53, 5.

inmensum, adverbial: cp. 3. 30, 2, etc.

l. 7. c. 28. **Vibius Serenus.** On the father, see 2. 30, 1; on his banishment, c. 13, 2. The son is mentioned again in c. 36, 4.

l. 10. **comparatur**, 'is matched,' a figure from the gladiatorial arena. Another reading, rather nearer to the MS. text, is 'pater orante filio: praeparatus adolescens,' etc.

l. 11. **in Galliam**, probably during the rebellion of A. D. 21 (3. 40–46), at which time Serenus would have been proconsul in Spain.

l. 12. **adnectebat**, absol., as in 2. 26, 5.

l. 17. **quandoque**, 'at some time:' cp. 1. 4, 5.

l. 19. **falso.** Some retain the MS. 'falsa,' which might be taken as a Greek accus., like 'inscripti nomina . . . flores,' Verg. Ecl. 3. 106.

proderentur, probably ironical. If 'divulged,' they would at once clear themselves, and discredit the whole charge.

l. 20. **non enim**, etc. This anticipates the objection that there might have been none to name but Cornutus.

l. 22. c. 29. **Cn. Lentulum**: see c. 44, 1; 1. 27, 1.

Seium Tuberonem: see 2. 20, 2.

l. 26. **accerserentur**. 'Arcesso' (of which this is a form) has a genit. of the charge in 2. 50, 1.

exempti, 'were freed from the charge.' Lentulus is said to have laughed at it, and even Tiberius to have protested.

ex servis quaesitum: cp. 2. 30, 3.

l. 28. **rumore**: cp. 3. 29, 5, etc.

robur, the dungeon (cp. 3. 50, 1), called by Horace (Od. 2. 13, 19) 'Italum robur.' It is said to have been originally constructed of timbers.

saxum, the Tarpeian rock: cp. 2. 32, 5.

l. 29. **parricidarum poenas**. The simplest description of these is that of Cicero (pro Rosc. Amer. 25, 70), 'insui . . . in culeum vivos atque in flumen deici.' Further horrors are added by other writers (see Juv. 8. 214, and Prof. Mayor's note there).

l. 30. **adigitur**. The infin. with this verb (as in c. 45, 3, etc.) is poetical: cp. Verg. Aen. 6. 696, etc.

l. 33. **suum tantum**, etc., 'that only his own zeal was unrewarded.' On the rewards given then to the accusers, see 2. 32, 1.

P. 182, l. 3. **tempus . . . arguens**, 'bringing various charges respecting the interval.'

etiam si, etc., 'though, through the obstinacy of the slaves, the torture had ended in failure' (see above, § 1).

l. 5. c. 30. **more maiorum**: cp. 'more prisco,' 2. 32, 5.

l. 6. **intercessit**: cp. 3. 70, 2.

l. 7. **Gyaro aut Donusa**. On the former, see 3. 68, 2. Donusa, another such island, near Naxos, is mentioned in Verg. Aen. 3. 125.

l. 9. **vitae usus**, here for the concrete 'utensilia' (1. 70, 6, etc.), 'necessaries of life.'

l. 10. **de praemiis**, etc. Cp. c. 20. 1, 3.

l. 12. **ibatur**: so 'itum in sententiam,' 3. 23, 2. The imperf. expresses what was on the point of happening (Introd. p. 15, § 32).

l. 13. **contraque . . . palam**, 'with unusual openness.'

l. 14. **in praecipiti**, 'was at the brink of a precipice.'

l. 22. c. 31. **concessit**: cp. 2. 55, 2.

gnarum, here used in one clause with a genit., and in the other with a dependent clause: cp. Introd. p. 21, § 54 h.

l. 24. **socordia**, causal abl., 'from thoughtlessness:' cp. 'socors,' c. 39, 1.

l. 26. **conpositus**, 'artificial:' so used of look and manner, 1. 7, 2, etc.

velut eluctantium verborum: genit. of quality; 'one whose words seemed to struggle for utterance.'

l. 27. **solutius**, 'with less restraint.'

l. 29. **arceretur** = 'arcendus censeretur:' cp. c. 20, 2; 3. 23, 2. This sentence would be far less severe than deportation to an island.

convictus ... cepisse: for this construction, cp. Introd. p. 15, § 29.

l. 31. **iure iurando obstringeret**. For this phrase, cp. 1. 14, 6; and for the practice of voting on oath, c. 21, 5; 1. 74, 5.

e republica: cp. 2. 33, 2, etc.

l. 32. **aspere acceptum**, 'received with indignation' by the opinion of the senators: so 'accipere aliquid mollius,' etc., 2. 30, 2; 3. 68, 1.

vertit, intrans., as in 1. 18, 3, etc.: 'turned to his credit.'

P. 183, l. 3. **tamquam**: cp. c. 13, 3.

l. 4. **ut rettuli**, 2. 27, 2.

l. 9. c. 32. **levia memoratu**, 'too slight to be mentioned.'

l. 10. **annales nostros**. It is on the strength of this passage that editors have entitled this work 'Annales;' but the stress is on 'nostros,' and 'annales' is to be taken generally, as in 3. 65, 1.

contenderit = 'comparaverit.' This use of the perf. subjunct. in expressions of prohibition is rare in the third person (Zumpt 529, note).

veteres ... res, enallage for 'res veteris populi' (1. 1, 4).

l. 11. **conposuere**: cp. 'res ... compositae,' 1. 1, 5.

l. 13. **praeverterent**, usually in dep. pass., as 2. 55, 6, etc.

l. 15. **libero egressu**. The opposition of 'in arto' would suggest that 'egressu' may either mean 'with room to expatiate' (great events giving scope to grandeur of style); or that they could escape from the record of domestic matters when they pleased (as Tacitus could not), and turn again to what was more interesting; or that the digression from foreign to domestic matters at all was free, and not forced on them by lack of the former.

in arto, 'in a restricted field.' Vergil uses 'in tenui labor' (G. 4. 6), rather with a view to the thing on which the toil is spent.

l. 17. **proferendi imperi incuriosus**. A contrast is implied to the conquests of Trajan: cp. c. 4, 6; 2. 61, 2.

l. 19. **magnarum ... rerum motus oriuntur**, 'great events are set in motion:' cp. 'ex parvis rebus saepe magnarum momenta pendent' (Liv. 27. 9, 1).

l. 21. c. 33. **delecta ex iis**, etc. Tacitus may probably allude to the ideal mixed government conceived by Cicero (de Rep. 1. 29, 45, etc.).

l. 24. **noscenda vulgi natura**, sc. 'erat:' from this 'noscendum' is to be supplied with 'quibus ... haberetur.'

l. 25. **temperanter haberetur**, 'might be discreetly controlled:' cp. 'molliter habitum,' 1. 54, 4.

l. 25. **senatusque**, etc. This sentence answers to 'cum patres pollerent' as the one before it to 'plebe valida,' and is expressed as if the former had run 'qui . . . cognoverant,' etc.

l. 26. **callidi temporum.** On the genitive, see Introd. p. 13, § 21 c.

l. 27. **neque alia**, etc., 'being a virtual monarchy,' disguised under republican forms.

l. 28. **haec**, such small traits of the princeps and senate as he relates.

in rem fuerit, 'may have been useful,' as teaching men how to shape their course under such a government.

l. 29. **prudentia**, by any real foresight of their own.

l. 30. **eventis**, 'the experiences;' so used in Cicero, etc.

ut . . . ita, 'though . . . yet:' cp. 1. 12. 1; 42, 5; 3. 43, 4.

l. 32. **varietates**, 'vicissitudes:' so 'varietates annonae,' Liv. 7. 31, 1.

exitus, 'deaths,' as in 1. 10, 2, etc.

redintegrant, 'refresh.'

P. 184, l. 1. **easdem exitu causas** = 'causas eundem exitum habentes,' i. e. always resulting in condemnation. Others read 'exitii.'

l. 2. **coniungimus**, 'string together.'

obvia, 'forcing itself upon notice.'

l. 3. **tum quod**, etc. This seems best taken as answering to 'nam situs,' etc., and giving another reason why his work will not please. Not only is its subject monotonous, but many readers will take personal offence at the mention of individuals, or of particular qualities. The expression would thus be equivalent to 'huc accedit quod.'

l. 4. **Romanasne.** Halm retains the MS. text 'Romanasve,' which seems hardly capable of the meaning here required.

l. 6. **utque**, 'and though:' cp. c. 40, 6, etc.

l. 8. **sibi obiectari**, will think the mention of another's crimes pointed at them.

l. 9. **ut . . . arguens**, 'as if censuring the opposite qualities by standing too close to them.' The same sense of shame is not felt at a picture of 'prisca virtus.'

l. 11. c. 34. **Cremutius Cordus.** According to other accounts, he was then an old man, and his history had existed in the time of Augustus, to or by whom it had been read without disapproval.

l. 13. **Romanorum ultimum**, the words used by Brutus himself at the death of Cassius.

l. 16. **accipiens**: cp. the use of 'tegens' in c. 12, 2.

l. 17. **certus**, 'resolved upon,' a Vergilian use of the word (Aen. 4. 554, 564).

l. 19. **neque haec** = 'ne haec quidem:' cp. c. 26. 2; 2. 34, 7.

in principem, sc. 'dicta arguuntur.' It appears hence that a

libel, to be strictly 'maiestas,' must have been one on Tiberius or Augusta: cp. 3. 50, 6.

l. 22. fidei, probably here 'impartiality' or 'candour.' This genit. (Introd. p. 13, § 21 c) is nowhere else found with 'praeclarus.'

l. 24. Pompeianum. On this name, see 1. 10, 1, etc.

l. 25. Scipionem, Afranium, the leaders of the Pompeian army defeated at Thapsus in B.C. 46.

l. 27. ut insignes viros, 'as one would speak of distinguished men.'

l. 28. Pollionis. He wrote a history of the civil war from B.C. 60 (Hor. Od. 2. 1, 1).

Messalla Corvinus. He had been next in command under Brutus and Cassius in the campaign of Philippi.

l. 30. perviguere, 'prospered to the end of life' (ἄπ. εἰρ.).

l. 31. libro, a treatise entitled 'Cato,' to which Caesar replied in an 'Anticato,' in two books, apparently taking the form of speeches.

quid aliud, sc. 'fecit.'

P. 185, l. 1. Bibaculi. M. Furius Bibaculus is spoken of contemptuously by Horace (Sat. 1. 10, 36; 2. 5, 41), but more highly by other writers.

l. 2. Caesarum; 'Iulii et Augusti.' Bibaculus may have libelled the latter; but the attacks of Catullus (29, 54, 57, 93) are on the former only.

l. 3. reliquere, 'left them alone.'

l. 5. adgnita, 'admitted to be true:' so 'adgnoscere crimen,' 6. 8, 2.

l. 6. c. 35. non attingo, 'I do not mention:' cp. 'attigit,' 1. 35, 1.

l. 7. etiam, without 'sed:' cp. 3. 19, 2, etc.

advertit, absol., as in 3. 52, 2, etc.

l. 8. solutum, used absolutely, in a nearly similar sense, in c, 31, 4; here for 'solutum poena,' which occurs in 14. 28, 2.

prodere, 'to publish.'

l. 9. num . . . an. The first alternative is assumed to be negatived, and the latter affirmed.

l. 12. septuagensimum, a round number for the sixty-sixth year.

l. 13. noscuntur = 'agnoscuntur' (cp. 2. 28, 1): so 'nosco crines,' etc., Verg. Aen. 6. 810.

l 18. occultati, etc., i.e. 'occultati et postea editi.' Their preservation was due to his daughter Marcia, known to us through Seneca.

l. 24. c. 36. postulandis reis tam continuus, 'so incessantly occupied with accusations,' probably abl. of respect. The same expression is used of a person in 11. 5, 1, as here of a personification.

l. 25. praefectum urbis. Such an officer was appointed in old times to represent the consuls during their absence. This survival, at the time of the annual Latin festival on the Alban mount, is distinguished,

as 'praefectura urbis ob ferias Latinas,' from the permanent and important 'praefectura urbis' created by Augustus. It was given by way of compliment to young men of rank, as here to Drusus (see c. 4, 1), and its duties were merely honorary.

l. 25. **auspicandi gratia**, 'to inaugurate his office.'

l. 27. **increpitum**. To bring a serious criminal charge before him was to mistake the real nature of the office, and was even ill-omened.

l. 28. **causa exilii**, i. e. led to his being banished by decree of the senate.

publice, i.e. to them as a state: cp. c. 43, 5; 3. 31, 7. The city was situated on the neck of a peninsula, on the south coast of the Propontis.

l. 30. **libertatem**, their rank and privileges as a 'civitas libera.' Their siege, here alluded to, took place in B. C. 74–73.

l. 31. **sua**. The Cyziceni are in thought the subject of the sentence.

P. 186, l. 1. **Vibium Serenum**, the younger of those mentioned in c. 28, 1.

l. 3. **destrictior**. The metaphor is from a sword ever drawn. We should rather speak figuratively of a person whose sword was always out, or who 'had thrown away the scabbard.'

l. 5. c. 37. **Hispania ulterior**: see on c. 13, 2.

l. 6. **exemplo Asiae**: see c. 15, 4.

l. 7. **exstrueret** = 'exstruere permitteretur:' cp. 1. 79, 1 (and note).

alioqui, 'besides,' i. e. without such special reason: cp. c. 11, 4.

l. 10. **constantiam**, etc., 'that many regretted the absence of my firmness,' i. e. that he had departed ('in ambitionem flexisse') from his usual principle ('validum spernendis honoribus') on that occasion.

l. 12. **silentii**, his tacit assent to the request from Asia.

l. 14. **apud Pergamum**: cp. c. 55, 6. It was erected in B. C. 29.

l. 15. **sisti**: cp. 2. 7, 3: for this use of the infin. with 'prohibere,' cp. 1. 69, 1.

l. 18. **ut . . . ita**; cp. c. 33, 3, etc.

l. 19. **effigie numinum**: cp. 1. 10, 5.

l. 22. c. 38. **fungi**, with accus., as in 3. 2, 1.

satis habere si: cp. 2. 37, 5.

l. 24. **ut . . . credant**, 'supposing (or 'on condition') that they believe.' We should expect the addition of 'ita' to 'tribuent.' 'Ut' is used, with somewhat similar force, in the protasis, in c. 40, 6.

l. 25. **offensionum**: cp. 3. 54, 11.

l. 29. **pro sepulchris spernuntur** = 'pro sepulchris accipiuntur et spernuntur.' This would imply, not actual desecration, but neglect. Men would pass by the temple as they pass by a tomb.

l. 31. **duint**. Such archaic forms are suited to the language of prayer.

l. 32. **quandoque** = 'quandocumque,' as in 1. 6, 2, etc.

concessero: see note on 2. 71, 2.

P. 187, l. 2. **alii . . . interpretabantur**, 'some explained this as modesty; many, as caused by self-distrust (a false kind of modesty); some, as a sign of mean-spiritedness' (that he did not even care for fame). With 'modestiam' we should expect 'tamquam;' with 'degeneris animi,' 'signum;' in the second clause 'quod' is lost sight of, and 'aspernari talem cultum' supplied.

l. 3. **degeneris animi**, apparently from Vergil, who has 'degeneres animos timor arguit' (Aen. 4. 13).

quippe, etc., showing that only a 'degener animus' could be indifferent to posthumous renown. Tacitus here, as elsewhere (1. 30, 3; 3. 55, 6, etc.), dwells on the explanation which he inclines to prefer.

l. 5. **melius**, sc. 'egisse:' cp. 1. 43, 1.

l. 6. **statim** = 'simul cum principatu.'

l. 8. **contemptu**, 'by despising;' i.e. 'while we despise.'

l. 10. c. 39. **promissum matrimonium**: see c. 3, 3.

l. 12. **eius**, sc. 'scripti,' substituted in thought for 'codicilli.'

l. 13. **iudiciis**: so used especially of tokens of favourable opinion in Agr. 43, 4 ('laetatum eum . . . honore iudicioque'), etc.

l. 18. **coniunctione Caesaris**: see 3. 29, 5; c. 7, 2.

l. 21. **ita**, 'after this example.'

l. 22. **sola necessitudinis gloria usurum**, 'who would gain only honour (cp. 3. 57, 3) by the alliance;' i.e. who had no wish to exchange his equestrian 'praefectura' for the higher rank of senator.

l. 23. **aestimare**, apparently here for 'existimare:' cp. Introd. p. 14, § 26.

l. 24. **liberorum causa**, to protect them after his death; for he himself was safe while Tiberius lived, and had no wish to survive him.

l. 25. **multum superque**, *ἄπ. εἰρ.* for 'satis superque.'

l. 28. c. 40. **tamquam ad integram consultationem**, 'as though to reflect upon it as an open question:' cp. 'integrum iudicium,' 3. 8, 2.

l. 29. **in eo stare**, 'took their stand upon (confined themselves to) the question.'

l. 31. **praecipua rerum**, 'the more important business:' cp. c. 41, 4.

ad famam derigenda, 'must be guided with a view to public opinion' (cp. 1. 7, 10), not by simple consideration of personal or family interest.

l. 32. **ideo**, etc., 'therefore (because he could not thus shift the responsibility) he did not fly to that answer which was so easy to write back,' namely, that Livia could decide for herself, or consult her more natural advisers, Antonia and Augusta.

P. 188, l. 1. **tolerandum**, 'that she should continue.'

l. 2. **simplicius acturum**, 'he would deal more frankly,' would not leave his disapprobation to be inferred from an evasive answer.

l. 5. **sic quoque**, 'even as things were at present:' cp. 'sic melius,' 1. 34, 4.

l. 6. **convelli**, probably 'were torn asunder' (cp. 1. 32, 3), no longer united as a family. Tiberius himself is spoken of in 6. 48, 3, as 'convulsus,' perhaps as 'ruined' in character, or shaken from his equilibrium (cp. c. 62, 3).

intendatur: cp. 2. 57, 3, etc.

l. 7. **falleris enim**, etc. For such changes to oratio recta, see Introd. p. 21, § 56. The whole passage ironically alludes to the assumed humility of c. 39, 5, 6.

in eodem ordine, explained by 'equite Romano' below.

l. 10. **ego ut sinam**, 'though I were to permit it:' see note on c. 38, 1.

fratrem, etc., Germanicus, the elder Drusus, and the Claudii and Drusi of former times.

l. 12. **sistere** = 'stare,' a sense almost wholly poetical (e. g. Verg. G. 1. 479; Aen. 3. 7).

l. 13. **te invitum perrumpunt**, 'break through your reserve against your will' (a figure from storming a fortress); cp. 'quietem inrumpere,' c. 67, 1.

l. 15. **amicitias**, probably for the concrete 'amicos.' Seianus was more intimate with him than Maecenas or others had been with Augustus.

non occulti ferunt, 'openly maintain.'

l. 16. **at enim** = ἀλλὰ γάρ, anticipating an objection, and referring to c. 39, 5.

l. 18. **in omnes** = 'inter omnes' (2. 67, 4), 'between all kinds of difficulties.'

immensum, adv., as in c. 27, 3, etc. Foreseeing the elevation that his son-in-law must attain, he might think of choosing one neither already too great, nor ambitious.

l. 22. **quanto validius**, etc., i. e. his ultimate decision is far more important than his previous thought. On these marriages, cp. 1. 3, 1; 53, 2.

l. 25. **quibus**, etc., 'by what ties I contemplate connecting you with me.' Seianus is called at a later time 'gener' of Tiberius, and is believed to have been betrothed either to Livia, or to her daughter Julia, the wife, and afterwards the widow of Nero (3. 29, 4).

l. 30. c. 41. **altius metuens**: cp. 1. 32, 7. He understood the irony of c. 40, 7, etc., and begs Tiberius not to suspect him or listen to idle tales against him. On 'tacita suspicionum,' see Introd. p. 13, § 20 b.

l. 32. **in domum**, taken closely with 'adsiduos,' 'streaming into his house.'

P. 189, l. 1. **huc flexit**, etc., 'turned his thoughts to inducing:' cp. 'huc intendit,' 2. 6, 1.

l. 4. **vergente senecta**, probably not dependent on 'mollitum,' but abl. abs. The meaning appears to be that of 'provecta senectus' (1. 4, 2), and stronger than 'vergens aetas' (2. 43, 1; c. 9, 5).

l. 5. **secreto**, 'seclusion;' used substantively by Vergil (G. 4. 403, etc.).

l. 10. **ac praecipua**, etc. (sc. 'ac in quibus,' etc.), 'and where the most weighty affairs (cp. c. 40, 1) come in for the chief attention,' without the constant interruptions of smaller matters.

l. 12. c. 42. **celebris ingenii**. He is known as an orator and declaimer.

cunctantem iam, 'already beginning to think of it:' cp. the use of 'dubitaverat' in c. 57, 5.

l. 14. **coram**, sc. 'ipso;' what had been said of him behind his back was repeated as evidence before his face.

l. 15. **Aemilius**: see 2. 11, 2.

l. 17. **obstrepentes**, 'interrupting him' with expressions of horror, as if such insults should not be uttered even in evidence.

l. 19. **purgaturum**: 'se' is probably to be taken as subject, and 'probra' supplied as object: cp. 3. 13, 2, etc.

l. 21. **maiestatis poenis**: he is reported to have died in exile, in the Balearic islands, in A. D. 29.

l. 23. **amplexus**, 'accepting the imputation.'

l. 24. **Lentulus Gaetulicus**, 'known as an epigrammatist, and afterwards legate of Upper Germany, where he was put to death by Gaius (Caligula) on a charge of disaffection.

l. 25. **damnasset** = 'damnandam censuisset:' cp. 3. 36, 3.

exilio. This involved loss of citizenship and property; the 'lex Iulia' (see on 2. 50, 2) only partial loss of the latter.

l. 26. **in acta . . . iuraverat**: see on 1. 72, 1.

l. 29. c. 43. **iure**, 'the right over.'

Limnatidis, situate in the place called Λίμναι, on the borders of Laconia and Messenia.

l. 30. **firmabant** = 'adfirmabant,' as in 1. 81, 1, etc.

annalium, 'history,' as in c. 34, 1; 3. 65, 1, etc.

l. 31. **Philippi**, the father of Alexander the Great. He invaded Laconia after Chaeronea (B. C. 337).

l. 32. **C. Caesaris**, the dictator.

P. 190, l. 1. **Herculis posteros**, Temenus, Kresphontes, and the sons of Aristodemus, who took possession respectively of Argos, Messenia, and Laconia.

l. 2. **cessisse**, sc. 'dicebant,' supplied from 'protulere.'

l. 3. **saxis et aere**, extension of local abl., Introd. p. 11, § 14.

l. 4. **vatum, annalium**. The asyndeton perhaps emphasizes the latter word, as in 2. 17, 5, etc.

l. 4. **vocentur**, 'are challenged to,' like 'vocare in ius,' etc.

l. 5. **locupletiores**, here used, as by Cicero, in the sense of 'more trustworthy.'

potentia, causal abl., 'because he was master,' i. e. 'arbitrarily.'

ex vero, 'from the truth of the case.'

l. 6. **Antigoni.** Antigonus Doson occupied Sparta after his victory at Sellasia (B.C. 222); Mummius had arranged the affairs of Greece after the fall of Corinth in B.C. 146.

l. 7. **permisso publice arbitrio**, 'the arbitration having been entrusted to their state' (cp. 'publice,' c. 36, 2). This award appears from an inscription to have been made by a body of 500 dicasts, in B.C. 135.

l. 9. **datum**, sc. 'iudicium,' or 'ius templi:' 'award was given in favour of the Messenians.' Inscribed boundary stones are still to be seen upon the spot.

Segestani, etc. The localities are in the north-west corner of Sicily. The city of Eryx had ceased to exist, but the temple had been of old, and still was famous.

l. 11. **de origine.** Segesta (the Acesta of Verg. Aen. 5. 718) and the temple (Id. 759) boasted Aeneas as founder; the eponymus of Eryx was also called a son of the goddess (Id. 24 and 412); whence both are connected with the ancestry of the Iulii (c. 9, 3).

l. 13. **preces**, i. e. that the will of Moschus might be allowed.

Rutilii: see 3. 66, 2: by 'legibus,' a judicial sentence is meant.

l. 14. **quo iure**, 'by which precedent,' taken with 'receptus.'

l. 17. c. 44. **Cn. Lentulus**: see 1. 27, 1; c. 29, 1. On Domitius, see below.

l. 18. **de Getis**, the Getae or Daci on the Danube, probably defeated by him in A.D. 6.

l. 21. **pater**, Cn. Domitius, who delivered up to Antonius in B.C. 40 the republican fleet under his command, and afterwards passed over to Caesar shortly before Actium.

l. 22. **avus**, L. Domitius, one of the most energetic opponents of Julius Caesar.

l. 23. **minor Antonia.** Tacitus, here and in 12. 64, 4, appears to confound the sisters; the elder Antonia having been really the wife of Domitius, the younger of Drusus. See Introd. p. 33.

l. 24. **Albim transcendit.** He had crossed the Upper Elbe from the south-west, in Bohemia, somewhat before B.C. 2.

l. 25. **quam quisquam priorum**, sc. 'penetraverat.' The construction is apparently sacrificed to brevity of expression.

l. 28. **Iullo Antonio**: see 1. 10, 3. He had married Marcella, daughter of Octavia (Introd. p. 33), and previously wife of Agrippa.

l. 30. **Massiliensem.** Massilia was the school in Gaul of Greek culture, as Augustodunum (3. 43, 1) of Roman.

l. 31. **supremis,** 'his obsequies,' as in 1. 8, 1.

l. 33. c. 45. citeriore, Hispania Tarraconensis, the largest Spanish province, containing all northern and eastern Spain. The Termestini appear to have lived near the sources of the Douro.

P. 191, l. 1. praetorem, properly 'legatum Augusti propraetore.'

l. 2. L. Pisonem. This person is thought to have been one of the 'iuvenes' to whom Horace addressed the 'Ars Poetica.'

l. 3. **in mortem: cp. c. 62, 4.** The prep. expresses result (Introd. p. 17, § 38).

l. 11. **postero, sc. 'die:'** cp. c. 73, 7; and other such ellipses in c. 11, 4; 20, 3, etc.

proripuit, here used with the construction of 'eripere.'

l. 14. **e publico,** sc. 'Termestinorum,' 'fraudulently detained from the common chest,' by their own magistrates or citizens (cp. 2. 54, 2).

l. 17. **c. 46. Poppaeo Sabino:** see 1. 80, 1.

l. 18. **montium editis:** cp. Introd. p. 13, § 20 b. Mount Haemus is specified in c. 51, 6. On a former rising in this district, see 3. 38, 5.

cultu, 'civilisation:' cp. 'a cultu . . . provinciae longissime absunt,' Caes. B. G. 1. 1, 3.

l. 20. militiae nostrae, for service in the auxiliary forces.

l. 21. **ex libidine,** 'at their caprice:' apparently from Sallust (Cat. 8, 1; Jug. 42, 4).

l. 23. **disiecti, 'broken up:'** cp. 1. 32, 7, etc.

l. 24. **diversas:** cp. 1. 17, 5, etc.

l. 25. **arma,** for 'bellum,' as in 3. 55, 1, etc.

l. 30. **impeditum arduum cruentum.** The asyndeta form a climax.

P. 192, l. 1. c. 47. **Rhoemetalces:** see 2. 67, 4; 3. 38, 4.

l. 3. **compositum, 'concentrated:'** cp. 3. 74, 5.

l. 5. **suggressus:** cp. 2. 12, 2.

l. 6. **suffugia:** cp. 3. 74, 2.

l. 7. **montem . . . angustum,** etc., 'a narrowed summit, extending in an unbroken ridge.'

l. 9. **armata aut incondita.** 'Aut' is apparently to be taken (as in 1. 55, 2, etc.) as contrasting those who were organized after their own fashion from the mere rabble who could only throw stones; though even the 'armati' were, strictly speaking, 'inconditi,' and even the 'inconditi' had some means of offence.

l. 13. **recepti,** 'rescued,' 'enabled to retire.'

l. 14. **Sugambrae:** see 2. 26, 3.

l. 17. c. 48. **propter,** 'close to;' so, in anastrophe, 'viam propter' (15. 47, 3).

l. 18. **Thraecibus**, those under Rhoemetalces (c. 47, 1).

l. 20. **lucem intra sisteretur**, 'should be checked before nightfall.'

noctemque . . . capesserent, apparently shortened for 'noctu in castris se tutarentur vigiliasque capesserent.'

l. 23. **somno et vino procumbere**. The ablatives might be causal, answering to 'lascivia epularum,' or might be abl. of manner, equivalent to 'lascive epulantes, somnolenti, et vinolenti:' the words seem a reminiscence of Verg. Aen. 9. 236.

l. 25. **adpugnarent**: cp. 2. 81, 1.

l. 26. **suo . . . periculo**, perhaps best taken as forming a climax with 'clamore, telis;' all being causal ablatives following 'intentus.'

l. 30. **adiacerent**: cp. 1. 65, 1; 'lying on the ground by their works,' instead of standing on guard.

l. 31. **quanto**, sc. 'magis.'

P. 193, l. 1. c. 49. **si**, 'in case that:' cp. 1. 48, 1; Sall. Jug. 47, 2.

l. 3. **praesidia**, 'outposts,' serving to support the lines of circumvallation.

l. 4. **fossam . . . contexens**, 'forming a continuous line of trench and breastwork:' such a sense of 'lorica' is found in Caesar, etc.

l. 7. **agger**: see 2. 81, 2.

l. 8. **aeque quam**: cp. 2. 52, 5.

l. 9. **bellatorum inbellium**, asyndeta in contrast, as in 1. 7, 2.

l. 14. c. 50. **discordia**, nominative in apposition.

l. 17. **his sententiis**, the two opinions held by the party of resistance, represented below by Turesis and Tarsa; 'ignobiles' being contrasted with 'e ducibus Dinis.' 'Tantum his' is a correction for the MS. 'quamvis,' which gives no satisfactory sense.

l. 24. **properum finem**. The construction is designedly exclamatory, as in 1. 35, 2; 41, 2, etc.; but the sense of such a participle as 'suadens' can be easily supplied.

l. 28. **stationes**: cp. 1. 28, 5; here probably 'outposts.'

l. 30. **cum . . . circumire**. On this use of the historic infin., cp. 2. 31, 1.

l. 31. **ad ambigua sonitus**, sc. 'animum intendentes;' a similar expression to those in which 'ad' means 'in answer to,' as in 1. 26, 2; 74, 5, etc.

l. 32. **casum . . . aperirent**, 'give an opportunity,' i. e. of escape.

P. 194, l. 1. c. 51. **catervis**, 'in swarms.' Such a modal abl. (Introd. p. 12, § 16) is often used in describing military formations.

l. 2. **manualia saxa**, 'as large as could be thrown by hand:' such, according to usual derivation, is the meaning of the Homeric χερμάδια.

l. 6. **muralia pila**, longer than those used in line of battle. 'Provolvere' is used of them by zeugma.

l. 9. **matres et coniuges**: see c. 46, 5; the 'inbelles' of c. 49, 3.

l. 10. **aliis... aliis**. The first appear to be the barbarians, the second the Romans; the causes which tended to intimidate the latter being explained in the following sentences.

l. 11. **incerti**, 'aimed at random.'

l. 13. **velut a tergo**, taken closely with 'voces,' 'cries seeming to come from the rear owing to the echo.'

l. 17. **coacta**, 'was enforced.'

l. 18. **sponte**, with genit., as in 2. 59, 3, etc.

l. 21. c. 52. **commota**, referring to the death of Drusus and the intrigues described in c. 12; 17; 18, etc.

l. 22. **sobrina**. It is thought that her mother may have been one of the Marcellae (see Introd. p. 33).

l. 23. **recens praetura**, for the abl., cp. 1. 41, 5.

l. 24. **dignationis**, 'personal reputation' (on the genit., cp. 2. 73, 3).

properus, here only with infin. (cp. Introd. p. 15, § 31).

l. 26. **devotiones**: cp. 2. 69, 5.

atrox, perhaps here, like 'ferox' (1. 2, 1, etc.), in a good sense, as in Hor. Od. 2. 1, 24 ('atrocem animum Catonis').

l. 28. **quo initio**, abl. abs., like 'eo principio,' 1. 16, 3.

invidiae, 'reproach,' as in c. 53, 1, etc.

l. 31. **intellegere**, etc., 'understood her danger, took to herself (probably metaphorically) the suppliant's garb.'

l. 32. **praescribi**, 'is made the pretext,' i.e. she was only the nominal culprit.

P. 195, l. 1. **ad cultum delegerit**='colendam delegerit.'

Sosiae: see c. 19, 1.

l. 2. **raram**, taken closely with 'occulti pectoris:' it was not his habit to speak out.

correptam. Suetonius (Tib. 53) says 'manu apprehendit.'

l. 6. **suo iure disertum**, 'one who could claim the title of orator by right.' His oratory is greatly praised by Quintilian.

l. 8. **nisi quod**: cp. 1. 33, 6; here qualifying the praise of his eloquence, by showing that even this gift at last forsook him.

l. 13. c. 53. **invidiam et preces**; so coupled in 3. 67, 4.

l. 14. **habilem**, 'fit' (sc. 'matrimonio'). She was probably about forty.

l. 17. **quantum ex republica peteretur**, 'how much was being demanded of the state,' i.e. how great was the political importance of her request. Her rank, and the position of her sons as the prominent heirs to the principate, made the choice of another husband for her a very grave matter.

l. 18. **manifestus**, with genit., as in 2. 85, 3, etc.

l. 19. **scriptoribus annalium**, the professed historians, whom he usually follows. On these, and on the memoirs of the younger Agrippina, see Introd. p. 2.

l. 24. **c. 54. immissis**: cp. c. 19, 1.

l. 26. **nescia**: cp. 3. 1, 1.

propter, 'next to him.' On the omission of the pronoun, see Introd. p. 9, § 3.

non vultu, etc., 'never changed expression or spoke' (abl. of respect). 'Flecti' is used by zeugma with 'sermone.'

l. 27. **advertit**, 'noticed it,' a sense nearly akin to that in c. 35, 1, etc.

l. 28. **quo acrius experiretur**, 'for a more testing experiment.' 'Acrius' is used in a sense analogous to that of activity in research, etc.

ut erant adposita, 'as soon as they had been placed on the table,' i. e. before he or others had tasted them.

l. 31. **coram**, here perhaps = 'openly before her.'

P. 196, l. 1. **secretum**, 'privacy,' as in c. 41, 3, etc.

l. 3. **c. 55. famam**, the rumour mentioned above. He wished to seem wholly occupied in public business.

l. 4. **ambigentes**, 'disputing' (cp. 3. 43, 4, etc.): respecting the temple, see c. 15, 5.

l. 8. **Persi**, formed from 'Perses,' like 'Achilli,' etc. The war with Perseus took place in B.C. 171–168; that with Aristonicus, claimant of the kingdom of Pergamum, in B.C. 131–129. Of those with other kings referred to, the Mithridatic wars were the chief.

l. 9. **Hypaepeni**, etc. Hypaepa is in Lydia, Tralles in Caria, Laodiceia on the borders of Caria and Phrygia; the Magnesia is probably that on the Maeander (3. 62, 1).

l. 10. **simul**, prep. in anastrophe, as in 3. 64, 3.

Ilienses: see 2. 54, 3.

l. 12. **Halicarnasii**. Halicarnassus, in Caria, a famous city till the time of Alexander, still retained celebrity through its Mausoleum. The 1200 years are a round number, reckoned from the supposed date of its foundation.

l. 14. **vivo in saxo**, 'in natural rock,' apparently from Verg. Aen. 1. 167.

fundamenta templi, sc. 'fore.'

l. 15. **Pergamenos**: cp. c. 37, 4; 3. 63, 3.

eo ipso nitebantur, a concise parenthesis (Introd. p. 20, § 51). The fact urged in support of their claim was thought to make against it; it being undesirable to place two temples to Caesars in the same city.

l. 16. **Ephesii Milesiique**: see 3. 61, 1; 63, 5.

l. 17. **caerimonia**, 'the worship:' so more commonly in plur., as in c. 36, 2.

l. 19. **nam Tyrrhenum**, etc. This legend is given in nearly the same form by Herodotus (1. 94). The tradition is recognised by Vergil (Aen. 8. 479) and Horace (Sat. 1. 6, 1).

l. 22. **vocabula** = 'nomina:' cp. 1. 3, 7.

per ... in, interchanged merely for variety (Introd. p. 20, § 54 a).

l. 23. **adhuc** = 'insuper,' as in 1. 17, 5.

l. 24. **Pelope**. Some legends give Pelops a Lydian, others a Phrygian origin.

l. 28. c. 56. **repetita vetustate**, 'having retraced (cp. 3. 24, 2) their antiquity.'

l. 30. **transcendere**, 'passed on.'

ad ea quis ... officiis. Such an attraction of the subject into the case of a following relative is mainly poetical (Madv. 319, Obs.; Roby, 1067); but instances are found in Cicero. In sense, 'officia' is rather to be supplied as in apposition than as in agreement with 'ea' ('what they mostly relied on, namely their services').

l. 31. **externa**, the war with Antiochus (B.C. 191–188); the war in Italy must have been the Social war (B. C. 90–87).

l. 33. **M. Porcio**, Cato, the censor, who was cos. in B.C. 195.

P. 197, l. 2. **validis ... regibus**; e.g. before Antiochus had been weakened by the war above mentioned.

l. 3. **gravissimo in discrimine**; in the first Mithridatic war (B.C. 84).

l. 5. **in contionem nuntiatum** (cp. c. 25, 2), a Greek construction, like *εἰσήγγελλον εἰς τὴν βουλήν* (Isoc.).

qui adstabant. For the indic., cp. c. 10, 2, etc.

l. 8. **Vibius Marsus**: cp. 2. 74, 1.

M'. Lepido: cp. 1. 13, 2.

l. 9. **super numerum legaretur**, 'a supernumerary legate should be appointed,' besides the regular staff of three.

l. 13. c. 57. **abscessit**. The MS. has no verb, but most editors consider the insertion of one here necessary; though such verbs are often omitted in epistolary writing or rapid narrative.

l. 14. **certus ... degere**, a poetical construction (Verg. Aen. 4. 564, etc.), as is that in c. 34, 2.

l. 17. **coniunxit**, probably = 'continuavit,' as 'abstinentiam cibi coniunxit' (6. 26, 3); a sense grounded on that in c. 33, 3, and here equivalent to 'sex annos continuos mansit.' 'pari secreto' may be an extension of the local abl. or possibly abl. of quality.

l. 18. **permoveor**, sc. 'ad dubitandum:' cp. Introd. p. 20, § 53.

l. 20. **habitum**: cp. 1. 10, 7. In earlier life his bearing is described as stiff and erect; and mention is made of 'crebri et subiti tumores' on his countenance, which was otherwise handsome.

l. 22. **medicaminibus interstincta**, 'with patches of plaster.'

l. 23. **Rhodi**; depending on 'secreto.' On his retirement there, see 1. 4, 4, etc.

recondere voluptates, 'to conceal his self-indulgence.'

l. 24. **inpotentia**: cp. 1. 4, 5.

extrusum, sc. 'eum fuisse.'

l. 27. **dubitaverat**, 'had thought about:' so 'percipe porro, quid dubitem' (Verg. Aen. 9. 191): cp. 'dubitatione,' c. 40, 9; 'cunctantem,' c. 42, 1.

l. 29. **Tiberio Germanicum**, etc. i. e. adopted Tiberius, and caused him to adopt Germanicus (1. 3, 5).

l. 30. **exprobrabat**, 'was taunting him with it:' so 'exprobrare beneficium,' 'officium,' etc.

reposcebat, 'was demanding its return.'

l. 31. c. 58. **arto comitatu**, 'one of scanty retinue;' abl. of quality (see Introd. p. 12, § 17).

l. 32. **Cocceius Nerva**, famous as a jurist, and the grandfather of the Emperor Nerva. He committed suicide in A. D. 33.

l. 33. **ex inlustribus**: cp. 2. 59, 4.

Curtius Atticus, a friend of Ovid, afterwards put to death at the instigation of Seianus.

P. 198, l. 2. **levaretur**, 'he might find relaxation:' cp. 'levamentum,' 3. 34, 3.

periti caelestium, the 'Chaldaei' or 'mathematici:' see on 2. 27, 2.

iis motibus siderum, abl. abs., 'under such planetary conjunctions.' The issue of an important event was thus predicted from the state of the heavens at its commencement, as was also the destiny of a lifetime, from the horoscope cast at the date of birth.

l. 7. **breve confinium**, etc., 'by how narrow a line science is parted from imposture, and how truth is surrounded by mystery.' That Tiberius would never return was, in the view of Tacitus, no mere guess, but a genuine prediction; but the stars only so far revealed the mystery: that he would die soon was an impostor's inference.

l. 9. **egere**, 'they lived on;' cp. 2. 73, 3; 3. 19, 2, etc.

rure . . . litore, local abl.: cp. Introd. p. 11, § 14.

l. 13. c. 59. **vana rumoris** = 'vanum rumorem' (Introd. p. 13, § 20 b). The belief that he would soon die gained strength from having been so nearly fulfilled.

l. 15. **Speluncae**, probably genit., as in 14. 50, 1 ('libri quibus nomen codicillorum dederat'), and H. 4. 18, 6 ('castra quibus Veterum nomen est'): see Introd. p. 10, § 7.

Amunclanum, the bay taking its name from Amunclae (otherwise

called Amynclae or Amyclae), an old but deserted town (Verg. Aen. 10. 564), between Terracina and Gaeta.

l. 17. **metus in omnes**: cp. c. 2, 1.

l. 18. **genu vultuque et manibus**, i. e. protecting Tiberius with his body, on his hands and knees, and with his face to his.

l. 20. **habitu**, 'attitude:' cp. c. 57, 3, etc.

l. 22. **sui anxius**: cp. 2. 75, 1.

adsimulabat iudicis partes, i. e. he was the real author of the charges, but set up nominal accusers, and himself affected a judicial or impartial attitude.

l. 26. **in praesentiarum** (='in praesentia rerum'), an expression nearly confined to late authors, but perhaps usual in common language.

l. 27. **apiscendae potentiae**, but taken as genit. (Introd. p. 13, § 21 c): cp. 'oblatae occasionis propera,' 12. 66, 2.

l. 28. **ut ... ostenderet**. The omission of 'se' (cp. Introd. p. 9, § 3) may here be justified on the ground that the person cannot be mistaken.

l. 32. c. 60. **nihil**, sc. 'procedebat;' 'no treasonable thought was issuing from his lips.'

P. 199, l. 1. **adpositi custodes**: cp. 'custodiae adpositus,' 1. 6, 2; 2. 68, 3; 'inditi custodes,' 3. 28, 4.

l. 5. **insistentibus**, etc., 'while any partisans of Seianus who were there stood their ground and made jests;' scornfully remarked the behaviour of his friends. 'Insistentibus' is contrasted with 'vitare' and 'averti;' 'Seiano' is taken closely with 'fautores.'

l. 6. **enimvero**: cp. 2. 64, 6.

l. 7. **loqueretur ... taceret**, subjunct. of frequent action (Introd. p. 16, § 34).

l. 9. **uxor**, Julia (3. 29, 4).

vigilias ... somnos='verba vigilantis aut somniantis.'

l. 11. **in partes**, sc. 'suas:' so 'habebat in partibus Pallantem,' 13. 2, 3.

l. 14. **promptior**, 'inclined to favour:' cp. 'prompta illi ... studia,' 2. 76, 1.

l. 17. **opportunum**, 'liable:' cp. 'cuncta insidiis opportuna,' II. 3. 20, 2.

l. 19. c. 61. **claris ... quam vetustis**. He was one of the sons of Asinius Gallus and Vipsania (see 1. 12, 6): so that his grandfathers would be Pollio and Agrippa, two famous 'novi homines.' This novel use of two positives seems adopted to avoid the juxtaposition of 'magis,' or a comparative, with 'maioribus.'

Q. Haterius: see 1. 13, 4, etc.

l. 21. **monimenta**, etc., 'the memorials (preserved specimens) of his talent are not commensurately (cp. 2. 88, 4) sustained in reputation.'

l. 26. c. 62. **eius initium . . . exstitit**, 'it began and ended in a moment.'

l. 27. **coepto**, probably best taken as dat. depending on 'subdidit.'

Fidena, oftener written Fidenae, a town only five miles from Rome.

l. 29. **per solidum**, 'through (i.e. resting on) firm ground.'

l. 31. **abundantia**, probably causal abl. like 'ambitione.'

municipali ambitione, 'from a desire to court his townsmen:' cp. 'senatorio ambitu,' c. 2, 4; 'ambitionem militarem,' 3. 14, 1.

in, 'with a view to:' cp. 'in . . . mercedem . . . agantur,' 11. 6, 3.

l. 33. **virile ac muliebre secus**. The indecl. 'secus' is generally taken as an accus. of description, and can be so taken here.

P. 200, l. 2. **gravior pestis**: cp. 2. 47, 1.

conferta mole, 'the building being closely packed:' 'moles' is used by itself in this sense in Hor. Od. 3. 29, 10.

convulsa, 'bursting asunder,' explained by 'dum . . . effunditur;' i.e. partly falling inwards, partly outwards ('aut' being used as in 1. 55, 2, etc.).

l. 5. **praeceps**, adverbial: cp. Introd. p. 9, § 2.

l. 6. **in mortem**: cp. c. 45, 1.

ut tali sorte, 'considering that their lot was such;' i.e. 'so far as might be in such a lot.' 'Tali sorte' is to be taken as abl. abs.

l. 9. **noscebant**, 'were recognising:' cp. 'noscebantur,' 1. 39. 8. They were unable to move, but were straining their eyes by day and their ears by night to make out any friends in similar condition near them.

l. 12. **nequedum comperto**, 'and while it was yet unascertained.' 'Nequedum' has the force of 'et nondum:' for 'comperto,' cp. 1. 66, 3, etc.; Introd. p. 12, § 19 a.

l. 14. c. 63. **obruta**, apparently here alone used of fallen materials or 'debris.'

l. 15. **confusior facies sed par forma**. Here some read 'et' for 'sed.' With either reading the whole is taken as subject of 'fecerat;' the meaning being that those who sought to identify the bodies often disputed over them; neither party being able to recognise the features, and both being apt to be misled by a resemblance in form or age to those they sought.

l. 19. **minor quadringentorum**, etc., an abbreviation for 'minor res quam res quadringentorum milium.'

l. 22. **sub**, 'just after.'

l. 23. **medici**. These were often Greek slaves or freedmen, and thus belonged to particular houses.

l. 27. c. 64. **feralem** = 'funestum.'

l. 29. **qui mos vulgo**, etc. = 'trahentes, etc., ut mos vulgo.' On this sense of 'trahere,' cp. 3. 22, 6; 37, 2, etc.

l. 30. **ex modo**, 'according to the measure:' cp. 'ex utilitatibus,' 1. 58, 2.

l. 32. **sine ambitione**, etc., 'without respect of persons (cp. 'nulla ambitione,' 1. 67, 4), and without the intercession of relatives.' The following words specify extreme cases of the above; 'even persons unknown and actually invited to apply.'

P. 201, l. 4. **Claudiae Quintae.** The story of her having drawn the ship off a sandbank when the 'Mater Deum' was brought to Rome (B.C. 204) will be found in Ov. Fast. 4. 305–328. The next sentence is ambiguous from inversion; the meaning being that those of old time consecrated in the temple a statue to her, which afterwards twice escaped the flames, by which the greater part of the temple was destroyed (B.C. 111, and A.D. 3).

l. 7. **caerimoniam**, 'its sanctity' (3. 61, 3), which would be increased by calling it 'Augustus.'

l. 10. c. 65. **cognomento**, used, like 'vocabulo' below, for 'nomine:' cp. 1. 23, 4, 6.

frequens, not found elsewhere with genit.; but the construction is here accommodated to that of 'fecundus.'

l. 11. **Caele Vibenna.** Another form of the legend makes this person an ally of Romulus against Tatius; another associates him with Servius Tullius; and there are further variations in the accounts of the circumstances under which this hill was added to the city.

l. 15. **eas**, i. e. 'Tuscas.'

l. 18. c. 66. **studia procerum et largitio principis**: see c. 63, 3; 64, 2.

l. 21. **Varum Quintilium**, known as a son of the Varus slain in Germany, and as having been apparently betrothed to a daughter of Germanicus. His relationship to Caesar was probably through his mother (see c. 52, 1).

Domitius Afer: see c. 52, 1.

l. 22. **condemnator**, used of the person causing her condemnation (cp. 'damnasset,' 3. 36, 3).

l. 24. **P. Dolabellam**: see 3. 47, 4, etc.

l. 25. **claris maioribus**, abl. of quality.

l. 30. c. 67. **templis**: cp. c. 57, 1.

l. 31. **inrumperet**, 'break in upon:' for 'eius,' 'suam' would be expected, according to the rule of classical usage.

l. 33. **municipia et colonias**: see 1. 79, 1.

P. 202, l. 1. **Capreas in insulam.** Here 'abdidit' takes the construction of a verb of motion to a place: cp. 'adlatis Geldubam in castra

nuntiis,' H. 4. 32, 2. Capreae was inherited by Tiberius from Augustus, who had possessed it from B.C. 29.

l. 4. **subsidia,** 'places of refuge:' cp. 2. 63, 1; 3. 36, 2; 60, 2, etc.

adpulerit, potential subjunctive.

l. 5. **nisi gnaro custode,** 'without knowledge of the sentinel.'

l. 6. **obiectu montis:** cp. 'obiectu laterum,' Verg. Aen. 1. 160. The mountain meant is probably the neighbouring promontory on the mainland.

aestas, etc. The expression is harsh from its brevity; 'aestas' meaning the climate of the island during summer, and 'obversa' being referred in sense to the island itself; 'its summer climate, as it faces the west and has open sea around, is lovely:' 'peramoena' is ἅπ. εἰρ. (Introd. p. 18, § 43 c).

l. 8. **antequam Vesuvius,** etc. The eruption in which Herculaneum and Pompeii perished (A.D. 79) is the first recorded in history; and the district was previously renowned for fertility (see Verg. G. 2. 224) as well as beauty.

l. 9. **Graecos ea tenuisse,** 'that Greeks had possessed these spots' (cp. 'tenuisse . . . Lirim,' Hor. Od. 3. 17, 8). The Teleboans are said to have inhabited the islands off Acarnania; and their tenure of Capreae is alluded to by Vergil (Aen. 7. 735).

l. 10. **sed tum . . . insederat.** This is generally taken to mean that he 'had settled upon (wholly occupied) the island (such an accus. being supplied as that in 2. 16, 4, etc.) with the titles and buildings of twelve villas:' it is also possible to take 'nominibus,' etc., as dat., with the meaning that he 'had taken up his position on the names and ruins of twelve villas;' i.e. those of former owners, now absorbed into his own grounds.

l. 13. **quippe,** explaining 'malum.'

l. 14. **quam,** to be taken only with 'augere;' 'eum' being rather supplied as object of 'turbabat.'

l. 16. **additus:** see on c. 60, 1, etc.; also 'Teucris addita Iuno,' Verg. Aen. 6. 90.

introitus, 'the visits paid to them.'

l. 17. **struebantur,** for 'instruebantur' (Introd. p. 14, § 26); 'persons were prepared,' or 'set up.'

l. 18. **celeberrimo fori,** sc. 'tempore' (ἐν ἀγορᾷ πληθούσῃ), the latter part of the forenoon.

l. 19. **effigiom . . . amplecti.** On this mode of claiming privilege of sanctuary, see on 3. 36, 1.

l. 20. **eaque spreta,** etc., 'such measures, though rejected by them, were laid to their charge as if they were contemplating them.'

l. 23. **c. 68. inlustri equite:** see 2. 59, 4.

l. 24. **Titio Sabino.** His destruction had been resolved upon four years earlier (see c. 18, 1; 19, 1); so that this plot laid against him may have been going on some time.

l. 31. **usu,** 'acquaintance,' as in 2. 28, 1, etc.

P. 203, l. 2. **honora:** cp. 1. 10, 7.

l. 5. **onerat,** sc. 'conviciis,' 'he reviles.' The return to the historical present marks the change of subject again to Latiaris.

l. 7. **vetita miscuissent,** 'had exchanged confidences on forbidden subjects;' analogous to 'miscere consilia.'

l. 11. **c. 69. quos memoravi,** c. 68, 2.

l. 12. **acciperentur** = 'audirentur,' as in 1. 67, 1, etc.

l. 13. **visus, sonitus,** genitives, answering to 'suspicionis.'

l. 14. **forte ortae,** suggesting itself even without sight or hearing.

tectum inter et laquearia, 'between roof and ceiling:' the hollow work in the latter gave the 'foramina' mentioned here.

l. 15. **latebra . . . fraude,** abl. abs.

l. 19. **instantia,** 'the present:' cp. 'praeterita instantia futura,' H. 3. 36, 1.

l. 20. **diutius,** 'more fully.'

l. 24. **reticens.** The MS. has 'egens,' which has also been corrected to 'se tegens,' or by supposing a word such as 'fide' to be lost.

l. 27. **c. 70. solemnia . . . precatus,** 'offering the customary prayer,' the 'vota pro incolumitate reipublicae,' usual on that day.

l. 31. **quantum . . . poterat,** qualifying 'clamitans.' He is dragged to the dungeon for execution (cp. 3. 51, 1), his face muffled in his toga, with the noose already round his neck, and bound hand and foot: cp. 'vincla et laqueus,' § 5.

l. 32. **Seiano victimas,** alluding to the offerings on the new year: 'Seianus is our god, and this is the sacrifice to him.'

l. 33. **acciderent,** 'reached the ear.' This and 'intendisset' are subjunctives expressing frequent occurrence (Introd. p. 16, § 34).

P. 204, l. 2. **id ipsum,** the object of 'paventes,' and explained by 'quod timuissent;' 'trembling at their very betrayal of fear.'

l. 3. **quem enim,** supplying the thought that had led to the panic.

l. 6. **quaesitum meditatumque.** Probably some such words as 'facinus fuisse,' are to be supplied from the sense.

l. 8. **carcerem recludant.** The prison is imagined as opened or inaugurated by the death of the first criminal, as by an act of sacrifice.

l. 10. **trepidam,** 'full of anxiety:' so 're trepida,' H. 3. 69, 4, etc.

l. 16. **c. 71. non modo,** etc. Latiaris suffered under Tiberius in A.D. 32: respecting the others, all record is lost.

l. 19. **praegraves,** 'burdensome,' those of whom he was tired.

l. 20. **in tempore,** 'at the proper time:' so in 1. 58, 9, etc.

l. 21. **matertera**, as half-sister of their mother Vipsania (1. 12, 6). The relationship is mentioned to show the baseness of his conduct.

l. 23. **ut rebatur**, taken closely with 'virtutibus;' 'his good qualities as he considered them.'

l. 25. **quae premeret**, 'what he was suppressing:' cp. 3. 11, 2, etc.

l. 26. **ut cunctationes ... opperiretur**, 'that he might bide the time of the prince's hesitation' (cp. 2. 69, 4; 3. 45, 2, etc.). He did not wish to hurry Tiberius into premature action, knowing that the result would be more complete for the delay. The MS. 'aperirentur' (which Halm retains) has been taken to mean 'that the prince's hesitation should be left to disclose itself' (to take its natural course in due time).

gnarus, etc. On this trait in Tiberius, see 1. 7, 11, etc.

l. 28. **coniungere**, i. e. made the act follow closely on the word.

l. 29. **Iulia**, sister of Agrippina: see Introd., p. 32.

l. 31. **Trimerum**, one of the Diomedean islands, off Apulia.

viginti annis, abl. of duration, as in 1. 53, 6. Her exile has been thought to have involved that of Ovid, at the same date (A. D. 8).

P. 205, l. 1. **privignos**, used here generally for all her husband's descendants.

l. 3. c. 72. **Frisii**: see 1. 60, 3.

l. 5. **iis ... iusserat**, 'had enjoined on them.' 'Iubeo' has often this construction (analogous to that of 'impero') in late Latin.

Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, who gained over this people in B. C. 12.

l. 6. **coria boum**, for making tents, shields, etc. The soldiers had to find these for themselves (1. 17, 6).

non intenta ... cura, 'none taking especial pains to prescribe:' with 'firmitudo' and 'mensura,' 'foret' is supplied.

l. 7. **e primipilaribus**: cp. 2. 11, 2.

l. 8. **terga**, first used for 'hides' by Vergil (Aen. 1. 368).

l. 10. **quis ingentium**, etc., i. e. 'who have huge beasts in their forests only (hard to get at, and far from the Frisian country); while their domestic cattle (from whom such tribute must be paid) are small.' The 'urus' of the Hercynian forest was believed to be of fabulous size, nearly as large as an elephant (Caes. B. G. 6. 28).

l. 15. **patibulo**: cp. 1. 61, 6.

l. 16. **Flevum**, the name also of a lake and island now chiefly absorbed in the Zuydersee, but traceable in the name Vlieland.

l. 18. **praesidebat**, with accus., as in 3. 39, 1, etc.

l. 19. c. 73. **L. Apronio**: see 1. 56, 1; 3. 21, 1, etc.: 'pro praetore' is used of a 'legatus Augusti,' as in 2. 66, 1, etc.

l. 20. **vexilla**, probably 'detachments;' not here specially 'veterani sub vexillo' (see on 1. 17, 4).

l. 22. **utrumque**, the troops sent for from the Upper army, and his own force in Lower Germany.

l. 24. **aestuaria**: cp. 2. 8, 3.

aggeribus et pontibus: cp. 1, 61, 2.

l. 26. **Canninefatem**, a people living in the 'insula' of the Rhine, adjoining the Batavi (see 2. 6, 4).

l. 30. **alarius eques**, the main body of auxiliary horse; as distinct from the single 'ala' and 'equites legionum' mentioned above.

l. 31. **si simul incubuissent**, 'if they had attacked together:' cp. c. 24, 1, etc.

l. 33. **legato . . . legionis**: cp. 1. 44, 3, etc.

P. 206, l. 8. **Baduhennae**, apparently the name of some German goddess.

in posterum, sc. 'diem:' cp. c. 45, 4.

l. 10. **stipendiarii**, 'who had served in the Roman army:' not the same sense as in c. 20, 1.

l. 13. c. 74. **ne . . . permitteret**, i. e. lest, by publishing them, he should be forced by public opinion to levy war on a large scale, and entrust its conduct to a general, whose power might make him politically formidable.

l. 16. **quamquam**, etc. On this practice of making independent proposals, see 2. 33, 2, etc.

l. 17. **aram**, etc., for such commemorative altars, cp. 1. 14, 3, etc.

circum, 'on either side' (of the altar of 'amicitia').

l. 20. **degressi sunt**, probably 'landed:' cp. 'saepe . . . degressus,' 6. 1, 2.

l. 21. **in proximo Campaniae**: cp. 'in prominenti litoris,' 1. 53, 7 (and note).

patres, eques: cp. 1. 7, 1.

l. 22. **durior** = 'difficilior.' The comparison is probably with the ready access to him at former times (c. 40, 7).

l. 23. **per ambitum**, etc., 'by making up to his servants (§ 6), and by entering into his plans.'

l. 25. **sueti discursus**, 'to see people hurrying to and fro was usual.'

l. 27. **campo aut litore**, local abl.: see Introd. p. 11, § 14.

l. 28. **iuxta** = 'aeque,' as in 1. 48, 2; 2. 72, 3, etc.

gratiam . . . perpetiebantur. It is implied that the condescension of such persons was as odious as their insolence.

l. 31. **male**, 'with bad reason;' explained by the following words.

P. 207, l. 1. c. 75. **Agrippinam**: see Introd. p. 32. She is supposed to have been at this time barely thirteen years old. From this

marriage L. Domitius, afterwards the Emperor Nero, was born nine years later, and her husband died about three years after that date. The most eventful part of her life belongs to the times of Claudius and of Nero.

l. 2. **coram**, 'in his own presence,' 'personally;' probably during this visit to Campania.

Cn. Domitio, son of L. Domitius, whose life and pedigree are given in c. 44.

l. 5. **avunculum**, 'great-uncle;' as in 2. 43, 6, etc.

praeferebat = 'prae se ferebat,' 'had to show:' cp. 2. 53. 4.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Mentioned in the Text.

NOTE.—The references are to chapters and sections. The names of persons are generally given under the cognomen, except in cases where they are better known by another name.

Achaia, transferred from the Senate to Caesar, 1. 76, 4; given in charge to the legate of Moesia, 1. 80, 1. See also 2. 53, 1; 4. 13, 1.

Acilius. See Aviola.

Actium, battle of, alluded to, 1. 3, 7; 42, 5; 2. 53, 2; 3. 55, 1; 4. 5, 1.

Adgandestrius, prince of the Chatti, offers to poison Arminius, 2. 88, 1.

Adrana (Eder), the, 1. 56, 4.

Aedui, rising of the, 3. 40, 1; 43, 1–46, 7.

Aegeae, in Asia, 2. 47, 4.

Aegium, in Achaia, suffers from earthquake, 4. 13, 1.

Aegypt, visited by Germanicus, 2. 59–61; jealously secluded by Augustus, 2. 59, 4; held by two legions, 4. 5, 4; its hieroglyphics, 2. 60, 4; its religious rites forbidden at Rome, 2. 85, 5.

Aelius. See Seianus.

Aemilia Musa, 2. 48, 1. See also Lepida.

Aemilius, an officer, 2. 11, 2; 4. 42, 2. See also Lepidus, Scaurus.

Aeneas, the ancestor of the Julian gens, 4. 9, 3.

Aequus, Considius, punished for false accusation, 3. 37, 1.

Aërias, of Cyprus, 3. 62, 5.

Aesculapius, temples of, 3. 63, 3; 4. 14, 1.

Aeserninus Marcellus, a pleader, 3. 11, 2.

Aethiopia, once conquered by Rhamses, 2. 60, 4.

Afer, Domitius, orator and accuser, 4. 52, 1; 66, 1.

Afranius, epithets given to, 4. 34, 5.

Africa, war in, see Tacfarinas; military force in, 4. 5, 4 (where see note).

Agrippa, Asinius, 4. 34, 1; 61, 1.

Agrippa, Fonteius, 2. 30, 1; 86, 1.

Agrippa, Haterius, 1. 77, 3; 2. 51, 2; 3. 49, 4; 52, 1,

Agrippa, M. (Vipsanius), son-in-law of Augustus, 1. 3, 1; 4. 40, 9; his consulships, 1. 3, 1; share in tribunician power, 3. 56, 3; violent deaths of his children, 3. 19, 4.

Agrippa, Postumus, character and banishment of, 1. 3, 4; 4, 3; 5, 2; put to death, 1. 6; personated by a slave, 2. 39, 2, foll.

Agrippina, granddaughter of Augustus and wife of Germanicus, 1. 33, 2; her character, 1. 33, 6; 2. 72, 1; 3. 1, 1; etc.; present during the German mutiny, 1. 40, 2, foll.; preserves the bridge,

and tends the wounded, 1. 69, 1, foll.; at enmity with Augusta, higher esteemed than Livia, 2. 43, 5, 7; gives birth to Julia at Lesbos, 2. 54, 1; returns with the ashes of Germanicus, 2. 75, 1; 3. 1, 1; subjected to attacks (see Seianus); expostulates with Tiberius, 4. 52, 1; asks for another husband, 4. 53, 1. [See also Appendix, pp. 209, 211.]
Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, memoirs of, 4. 53, 3; marriage of, 4. 75, 1.
Alba, kings of, 4. 9, 3.
Albani, Caucasian race of the, 2. 68, 1; 4. 5, 4.
Albis (Elbe), the, 1. 59, 6; 2. 14, 6; 19, 2; 22, 1; 41, 2; crossed by L. Domitius, 4. 44, 3.
Alexander, comparison of, with Germanicus, 2. 73, 2; charter of asylum granted by, 3. 63, 5.
Alexandria, Germanicus at, 2. 59, 3.
Aliso, fort at, 2. 7, 5.
Alliaria, wife of Gracchus, 1. 53, 8.
Amanus, mountain range of, 2. 83, 3.
Amathusian Venus, temple of, 3. 62, 5.
Amazons, legends respecting, 3. 61, 2; 4. 56, 1.
Amisia (Ems), the, 1. 60, 2; 63, 5; 2. 8, 1; 23, 1.
Amorgus, Vibius Serenus deported to, 4. 13, 2; carried back after fresh trial, 4. 30, 3.
Amphictyones, decree of the, 4. 14, 2.
Amunclanum mare, 4. 59, 2.
Ancharius. See Priscus.
Ancona, Cn. Piso lands at, 3. 9, 1.
Ancus Marcius, laws ascribed to, 3. 26, 5.
Andecavi, the, 3. 41, 1.
Angrivarii, the, 2. 8, 4; 19, 3; 22, 3; 24, 5; 41, 2.
Anteius, 2. 6, 1.
Antigonus (Doson), decree of, 4. 43, 4.
Antiochia, conduct of Cn. Piso at, 2. 69, 3; cremation of Germanicus at, 2. 73, 5; 83, 3.
Antiochus, of Commagene, 2. 42, 7.
Antiochus (Magnus), of Syria, 2. 63, 3; 3. 62, 1.
Antistius, C., 4. 1, 1. See also Labeo, Vetus.
Antium, temple of Fortuna Equestris at, 3. 71, 2.
Antonia, mother of Germanicus, 3. 3, 2; 18, 4.
Antonia minor, 4. 44, 3 (where see note).
Antonius, Iullus, 1. 10, 3; 3. 18, 1; 4. 44, 5.
Antonius, L., son of the above, 4. 44, 4.
Antonius, M., 1. 1, 3; 2, 1; 9, 4; 10, 1; 3. 18, 1; 4. 43, 1; grandfather of Germanicus, 2. 43, 6; 53, 3; his actions in Parthia and Armenia, 2. 2, 4; 3, 2; his letters abusive of Augustus, 4. 34, 8.
Aphrodisias, asylum at, 3. 62, 2.
Apicata, wife of Seianus, 4. 3, 5; 11, 4.
Apicius, 4. 1, 3.
Apidius. See Merula.
Apollo, Clarian oracle of, 2. 54, 3; legends respecting birthplace of, 3. 61, 1.
Apollonis, in Asia, 2. 47, 4.
Aponius, L., 1. 29, 2.
Appia via, 2. 30, 1.
Appianus, Appius, 2. 48, 3.
Appuleia. See Varilla.
Appuleius, Sex., 1. 7, 3.
Apronia, 4. 22, 1.
Apronius, L., 1. 56, 1; 72, 1; 2. 32, 4; 3. 64, 4; 4. 22, 1; proconsul of Africa, 3. 21, 1, foll.; legatus of Lower Germany, 4. 73, 1, foll.
Apronius Caesianus, 3. 21, 6.
Apulia, 3. 2, 1; 4. 71, 6.
Aquilia, 4. 42, 3.
Archelaus, of Cappadocia, 2. 42, 2.
Arduenna (Ardennes), forest of, 3. 42, 2.

Ariobarzanes, king of Armenia, 2. 4, 2.
Aristonicus, war of the Romans with, 4. 55, 2.
Armenia (maior), kings of, 2. 3, 3, foll.; settled by Germanicus, 2. 55, 6, foll.; once conquered by Rhamses, 2. 60, 4. [See Appendix, p. 211.]
Arminius, prince of the Cherusci, at enmity with Segestes, 1. 55, 2, &c.; wife and son of, 1. 57, 5; 58, 9; uncle of, 1. 60, 1; brother of, 2. 9, 1; leads the resistance to the Romans, 1. 59, 2, foll.; 63, 1, 7; 68, 1; 2. 17, 5; 21, 1; at war with Maroboduus, 2. 44, 3, foll.; death and character of, 2. 88.
Arnus (Arno), the, 1. 79, 1.
Arpus, prince of the Chatti, 2. 7, 2.
Arruntius, L., 1. 8, 4; 13, 1; 76, 3; 79, 1; 3. 11, 2; 31, 5. [See Appendix, p. 211.]
Arsacidae, Parthian dynasty of the, 2. 1, 1, foll.
Artabanus, king of Parthia, 2. 3, 1; 4, 4; 58, 1. [See Appendix, p. 211.]
Artavasdes, Armenian kings named, 2. 3, 2; 4, 1.
Artaxata, capital of Armenia, 2. 56, 3.
Artaxias, Armenian kings named, 2. 3, 3; 56, 3.
Asia, the province of, earthquakes in, 2. 47, 1; 4. 13, 1; proconsuls of, 2. 47, 4; 3. 32, 2; 66, 2; 68, 1; procurator of, 4. 15, 3; asyla in, 3. 61, 1, foll.; temple erected to Tiberius by, 4. 15, 4; 55, 1, foll.
Asinius, C., 4. 1, 1. See also Agrippa, Gallus, Pollio, Saloninus.
Asprenas, L., 1. 53, 9; 3. 18, 5.
Ateius, M., 2. 47, 5. See also Capito.
Athenae, honours paid to Germanicus at, 2. 53, 3; conduct of Piso at, 2. 55, 1.
Atia, 3. 68, 3.
Atidius. See Geminus.
Atilius, A., 2. 49, 2.
Atilius, a freedman, 4. 62, 2.
Atticus, Curtius, a knight, 4. 58, 1.
Atticus, T. Pomponius, great grandfather of Drusus, 2. 43, 7.
Atys, mythical king of Lydia, 4. 55, 7.
Aufidienus Rufus, 1. 20, 1.
Augusta, Livia, wife of Augustus, circumstances of the marriage of, 1. 10, 4; companion of Augustus in travel, 3. 34. 12; suspected of causing the deaths of Gaius and Lucius, 1. 3, 3; and of Augustus, 1. 5, 1; influence of, in securing the succession of Tiberius, 4. 57, 4; adopted by will, 1. 8, 2; honoured by the senate, 1. 14, 1; 4. 16, 6; opinion respecting, 1. 10, 4; enemy of Agrippina, 1. 33, 6; 2. 43, 5; 4. 12, 6; protects Plancina, 3. 15, 3; 17, 2; upholds Urgulania, 2. 34, 3; supports the younger Julia in exile, 4. 71, 7; honoured by provincial worship, 4. 15, 4; 37, 1; at variance with her son, 1. 72, 5; 3. 64, 1; 4. 57, 4; illness and recovery of, 3. 64, 1; 71, 1. [See Appendix, p. 209.]
Augustodunum, 3. 43, 1; 45, 1; 46, 7.
Augustus, gradually prevails over all rivals, 1. 1, 3; 2, 1; 9, 1; 10, 1; marries Livia, 1. 10, 4; frames a constitution in his sixth consulship, 3. 28, 3; secures ascendancy by his tribunician power, 1. 2, 1; 3. 56, 2; gradually grasps more functions, 1. 2, 1; takes measures for the succession, 1. 3, 1, foll.; quells a mutiny, 1. 42, 5; visits provinces, 1. 46, 3; 3. 34, 12; meets the remains of Drusus, 3. 5, 2; legislates to promote marriage, 3. 25, 2; 28, 3; extends scope of maiestas, 1. 72, 4;

3. 24, 3; a legislator against adultery, 2. 50, 2; and luxury, 3. 54, 3; modified ancient rules, 4. 16, 4; favours amusements, 1. 54, 3; 76, 6; 77, 4; worshipped during life, 1. 10, 5; 4. 37, 4; punishes his daughter and granddaughter, 1. 53, 1; 3. 24, 2; 4. 71, 6; behaviour of, to Tiberius, 1. 3, 3; 10, 6; 4. 57, 6; to Agrippa Postumus, 1. 3, 4; 5, 1; 6, 3; to Germanicus, 1. 3, 5; 4. 57, 6; mentions citizens who might be dangerous, 1. 13, 2; last days and death of, 1. 4, 2; 5, 1, foll.; will of, 1. 8, 1; posthumous advice of, against further conquest, 1. 11, 7; funeral honours of, 1. 8, 4; deification of, 1. 10, 8; worshippers of, 1. 73, 2; temples erected to, 1. 10, 8; 78, 1; 4. 57, 1; statues of, 1. 73, 2; 3. 63, 5; 4. 67, 6; conflicting judgments respecting the character of, 1. 9–10.
Aurelius. See Cotta, Pius.
Auzea, in Numidia, 4. 25, 1.
Aviola, Acilius, 3. 41, 2.

Bactriani, the, once conquered by Rhamses, 2. 60, 4.
Baduhenna, grove of, 4. 73, 7.
Balbus (Cornelius), 3. 72, 2.
Bastarnae, the, 2. 65, 5.
Batavi, island of the, 2. 6, 3; among Roman auxiliaries, 2. 8, 3; 11, 3.
Bathyllus, a pantomimist, 1. 54, 3.
Belgae, the, 1. 43, 3; 3. 40, 3.
Bibaculus, poems of, 4. 34, 8.
Bibulus, C., 3. 52, 3.
Bithynia, 1. 74, 1; sea of, 2. 60, 4.
Blaesus, Iunius, legate of Pannonia, 1. 16, 2, foll.; uncle of Seianus, 3. 35, 3; proconsul of Africa, ib.; continued in office, 3. 58, 1; receives triumphalia, 3. 72. 6; saluted as imperator, 3. 74, 6. [See Appendix, p. 210.]
Blaesus, Iunius, son of the above, 1. 19, 4; 29, 2; with his father in Africa, 3. 74, 2.
Blandus, Rubellius, 3. 23, 2; 51, 1.
Bovillae, shrine of the Iulii at, 2. 41, 1.
Britannia, 2. 24, 5.
Bructeri, the, 1. 51, 4; 60, 2.
Brundisium, 2. 30, 1; 3. 1, 2; 7, 2; 4. 27, 1; treaty of, 1. 10, 2.
Bruttedius Niger, 3. 66, 2.
Brutus, L. (Iunius), 1. 1, 1.
Brutus, M. (Iunius), 1. 2, 1; praised by Cordus, 4. 34, 1; speeches of, 4. 34, 8; effigies of, 3. 76, 5; 4. 35, 3; Iunia, sister of, 3. 76, 1.
Byzantium, 2. 54, 2.

Caecilianus, Magius, 3. 37, 1.
Caecilius. See Cornutus.
Caecina, A. Severus, legatus of Lower Germany, 1. 31, 2; 37, 3; 48, 1; 56, 1; 64, 6; 65, 8; 66, 3; 72, 1; 2. 6, 1; speaks in the senate, 3. 18, 3; 33, 1.
Caeles, Vibenna, 4. 65, 1.
Caelius, Mons, at Rome, 4. 64, 1, foll.
Caelius, C., 2. 41, 2. See also Cursor.
Caepio, Crispinus, 1. 74, 1.
Caesar. See Augustus, Tiberius.
Caesar, Gaius Iulius, dictator, 1. 8, 6; 42, 5; 2. 41, 1; 3. 6, 3; 4. 43, 1; replies to a treatise of Cicero, 4. 34, 7.
Caesar, Gaius, grandson of Augustus, 1. 3, 2; 4. 1, 3; sent to the East, 2. 4, 2; 42, 3; 3. 48, 2; married to Livia, 4. 40, 5; death of, 1. 3, 3.
Caesar, Gaius, Caligula, 1. 41, 3; 69, 5; allusion to the death of, 1. 32, 5.
Caesar, L., grandson of Augustus, 1. 3, 2; betrothed to Lepida, 3. 23, 1; death of, 1. 3, 3.
Caesia, Silva, 1. 50, 2.
Caesianus. See Apronius.

Caesius. See Cordus.
Caetronius, C., 1. 44, 3.
Calabria, coast of, 3. 1, 1.
Caligula. See Caesar.
Calpurnius, 1. 39, 7. See also Piso, Salvianus.
Calusidius, 1. 35, 6.
Calvisius. See Sabinus.
Camillus, the great, 2. 52, 8.
Camillus (M.), Furius, proconsul of Africa, 2. 52, 5.
Campania, stay of Tiberius in, 3. 31, 2; 47, 4; dedication of temples in, 4. 57, 1; 67, 1; magistrates of, 3. 2, 1.
Canninefates, the, 4. 73, 2.
Canopus, 2. 60, 1.
Capito, Ateius, the great jurist, 1. 76, 3; 79, 1; 3. 70, 2; 75, 1.
Capito, Fonteius, proconsul of Asia, 4. 36, 4.
Capito, Lucilius, procurator in Asia, 4. 15, 3.
Cappadocia, established as a province on the death of Archelaus, 2. 42, 6; 56, 4; once conquered by Rhamses, 2. 60, 4.
Capreae, island of, 4. 67, 1, foll.
Capua, temple of Jupiter at, 4. 57, 1.
Carsidius Sacerdos, 4. 13, 3.
Cassius, a pantomimist, 1. 73, 2. See also Chaerea, Severus.
Cassius, C. (Longinus), the conspirator against Caesar, 1. 2, 1; 10, 2; 2. 43, 3; praised by Cremutius Cordus, 4. 34, 1; Iunia, wife of, 3. 76, 1.
Cato, M. Porcius (the censor), 3. 66, 2; 4. 56, 1.
Cato, M. Porcius (of Utica), character of, given by Cicero and Caesar, 4. 34, 7.
Cato, Porcius, an informer, 4. 68, 2.
Catonius, Iustus, 1. 29, 2.
Catualda, a Goth, 2. 62, 2, 6.
Catullus, abuse of Caesar by, 4. 34, 8.
Catus, Firmius, accuser of Libo Drusus, 2. 27, 2; 30, 1; punished for false accusation, 4. 31, 7.
Celenderis, in Cilicia, 2. 80, 1.
Celer, Domitius, friend of Cn. Piso, 2. 77, 1; 78, 2; 79, 3.
Celer, Propertius, 1. 75, 5.
Cenchreus, a stream near Ephesus, 3. 61, 1.
Cercina, islands of, 1. 53, 6.
Ceres, temple of, at Rome, 2. 49, 1.
Cestius, a senator, 3. 36, 2.
Cethegus, Cornelius, 4. 17, 1.
Cethegus Labeo, 4. 73, 4.
Chaerea, Cassius, the assassin of Caligula, 1. 32, 5.
Chaldaei, astrologers, 2. 27, 2; 3. 22, 2.
Chariovalda, a Batavian, 2. 11, 3.
Chatti, the, 1. 55, 1; 2. 7, 1; 25, 2; 41, 2; princes of the, 2. 7, 2; 88, 1.
Chauci, the, 1. 38, 1; 2. 24, 3; auxiliaries of Rome, 1. 60, 2; 2. 17, 7.
Cherusci, the, 1. 56, 7; 59, 2; 64, 3; 2. 19, 3; 26, 3; defeated in battle, 2. 16, 4, foll.; 41, 2; at war with the Suebi, 2. 44, 2, foll.
Cibrya, in Asia, injured by earthquake, 4. 13, 1.
Cicero, Cato praised by, 4. 34, 7.
Cilicia, 2. 58, 3; 3. 48, 2; petty kings of, 2. 42, 7; 78, 3; resistance of Cn. Piso in, 2. 80, 1, foll.
Cinithii, the, in Africa, 2. 52, 3.
Cinna, despotism of, 1. 1, 2.
Cirtenses, the, in Africa, 3. 74, 2.
Clanis (Chiana), the, 1. 79, 1.
Clarius. See Apollo.
Claudia Pulchra, cousin of Agrippina, tried and condemned, 4. 52, 1, foll.; son of, 4. 66, 1.
Claudia Quinta, statue of, 4. 64, 4.
Claudius. See Drusus, Marcellus, Nero.
Claudius (Ti.), afterwards emperor, 1. 54, 2; 3. 2, 4; omitted in vote, 3. 18, 4; son of,

betrothed to the daughter of Seianus, 3. 29, 5.
Clausus, Attus, founder of the Claudii, 4. 9, 3.
Clemens, Iulius, 1. 23, 4; 26, 1; 28, 5.
Clemens, a slave, personates Agrippa Postumus, 2. 39, 2, foll.
Clutorius Priscus, trial and execution of, 3. 49–51.
Cocceius. See Nerva.
Coelaletae, the, of Thrace, 3. 38, 5.
Colophon, oracle at, 2. 54, 3.
Cominius, C., pardoned for a libel, 4. 31, 1.
Commagene, kingdom of, 2. 42, 7; placed under a legatus, 2. 56, 5.
Concordia, offering to, 2. 32, 3.
Considius. See Aequus.
Corbulo, Domitius, complains of L. Sulla, 3. 31, 4; prosecutes those responsible for the roads, 3. 31, 7.
Corcyra, Agrippina at, 3. 1, 1.
Cordus, Caesius, 3. 38, 1; 70, 1.
Cordus, Cremutius, trial and defence of, 4. 34–35.
Cornelia, a vestal, 4. 16, 6.
Cornelius. See Balbus, Cethegus, Cinna, Cossus, Dolabella, Lentulus, Merula, Scipio, Sulla.
Cornutus, Caecilius, 4. 28, 2.
Corvus, Valerius, consulships of, 1. 9, 2.
Cosa, in Etruria, 2. 39, 3.
Cossus, Cornelius, 4. 34, 1.
Cotta, L., accused by Scipio Africanus, 3. 66, 2.
Cotta Messalinus, M. Aurelius, 2. 32, 2; 3. 2, 5; 17, 8; 4. 20, 6.
Cotys, king of Thrace, seized and killed by his uncle Rhescuporis, 2. 64–66; wife and children of, 2. 67, 3; 3. 38, 4; 4. 5, 5.
Cous, island of, 2. 75, 2; worship of Aesculapius at, 4. 14, 1.
Cremutius. See Cordus.
Creta, island of, 3. 38, 1; 4. 21, 5; deputation from, 3. 63, 6; laws of Minos for, 3. 26, 4.
Creticus. See Silanus.
Crispinus. See Caepio.
Crispus, Sallustius, confidant of Augustus and Tiberius, 1. 6, 6; 2. 40, 2; 3. 30, 1, foll.
Cruptorix, a Frisian, 4. 73, 7.
Cursor, Caelius, 3. 37, 1.
Curtius. See Atticus.
Cusus (Waag), the, 2. 63, 7.
Cutius. See Lupus.
Cyclades, the, 2. 55, 3.
Cyclopes, legend of the, 3. 61, 2.
Cyme, in Asia, 2. 47, 4.
Cyprus, temples at, 3. 62, 5.
Cyrene, 3. 70, 1.
Cyrrus, in Syria, 2. 57, 2.
Cyrus, of Persia, 3. 62, 4.
Cythnus, island of, 3. 69, 8.
Cyzicus, charge against, 4. 36, 2.

Dahae, the, of Scythia, 2. 3, 1.
Danuvius, the, 2. 63, 1; 4. 5, 5.
Dareus, king of Persia, 3. 63, 5.
Decrius, an officer, 3. 20, 2.
Delmatia, 2. 53, 1; 4. 5, 5; sea of, 3. 9, 1.
Delos, 3. 61, 1.
Delphi, 2. 54, 4.
Dentheliates ager, dispute respecting the, 4. 43, 2.
Diana, of Ephesus, 3. 61, 1; Leucophryna, 3. 62, 1; Limnatis, 4. 43, 1; Persica, 3. 62, 4.
Dii, the, of Thrace, 3. 38, 5.
Dinis, a Thracian, 4. 50, 2.
Dolabella, P., Cornelius, a servile senator, 3. 47, 4; 69, 1; an accuser, 4. 66, 2; proconsul of Africa, 4. 23, 2; defeats and kills Tacfarinas, 4. 24–26.
Domitius. See Afer, Celer, Corbulo, Pollio.
Domitius, Cn. (Ahenobarbus), commander of a fleet in the civil wars, 4. 44, 2.
Domitius, Cn. (Ahenobarbus), husband of Agrippina, 4. 75, 1.
Domitius, L. (Ahenobarbus), killed after Pharsalia, 4. 44, 2.

Domitius, L. (Ahenobarbus), husband of Antonia, 4. 44, 3; commanded in Germany, 1. 63, 6; crossed the Elbe, 4. 44, 3.
Donusa, island of, 4. 30, 2.
Drusus, the tribune, 3. 27, 3.
Drusus (Nero Claudius), brother of Tiberius, imperator, 1. 3, 1; works of, in Germany, 1. 56, 1; 2. 8, 1; 4. 72, 2; altar there to, 2. 7, 3; funeral honours of, 3. 5, 1; remembered with affection, 1. 33, 4; 41, 3; 2. 41, 5; 82, 3.
Drusus Caesar, son of Tiberius, maternal lineage of, 2. 43, 7; 3. 19, 4; character of, 1. 29, 4; 76, 5; 3. 8, 4; 4. 3, 2; friendly to Germanicus and his sons, 2. 43, 7; 4. 4, 2; sent to quell the Pannonian mutiny, 1. 24–30; also to watch the war between Arminius and Maroboduus, 2. 44–46; 62–64; visited in Delmatia by Germanicus, 2. 53, 1; and by Cn. Piso, 3. 8, 1; in Rome at the funeral honours of the former, 3. 2, 4; and during the trial of the latter, 3. 11, 1; receives an ovation, 2. 64, 1; 3. 11, 1; 19, 4; consulships of, 1. 55, 1; 3. 31, 1; tribunician power of, 3. 56, 1; gains popularity in Rome, 3. 31, 3; 36, 4; 37, 2; poisoned by contrivance of his wife Livia, who had been corrupted by Seianus, 4. 3, 2; 8, 1; 11, 4; funeral honours of, 4. 9, 2; conduct of Tiberius at death of, 4. 8, 2; false account of the death of, 4. 10–11.
Drusus Caesar, son of Germanicus, assumes the toga virilis, 4. 4, 1; introduced to the senate, 4. 8, 5; included in the annual 'vota,' 4. 17, 1; praefectus urbis at the feriae Latinae, 4. 36, 1; a partisan of Seianus against his brother, 4. 60, 4. [See Appendix, pp. 209, 211.]
Duilius, C., temple built by, 2. 49, 1.

Egnatius (Rufus), put to death by Augustus, 1. 10, 3.
Elephantine, 2. 61, 2.
Ennius, L., a Roman knight, 3. 70, 2.
Ennius, M'., 1. 38, 2.
Ephesus, temple and sanctuary of Diana at, 3. 61, 1; 4. 55, 6.
Epidaphna, near Antioch, death of Germanicus at, 2. 83, 3.
Erato, queen of Armenia, 2. 4, 3.
Erycus, temple at, 4. 43, 6.
Euboea, 2. 54, 1.
Eudemus, a physician, agent in the death of Drusus, 4. 3, 5; 11, 4.
Euphrates, the, a frontier between Rome and Parthia, 2. 58, 1; 4. 5, 4.

Fabius Maximus (Paullus), story about the death of, 1. 5, 2–4.
Fabricius, 2. 33, 3; allusion to, 2. 88, 2.
Falanius, a knight, 1. 73, 1.
Fidena, fall of amphitheatre at, 4. 62, 2.
Firmius. See Catus.
Flaccus, L. Pomponius, 2. 32, 2; 41, 2; legatus of Moesia, 2. 66, 3; 67, 1.
Flaccus, Vescularius, 2. 28, 1.
Flaminia via, the, 3. 9, 1.
Flavus, brother of Arminius, 2. 9, 2.
Flevum, fort of, 4. 72, 6.
Flora, temple of, 2. 49, 1.
Florentia, petition from, 1. 79, 1.
Florus, Iulius, heads the rising of the Treveri, 3. 40–42.
Fonteius. See Agrippa, Capito.
Fortuna, temples of, 2. 41, 1; 3. 71, 1.
Forum Iulium, colony and naval station of, 2. 63, 7; 4. 5, 1.
Frisii, the, 1. 60, 2; rebellion of, 4. 72–74.
Fronto, Octavius, speaks against luxury, 2. 33, 1.
Fronto, Vibius, 2. 68, 3.

Fulcinius. See Trio.
Fundani montes, the, 4. 59, 2.
Furius. See Camillus.
Furnius, condemned, 4. 52, 2, 6.

Gaetulicus. See Lentulus.
Galba, C. Sulpicius, 3. 52, 1.
Galba, Ser. (Sulpicius), luxury rampant till the rise of, 3. 55, 1.
Gallia, sixty-four states of, 3. 44, 1; census of, 1. 31, 2; 33, 1; 2. 6, 1; supplies and troops from, for the German war, 1. 71, 3; 2. 5, 3; 17, 6; regarded as unwarlike, 3. 46, 2.
Gallus, Asinius, son of Pollio, 1. 12, 6; opinion of Augustus respecting, 1. 13, 2; obnoxious to Tiberius, 1. 12, 6; constantly prominent in the senate, 1. 8, 4; 13, 2; 76, 2; 2. 32, 4; 33, 3; 35, 1; 4. 20, 2; 30, 2; 71, 3. [See Appendix, pp. 209, 211.]
Garamantes, the, 3. 74, 2; 4. 23, 2; 26, 3.
Gellius. See Publicola.
Geminus, Atidius, 4. 43, 5.
Gemoniae, the, at Rome, 3. 14, 6.
Germania, soil and climate of, 2. 23, 3; armies of Upper and Lower, 1. 31, 2; 3. 41, 3; 4. 73, 1.
Germani, military qualities of the, 2. 5, 3; 14, 3–5; banquets of the, 1. 50, 4.
Germanicus Caesar, son of Drusus Nero, maternal ancestry of, 2. 43, 6; personal appearance and popularity of, 1. 33, 5; 2. 13, 1; 41, 4; 72, 3; eloquence of, 2. 83, 4; marriage and children of, 1. 33, 2; 41, 3; 2. 41, 4; 54, 1; contemplated as successor by Augustus, 4. 57, 5; who compels Tiberius to adopt him, and places him in chief command in Germany, 1. 3, 5; jealousy and dislike of Tiberius towards, 1. 7, 1; 52, 1; 62, 3; 2. 5, 1; 26, 6; 42, 1; 43, 5; 59, 3; 3. 2, 5; 4. 1, 1; receives a second consulship, 2. 53, 1; proconsular power, 1. 14, 4; the title of imperator, 1. 58, 9; a triumph, 1. 55, 1; 2. 41, 2; and the award of an ovation, 2. 64, 1; quells with much difficulty and danger the German mutiny, 1. 34–49; his first campaign against the Germans, 1. 49–51; second campaign and burial of the remains of the army of Varus, 1. 56–71; third campaign, 2. 6–26; is sent to the East, 2. 43, 1; visits various localities there, 2. 53–54; settles Armenia, 2. 56; receives offer of friendship from Parthia, is thwarted by Cn. Piso, 2. 55; 57; visits Egypt, 2. 59–61; returns to Syria and falls into an illness suspected to have been caused by Piso, 2. 69; dies and is burnt at Antioch, 2. 71–72; compared with Alexander, 2. 73, 3; public feeling and award of honours at Rome, 2. 82–83; renewed feeling on arrival of the remains, 3. 1–6; investigation respecting the death of, 3. 12–19.
Getae, the, 4. 44, 1.
Gotones, the, 2. 62, 2.
Gracchi, the, 3. 27, 3.
Gracchus, Sempronius, put to death in exile, 1. 53, 4.
Gracchus, Gaius, son of the above, 4. 13, 3.
Graeci, traits of the, 2. 53, 4; 88, 4.
Granius, Q., 4. 21, 3. See Marcellus.
Gyarus, island of, 3. 68, 2; 4. 30, 2.

Hadriaticum mare, the, 2. 53, 1.
Haemus, the range of, 3. 38, 6; 4. 51, 4.
Halicarnasus, 4. 55, 5.
Haterius, Q., an orator and leading senator, 1. 13, 4; 2. 33, 1; 3. 57, 2; 4. 61, 1. See also Agrippa.

Helvius Rufus, 3. 21, 3.
Heniochi, the, 2. 68, 1.
Hercules, 4. 38, 5; Lydian legend of, 3. 61, 3; posterity of, 4. 43, 2; the Egyptian, 2. 60, 3; the German, 2. 12, 1.
Hercynia silva, the, 2. 45, 4.
Hermunduri, the, 2. 63, 6.
Hiberi, the, 4. 5, 4.
Hierocaesarea, in Asia, 2. 47, 4; 3. 62, 4.
Hirtius (A.), suspicion respecting the death of, 1. 10, 1.
Hispania, 1. 71, 3; 78, 1; garrison of, 4. 5, 3; provinces of, 4. 13, 2; 45, 1.
Hispo Romanus, 1. 74, 1.
Homonadenses, the, 3. 48, 2.
Hortalus, M., 2. 37, 1.
Hortensius, the orator, 2. 37, 2; 38, 9.
Hypaepa, 4. 55, 3.
Hyrcani, Macedones, in Asia, 2. 47, 4.

Ianus, temple of, 2. 49, 1.
Idisiaviso, plain of, 2. 16, 1.
Ilium, 2. 54, 3; 4. 55, 4.
Illyricum, 1. 5, 5; 46, 1; 2. 44, 1; 53, 1.
Indus, Iulius, a Treveran, 3. 42, 3.
Inguiomerus, uncle of Arminius, 1. 60, 1; 68, 1; 2. 17, 8; 21, 2; joins Maroboduus, 2. 45, 2; 46, 1.
Interamna, deputation from, 1. 79, 2.
Ionium mare, the, 2. 53, 1.
Italia, fertile plains of, 1. 79, 2; unable to support its own people, 3. 54, 6.
Iuba, made king of Mauretania, 4. 5, 3; son of, 4. 23, 1.
Iudaea, petition from, for reduction of tribute, 2. 42, 7.
Iulia gens, shrine to the, 2. 41, 1; ancestry of the, 4. 9, 3.
Iulia lex, on adultery, 2. 50, 2; 4. 42, 3; on marriage, 3. 25, 1.
Iulia Augusta. See Augusta.
Iulia, daughter of Augustus, 1. 53, 1; 3. 24, 5; 4. 44, 5.
Iulia, granddaughter of Augustus, 3. 24, 5; 4. 71, 6.
Iulia, daughter of Drusus Caesar, 3. 29, 4.
Iulia, daughter of Germanicus, 2. 54, 1.
Iulius. See Caesar, Clemens, Florus, Indus, Postumus, Sacrovir.
Iunius, a senator, 4. 64, 3; a sorcerer, 2. 28, 3. See also Blaesus, Brutus, Otho, Silanus.
Iuno, worshipped at Samos, 4. 14, 1.
Iuppiter, of Salamis in Cyprus, 3. 62, 5.

Labeo, Antistius, a great jurist, 3. 75, 2.
Labeo, Pomponius, 4. 47, 1.
Labeo, Titidius, 2. 85, 3.
Lacedaemon, deputation from, 4. 43, 1.
Langobardi, the, 2. 45, 1.
Lanuvium, 3. 48, 2.
Laodiceia, in Asia, 4. 55, 3; in Syria, 2. 79, 3.
Latiaris, Latinius, 4. 68, 2.
Latium vetus, 4. 5, 5.
Latona, legend of, 3. 61, 1.
Lentulus, the augur, 3. 59, 1.
Lentulus, Cn., 1. 27, 1; 3. 68, 3; 4. 29, 1; 44, 1.
Lentulus Gaetulicus (Cn. Cornelius), 4. 42, 3; 46, 1.
Lepida, Aemilia, trial of, 3. 22, 1, foll.
Lepidus, M. (Aemilius), guardian of princes in Egypt, 2. 67, 4.
Lepidus, M., opponent of Sulla, 3. 26, 4.
Lepidus, the triumvir, 1. 1, 3; 2, 1; 9, 4.
Lepidus, M. Aemilius, 2. 48, 1; proconsul of Asia, 3. 32, 2 (where see note); restores the basilica of Paullus, 3. 72, 3.
Lepidus, M'., character of, 1. 13, 2; 4. 20, 4; defends his sister, 3.

22, 2; and Cn. Piso, 3. 11, 2; speaks against severe decrees, 3. 50, 1, foll.; 4. 20, 3. [See Appendix, p. 211.]
Leptitani, the, 3. 74, 2.
Lesbos, birth of Julia at, 2. 54, 1.
Liber, temple of, at Rome, 2. 49, 1; identified with the eastern Dionysus, 3. 61, 2; 4. 38, 5.
Libo, L. (Scribonius), 2. 1, 1. See also 2. 29, 2.
Libo (M.), Scribonius Drusus, accusation and trial of, 3. 27–32.
Libya, conquered by Rhamses, 2. 60, 4.
Licinius, M., 4. 62, 1.
Ligur, Varius, 4. 42, 3.
Limnatis. See Diana.
Livia. See Augusta.
Livia, sister of Germanicus, and wife of Drusus, 2. 43, 7; 84, 1; 4. 3, 3; corrupted by Seianus and induced to poison her husband, 4. 3, 4; not permitted by Tiberius to marry Seianus, 4. 39–40. [See Appendix, p. 210.]
Livineius Regulus, 3. 11, 2.
Livius, T., the historian, friendship of Augustus for, 4. 34, 4.
Lollius, M., defeated by the Germans, 1. 10, 3; with C. Caesar in the East, 3. 48, 3.
Longus, Lucilius, 4. 15, 2.
Lucilius, 1. 23, 4. See also Capito.
Lucullus, L., 4. 36, 3.
Lugdunum, 3. 41, 2.
Lupia (Lippe), the, 1. 60, 5; 2. 7, 1.
Lupus, Cutius, quaestor, 4. 27, 2.
Lycia, sea of, 2. 60, 4; 79, 1.
Lycurgus, laws of, 3. 26, 4.
Lydia, ancient legends of, 3. 61, 3; 4. 55, 7.
Lygdus, the poisoner of Drusus Caesar, 4. 8, 1; 10, 2; 11, 4.

Macedones. See Hyrcani.
Macedonia, references to former history of, 2. 55, 2; 3. 61, 3; 4. 55, 8; province of, 3. 38, 2; transferred to Caesar, 1. 76, 4; held with Moesia, 1. 80, 1.
Macer, Pompeius, 1. 72, 4.
Maecenas, patron of Bathyllus, 1. 54, 3; lost influence with Augustus, 3. 30, 7.
Magius. See Caecilianus.
Magnesia (ad Maeandrum), 3. 62, 1; 4. 55, 3.
Magnesia a Sipylo, injured by earthquake, 2. 47, 4.
Mallovendus, chief of the Marsi, 2. 25, 2.
Maluginensis, Servius (Cornelius), flamen Dialis, 3. 58, 1; disqualified for a province, 3. 71, 4; death of, 4. 16, 1.
Mamercus. See Scaurus.
Manlius, 2. 50, 5.
Marcellus, M. Claudius, nephew of Augustus, 1. 3, 1; 2. 41, 5; theatre of, 3. 64, 2.
Marcellus, Granius, praetor of Bithynia, 1. 74, 1.
Marcia, wife of Fabius Maximus, 1. 5, 4.
Marcius, P., an astrologer, 2. 32, 5.
Marcomani, the, 2. 46, 5; 62, 3.
Marius, C., consulships of, 1. 9, 2.
Marius, Sex., 4. 36, 1. See also Nepos.
Maroboduus, king of the Suebi, 2. 26, 3; power of, 2. 46, 2; 63, 3; at war with Arminius, 2. 44–46; obliged to seek Roman protection, 2. 62–63; kept 18 years at Ravenna, 2. 63, 5.
Mars Ultor, temple of, at Rome, 2. 64, 2; 3. 18, 3.
Marsi, the, 1. 50, 6; 56, 7; 2. 25, 2.
Marsus, Vibius, a friend of Germanicus, 1. 74, 1; 79, 1; 4. 56, 3.
Martina, a poisoner, 2. 74, 2; 3. 7, 2.
Marus (Morava), the, 2. 63, 7.
Massilia, school of study at, 4. 44, 5; bequest to the people of, 4. 43, 8.

Mater Deum, temple of the, at Rome, 4. 64, 4.
Mattium, 1. 56, 6.
Mauri, the, 2. 52, 3; 4. 5, 3; 23, 1.
Maximus. See Fabius.
Mazippa, a Moor, 2. 52, 3.
Medi, the, conquered by Rhamses, 2. 60, 4; of Media Atropatene, 2. 4, 2; 56, 1.
Memnon, vocal statue of, 2. 61, 1.
Menelaus, legend of, 2. 60, 2.
Merula, Apidius, 4. 42, 3.
Merula, Cornelius, flamen Dialis, 3. 58, 2.
Messalla Corvinus, 3. 34, 2; 4. 34, 6.
Messalla (or Messalinus), Valerius, son of the above, 1. 8, 5; 3. 18, 3; 34, 2. See also Cotta, Volesus.
Messenii, deputation from the, 4. 43, 1.
Metellus, L., pont. max., 3. 71, 4.
Miletus, 2. 54, 4; 3. 63, 5; 4. 43, 5; 55, 6.
Minos, laws of, 3. 26, 4.
Misenum, fleet at, 4. 5, 1.
Mithridates, wars of Rome with, 2. 55, 1; 3. 62, 1; 73, 1; 4. 14, 3; 36, 3.
Moesia, 1. 80, 1; 2. 66, 1; 4. 5, 5; 47, 1.
Montanus, Votienus, 4. 42, 1.
Mosa (Meuse), the, 2. 6, 5.
Moschus, Vulcatius, 4. 43, 8.
Mosteni, in Asia, 2. 47, 4.
Mummius, the conqueror of Achaia, 4. 43, 4.
Munatius. See Plancus.
Musa, Aemilia, 2. 48, 1.
Musulamii, the, 2. 52, 2; 4. 24, 2.
Mutilia. See Prisca.
Myrina, in Asia, 2. 47, 4.

Nabataei, king of the, 2. 57, 5.
Nar (Nera), the, 1. 79, 2; 3. 9, 2.
Narbonensis, Gallia, 2. 63, 7.
Narnia, 3. 9, 2.
Naso, Valerius, 4. 56, 3.
Natta, Pinarius, 4. 34, 2.
Nauportus, 1. 20, 1.
Nepos, Marius, 2. 48, 3.
Neptunus, temple of, at Tenos, 3. 63, 4.
Nero (Tiberius Claudius), father of the emperor, 1. 10, 4. See also Tiberius.
Nero Caesar, son of Germanicus, early betrothal of, 2. 43, 3; enters into public life, 3. 29, 1; marries Julia, daughter of Drusus, 3. 29, 4; introduced to the senate by Tiberius, 4. 8, 5; returns thanks for the cities of Asia, 4. 15, 4; included in the prayer of the pontiffs, 4. 17, 1; assailed by the craft of Seianus, 4. 59, 5; 60, 1, foll.; 67, 5. [See Appendix, p. 209.]
Nerva, Cocceius, a jurist, 4. 58, 1.
Nerva, Silius, 4. 68, 1.
Nicopolis, in Achaia, 2. 53, 1.
Niger. See Bruttedius.
Nilus, the, 2. 60, 1; 61, 1.
Nola, death of Augustus at, 1. 5, 5; 9, 1; temple to Augustus at, 4. 57, 1.
Norbanus, C., 1. 55, 1.
Norbanus, L., 2. 59, 1.
Noricum, province of, 2. 63, 1.
Numa, institutions of, 3. 26, 5.
Numantina, 4. 22, 4.
Numidae, the, 2. 52, 2; 3. 21, 1; 4. 24, 2.

Occia, a Vestal virgin, 2. 86, 1.
Oceanus, used of the North Sea, 1. 70, 2; 2. 23, 1; 24, 1.
Octavia, sister of Augustus, 1. 3, 1; 4. 44, 5; 75, 2.
Octavius, father of Augustus, 1. 9, 1. See also Fronto.
Odrusae, the, of Thrace, 3. 38, 5.
Olennius, an officer set over the Frisii, 4. 72, 2.
Oppia lex, the, 3. 33, 4; 34, 6.
Opsius, M., 4. 68, 2; 71, 1.
Ortygia, near Ephesus, 3. 61, 1.

Ostia, 2. 40, 1.
Otho, Iunius, 3. 66, 1.

Paconius, M., 3. 67, 1.
Pacuvius, legatus, 2. 79, 3.
Pagyda, the, in Africa, 3. 20, 1.
Palatium, the, 1. 13, 7; 2. 34, 5; 37, 3; 40, 4.
Pamphylia, the coast of, 2. 79, 1.
Pandateria, the island of, 1. 53, 1.
Pandusa, Latinius, 2. 66, 1.
Pannonia, the province of, 1. 16, 1, foll.; 52, 3; 3. 9, 1; 4. 5, 5.
Pansa, (Vibius), suspicion respecting the death of, 1. 10, 1.
Paphos, temple of Venus at, 3. 62, 5.
Papia Poppaea lex, the, 3. 25, 1; 28, 4.
Papius Mutilus, 2. 32, 4.
Parthi, the, relations of Rome with, 2. 1–3; 58, 1, foll. [See Appendix, p. 211.]
Patuleius, a knight, 2. 48. 1.
Paullus, the basilica of, 3. 72, 1.
Pedo, (Albinovanus), 1. 60, 2.
Peloponnesus, the, division of, between the Heraclidae, 3. 43, 2; Lydian settlement in, 3. 55, 7.
Percennius, a mutinous soldier, 1. 16, 4; 17, 1, foll.; 28, 6; 29, 4.
Pergamum, temple of Aesculapius at, 3. 63, 3; temple of Augustus at, 4. 37, 4; 55, 6.
Perinthus, in Thrace, 2. 54, 2.
Perpenna, 3. 62, 4.
Persae, conquered by Rhamses, 2. 60, 4; empire of the, 3. 61, 3.
Perseus, war of the Romans with, 4. 55, 2.
Petilius. See Rufus.
Petronius, P., 3. 49, 2.
Pharsalia, battle of, 4. 44, 2.
Philadelphia, in Asia, 2. 47, 4.
Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, 2. 63, 3; 3. 38, 6; 4. 43, 1.
Philippi, battles of, 3. 76, 1; 4. 35, 3.
Philippopolis, 3. 38, 6.
Philippus, (L. Marcius), 3. 72, 2.
Philopator, a Cilician king, 2. 42, 7.
Phraates, king of Parthia, 2. 1, 2; 2, 1.
Picenum, 3. 9, 1.
Pinarius. See Natta.
Piso, (Cn. Calpurnius), an aristocrat in the civil wars, 2. 43, 3.
Piso, Cn., son of the above, 1. 13, 3; 74, 6; 79, 5; husband of Plancina, 2. 43, 4; sent to Syria as legatus, 2. 43, 3; opposes Germanicus, 2. 55, 1, foll.; neglects his orders and insults him personally, 2. 57, 1, foll.; suspected of attempting poison and witchcraft, 2. 69, 5; intends to leave Syria, but delays his departure, 2. 69, 3; receives formal renunciation of friendship and leaves Syria, 2. 70, 3; offers thankofferings on hearing of the death of Germanicus, 2. 75, 2; determines to recover Syria by force, 2. 76–80; is forced to submit and allowed to return to Rome, 2. 81; journey and return to Rome, 3. 8–9; trial and death, 3. 10–18.
Piso, Cn., son of the above, 3. 16, 5; ordered to change his praenomen, 3. 17, 8; probably afterwards called L. Calpurnius, 4. 62, 1.
Piso, L., complains of accusers, and summons Urgulania into court, 2. 34, 1, foll.; defends Cn. Piso, 3. 11, 2; is accused, and dies before trial, 4. 21. See also notes on 2. 32, 4; 3. 68, 2.
Piso, L., murdered in Spain, 4. 45, 1.
Piso, M., son of Cn. Piso, 2. 76, 2; 78, 3; 3. 16, 5; excused by Tiberius, 3. 17, 1; 18, 2.
Pituanius, L., 2. 32, 5.
Pius, Aurelius, 1. 75, 3.
Planasia, the island of, 1. 3, 4; 5, 1; 2. 39, 2.
Plancina, wife of Cn. Piso, lineage

and character of, 2. 43, 4; intrigues with the soldiers, 2. 55, 5; shows joy at the death of Germanicus, 2. 75, 3; returns to Rome, 3. 9, 2; obtains pardon through Augusta, 3. 15, 1; 17, 1.
Plancus, Munatius, 1. 39, 4, foll.
Plautius. See Silvanus.
Plinius, C., history of the German wars by, 1. 69, 3.
Poeni, wars with the, 2. 49, 1; 59, 2.
Polemo, king of Pontus, 2. 56, 2.
Pollio, Asinius, boldness of, 1. 12, 6; writings of, 4. 34, 6.
Pollio, Domitius, 2. 86, 1.
Pollio, Vedius, luxury of, 1. 10, 4.
Pompeiopolis, in Cilicia, 2. 58, 3.
Pompeius. See Macer.
Pompeius, (Cn. Magnus), 1. 1, 3; inconsistent conduct of, 3. 28, 1; praise of, by Livy, 4. 34, 4.
Pompeius, Sex. (Cn. f.), 1. 2, 1; 10, 2.
Pompeius, Sex., 1. 7, 2; 3. 11, 2; 32, 2.
Pomponius. See Atticus, Flaccus, Labeo.
Pontes longi, the, 1. 63, 5.
Ponticum os, the entrance of the Euxine, 2. 54, 2.
Poppaeus. See Sabinus.
Porcius. See Cato.
Postumius, A., temple vowed by, 2. 49, 1; another, 3. 71, 4.
Postumus, Iulius, 4. 12, 6. See also Agrippa.
Prisca, Mutilia, 4. 12, 6.
Priscus, Ancharius, 3. 38, 1; 70, 1. See Clutorius, Tarquinius.
Proculeius, C., contemplated as son-in-law by Augustus, 4. 40, 8.
Propontis, the, 2. 54, 2.
Ptolemaeus (Epiphanes), 2. 67, 4.
Ptolemaeus, king of Mauretania, 4. 23, 1; 24, 3; 26, 4.
Publicii, the brothers L. and M., temple of Flora built by, 2. 49, 1.
Publicola, Gellius, 3. 67, 1.
Pulchra, Claudia, cousin of Agrippina, condemned for adultery, 4. 52, 1, foll.
Pyramus (Iukoon), the, 2. 68, 2.
Pyrrhus, reference to wars with, 2. 63, 3; 88, 2.

Quadi, the, in Germany, 2. 63, 7.
Querquetulanus, old name of the Mons Caelius, 4. 65, 1.
Quintilius. See Varus.
Quirinius, P. Sulpicius, origin and actions of, 3. 48, 1, foll.; related to Libo Drusus, 2. 30, 4; husband of Lepida, 3. 22, 1; honoured by a public funeral, 3. 48, 1; unpopular, 3. 23, 1; 48, 4.
Quirinus, deification of, 4. 38, 5.

Raetia, 1. 44, 6; cohorts from, 2. 17, 6.
Ravenna, 4. 29, 3; fleet stationed at, 4. 5, 1; prisoners kept at, 1. 58, 9; 2. 63, 5.
Reate, deputation from, 1. 79, 3.
Remmius, an 'evocatus,' 2. 68, 3.
Rhamses, conquests of, 2. 60, 4.
Rhenus, lower course of the, 2. 6, 5.
Rhescuporis, king of Thrace, 2. 64–67; 3. 38, 2.
Rhodus, 2. 55, 3; retirement of Tiberius to, 1. 4, 4; 53, 2; 2. 42, 2; 4. 15, 2.
Rhoemetalces, king of Thrace under Augustus, 2. 64, 3.
Rhoemetalces, his nephew, son of Rhescuporis, 2. 67, 4; 3. 38, 4; 4. 5, 5; 47, 1.
Roma, worship of, in provinces, 4. 38, 4; 56, 1.
Romanus. See Hispo.
Romulus, ruled without law, 3. 26, 5; an ancestor of the Iulii, 4. 9, 3.
Rubellius. See Blandus.
Rubrius, a knight, 1. 73, 1.
Rufilla, Annia, 3. 36, 3.
Rufus. See Aufidienus, Helvius, Trebellenus.
Rufus, Petilius, 4. 68, 2.

Rutilius, P., accused by M. Scaurus, 3. 66, 2; naturalised at Zmyrna, 4. 43, 7.

Sabini, sacred rites of the, 1. 54, 1; noble families of the, 4. 9, 3.
Sabinus, Calvisius, 4. 46, 1.
Sabinus, Poppaeus, governor of Moesia, Macedonia, and Achaia, 1. 80, 1; actions of in Thrace, 4. 46–51.
Sabinus, Titius, a friend of Germanicus and his house, 4. 18, 1; 19, 1; entrapped and put to death, 4. 68–70.
Sacrovir, Iulius, leader of the Aeduan rising, 3. 40, 1; 41, 4; 43, 1; 45, 3; 46, 7; 4. 18, 1.
Sallustius, C., the historian, 3. 30, 3. See also Crispus.
Saloninus, Asinius, 3. 75.
Salvianus, Calpurnius, 4. 36, 1.
Samos, asylum and temple of Juno at, 4. 14, 1.
Samothracia, worship at, 2. 54, 3.
Sardes, injured by earthquake, 2. 47, 3; asylum at, 3. 63, 5; desirous of erecting a temple to Tiberius, 4. 55, 7.
Sardinia, Jews deported to, 2. 85, 5.
Satrius, Secundus, client of Seianus, accuses Cordus, 4. 34, 2.
Saturninus, mentioned as a demagogue, 3. 27, 3.
Saturnus, temple of, at Rome, 2. 41, 1.
Scantia, a Vestal virgin, 4. 16, 6.
Scaurus, Mamercus Aemilius, a leading senator and orator, 1. 13, 4; 3. 23, 3; 31, 5; 66, 2. [See Appendix, p. 211.]
Scaurus, M., the accuser of Rutilius, 3. 66, 3.
Scipio, L. (Cornelius, Asiaticus), decree of, 3. 62, 1.
Scipio, P., (the elder Africanus), imitated by Germanicus, 2. 59, 2.
Scipio, Africanus (the younger), accuser of L. Cotta, 3. 66, 2.
Scipio, Cornelius, 3. 74, 2.
Scipio (Q. Caecilius), named with honour, 4. 34, 5.
Scribonia, wife of Augustus, related to Libo Drusus, 2. 27, 2.
Scribonius. See Libo.
Scythae, the, 2. 65, 5; 68, 1; conquered by Rhamses, 2. 60, 4.
Secundus. See Satrius.
Segestani, deputation from the, 4. 43, 6.
Segestes, father-in-law of Arminius, and friendly to the Romans, 1. 55, 2; 57, 1, foll.; 58, 1, foll.; 59, 1.
Segimerus, brother of the above, 1. 71, 1.
Segimundus, son of Segestes, 1. 57, 2.
Seianus, (L.) Aelius, origin and early history of, 4. 1, 2, foll.; colleague of his father as praef. praet., and sent with Drusus to Pannonia, 1. 24, 3; sole praefect, 4. 1, 2; prejudices Tiberius against the family of Germanicus, 1. 69, 7; 4. 12, 3; 17, 4; 54, 1; 67, 5; manages the concentration of the praetorian guard, 4. 2, 1; contrives the murder of Drusus, son of Tiberius, 4. 3, 1, foll.; obtains the betrothal of his daughter to a son of Claudius, 3. 29, 5; asks permission to marry Livia, widow of Drusus Caesar, 4. 39, 1; urges Tiberius to leave Rome, 4. 41, 2; saves his life in a cave, 4. 59, 4; extravagantly honoured by the senate, armies, and people, 3. 72, 5; 4. 2, 4; 74, 3, 4. [See Appendix, pp. 209, 210.]
Seius. See Strabo, Tubero.
Seleucia, near Antioch, 2. 69, 4.
Semnones, a Suebic tribe, 2. 45, 1.
Sempronius. See Gracchus.
Sentius, Cn. (Saturninus), temporary legatus of Syria, 2. 74, 1; 79, 4; 81, 2; 3. 7, 2.

Septimius, a centurion, 1. 32, 4.
Sequani, the, in Gaul, 3. 45, 1.
Serenus, C. Vibius, accuser of Libo, 2. 30, 1; banished for misconduct in Spain, 4. 13, 2; brought back to answer a further charge, 4. 28, 1; disliked by Tiberius, 4. 29, 3; sent back to Amorgus, 4. 30, 2.
Serenus, Vibius, son of the above, accuses his father, 4. 28, 1; and others, 4. 29, 1; 36, 4.
Seriphos, island of, 2. 85, 4; 4. 21, 5.
Sertorius, reference to the war with, 3. 73, 3.
Servaeus, Q., governs Commagene, 2. 56, 5; accuses Cn. Piso, 3. 13, 3.
Servilius, M., 2. 48, 1; 3. 22, 4.
Servius Tullius, laws of, 3. 26, 6.
Severus, Cassius, banished for libel by Augustus, 1. 72, 4; further punished by Tiberius, 4. 21, 5. See also Caecina.
Siculum fretum, the, 1. 53, 1.
Silanus, Creticus, 2. 4, 4; 43, 3.
Silanus (App.), Iunius, consul, 4. 68, 1.
Silanus, C., tried, 3. 66–69; 4. 15, 4.
Silanus, D. Iunius, returns from voluntary exile, 3. 24, 1.
Silanus, M., brother of the above, 3. 24, 5; another, 2. 59, 1.
Silius, C., legatus of Upper Germany, 1. 31, 2; 2. 6, 1; 7, 1; 25, 2; receives 'triumphalia,' 1. 72, 1; employed against the Treveri and Aedui, 3. 42, 2; 43, 4; 45, 1; 46, 2; husband of Sosia, a friend of Agrippina, 4. 19, 1; charged with treason and forced to suicide, 4. 18–20. See also Nerva.
Silvanus, Plautius, murders his wife, 4. 22, 1.
Sirpicus, a centurion, 1. 23, 6.
Sisenna. See Taurus.
Smyrna. See Zmyrna.
Solon, laws of, 3. 26, 4.
Sosia Galla, wife of C. Silius, 4. 19, 1; exiled, 4. 20, 2.
Spartacus, reference to, 3. 73, 3.
Spelunca, villa at, 4. 59, 2.
Staius, an officer, 4. 27, 3.
Statilius. See Taurus.
Stertinius, L., an officer of Germanicus, 1. 60, 4; 71, 1; 2. 8, 4; 11, 4; 17, 1; 22, 3.
Strabo, Seius, praefect of the praetorian guard and father of Seianus, 1. 7, 3; 24, 3; 4. 1, 3.
Stratoniceia, asylum at, 3. 62, 2.
Stratonicis. See Venus.
Suebi, the, of Germany, 1. 44, 6; 2. 26, 3; 44, 2; 45, 1; 62, 4.
Sugambri, the, of Germany, 2. 26, 3; auxiliaries of Rome, 4. 47, 5.
Suillius, P., banished, 4. 31, 5, foll.
Sulla, L. (Cornelius), the dictator, 1. 1, 3; 2. 55, 1; 3. 62, 1; assisted by the Zmyrnaeans, 4. 56, 2; legislation of, 3. 27, 4.
Sulla, L., a young noble, 3. 31, 4.
Sulpicius. See Galba, Quirinius.
Surrentum, promontory of, 4. 67, 1.
Syene, in Egypt, 2. 61, 2.
Syria, once conquered by Rhamses, 2. 60, 4; the province of, 1. 42, 5; 2. 55, 4; 58, 1; 69, 3; 78, 2; governors of, 2. 4, 4; 43, 3; 74, 1; 81, 3; military force of, 4. 5, 4; petition from for reduction of tribute, 2. 42, 7.

Tacfarinas, routed by Camillus in Africa, 2. 52, 1, foll.; rises again and is driven into the desert, 3. 20–21; again in arms, 3. 32, 1; successes of Blaesus against, 3. 73–74; finally defeated and killed by Dolabella, 4. 23–26.
Tamfana, temple of, 1. 51, 2.
Tantalus, said to have founded Zmyrna, 4. 56, 1.
Tarentum, treaty of, 1. 10, 2.

Tarquinius Priscus, 4. 65, 1.
Tarquinius Superbus, institutions on the expulsion of, 3. 27, 1.
Tarracina, remains of Germanicus met at, 3. 2, 4.
Tarraconensis Colonia, temple to Augustus at, 1. 78, 1.
Tarsa, a Thracian, 4. 50, 3.
Tatius, T., founder of Sodales Titii, 1. 54, 1.
Taunus, the hilly tract of, in Germany, 1. 56, 1.
Taurus, Sisenna Statilius, 2. 1, 1.
Taurus (Statilius), 3. 72, 2.
Tedius, Q., luxury of, 1. 10, 4.
Telamon, father of Teucer, 3. 62, 5.
Teleboae, the, early inhabitants of Capreae, 4. 67, 4.
Temnos, in Asia, 2. 47, 4.
Tenos, temple of Neptune at, 3. 63, 4.
Termestini, the, in Spain, 4. 45, 1.
Teucer, temple in Cyprus to Salaminian Jove said to have been founded by, 3. 62, 5.
Teutoburgiensis saltus, the, in Germany, 1. 60, 5.
Thala, in Africa, 3. 21, 2.
Thebae, in Egypt, 2. 60, 3.
Theophilus, 2. 55, 2.
Theseus, said to have founded Zmyrna, 4. 56, 1.
Thraecia, 2. 54, 2; settlement of by Augustus, 2. 64, 3; resettled by Tiberius after the death of Cotys and deposition of Rhescuporis, 2. 67, 4; 4. 5, 5; still disturbed, 3. 38, 4, foll.; subsequent insurrection in, 4. 46–51.
Thubuscum, in Africa, 4. 24, 1.
Tiberis, floods of the, 1. 76, 1; 79, 1.
Tiberius Claudius Nero, afterwards Tiberius Caesar, stepson of Augustus, brought up by Augustus from childhood and loaded with honours, 1. 4, 4; sent to the East, 2. 3, 4; and nine times to Germany, 2. 26, 3; receives title of imperator, 1. 3, 1; and tribunician power, 3. 56, 3; 1. 3, 3; 10, 7; married to Vipsania, 1. 12, 6; afterwards to Julia, 1. 53, 2; retires to Rhodes, 1. 4, 4; 53, 2; 2. 42, 2; 3. 48, 3; 4. 57, 3; adopted by Augustus and shown as his 'collega imperii' through the influence of Livia, 1. 3, 3; 4. 57, 4; reputed capable, but proud and cruel, 1. 4, 3; summoned from Illyricum at the death of Augustus, 1. 5, 5; pretends ignorance respecting the murder of Agrippa Postumus, 1. 6, 5; assumes informally the insignia of princeps, but summons the senate only to order the funeral, 1. 7, 1—8, 1; makes show of reluctance to accept the principate, 1. 11–13; observes moderation in accepting titles for himself and his mother, 1. 14, 3; 72, 2; 2. 87, 2; holds consulships, 2. 53, 1; 3. 31, 1; is saluted imperator, 2. 18, 2; accepts a temple in Asia, 4. 15, 4; but refuses one in Spain, 4. 37, 2; 38, 4; is averse to war and conquest, 4. 32, 3; leaves Germany to internal conflict, 2. 26, 3; but secures by craft Maroboduus, 2. 63, 5; Rhescuporis of Thrace, 2. 64, 2; and Archelaus of Cappadocia, 2. 42, 4; governs generally with justice during the first eight years, 4. 6, 1; 7, 1; shows great reverence for the policy of Augustus, 1. 77, 4; 4. 37, 4; liberal to provinces, 2. 47, 3; 4. 6, 7; 13, 1; keeps officers long at their posts, 1. 80, 2; 4. 6, 5; awards honours well, 4. 6, 2; not at first covetous of money, 2. 48, 1; 3. 18, 2; bountiful in gifts to some, 1. 75, 4; 2. 37, 1; 86, 2; 4. 64,

1; but harsh to others, 1. 75, 6; 2. 38, 1; 48, 3; checks the servility of senators, 3. 47, 4; 59, 2; 4. 6, 2; sets example of frugality, 3. 52, 2; 4. 6, 7; but declines to enforce sumptuary laws, 2. 33, 6; 3. 53, 1, foll.; and allows relaxation in other laws, 3. 28, 6; 4. 16, 1; chiefly blamed for reviving the law of maiestas, 1. 72, 2; 4. 6, 3; encouraging informers, 1. 74, 2; 2. 28, 1; and putting pressure on the praetor's court, 1. 75, 1; though observing moderation in respect of charges and sentences, 1. 73, 3; 74, 7; 2. 50, 4; 3. 22, 3; 51, 2; 70, 2; makes pretence of intending to visit the provinces, 1. 47, 5; 3. 47, 3; 4. 4, 4; shows illwill to Germanicus and his house (see Agrippina, Germanicus, Nero); at variance with his mother (see Augusta); becomes more cruel under the influence of Seianus, 4. 1, 2 (see Seianus); and after the death of Drusus (see Drusus Caesar); shows little feeling at the death of his son, 4. 8, 2; another tale rejected by Tacitus, 4. 10-11; shows severity at several trials, 4. 19, 2; 22, 2; 29, 3; 31, 5; 34. 2; 42, 3; 70, 1; becomes keen for confiscation, 4. 20, 2; protects informers, 4. 30, 4; 31, 8; 36, 5; but sometimes destroys them, 4. 71, 1; pardons Cominius, 4. 31, 1; declines to give a husband to Agrippina, 4. 53, 1, foll.; or to permit Seianus to marry Livia, 4. 40, 1, foll.; absent for a year in Campania, 3. 31, 2; 64, 1; leaves Rome permanently, 4. 57, 1; takes up his residence in Capreae, 4. 67, 1; afraid to employ an army against the Frisii, 4. 74, 1; shows himself with Seianus in Campania, 4. 74, 4; gives the younger Agrippina in marriage to Domitius, 4. 75, 1. [See Appendix, pp. 209-212.]

Ticinum, 3. 5, 2.

Tigranes, king of Armenia, 2. 3, 4.

Titidius. See Labeo.

Titius. See Sabinus.

Tmolus, in Asia, 2. 47, 4.

Torquata, sister of C. Silanus, 3. 69, 9.

Tralles, in Asia, 4. 55, 3.

Trebellenus Rufus, guardian of the children of Cotys, king of Thrace, 2. 67, 4; 3. 38, 4.

Treveri, the, of Gaul, 1. 41, 2; 3. 40, 1; 42, 1; 44, 1.

Trimerus, island of, 4. 71, 6.

Trivia, worship of, at Stratoniceia, 3. 62, 3.

Troia, parent of Rome, 4. 55, 4.

Tubantes, the, in Germany, 1. 51, 4.

Tubero, Seius, legatus, 2. 20, 2; falsely accused, 4. 29, 1.

Tullius. See Cicero, Servius.

Tullus Hostilius, some laws ascribed to, 3. 26, 5.

Turesis, a Thracian, 4. 50, 3, 5.

Turoni, the, of Gaul, 3. 41, 1; 46, 3.

Turranius, C., 1. 7, 3.

Tyrrhenus, the supposed Lydian ancestor of the Tyrrheni, 4. 55, 7.

Ubii, the, in Germany, 1. 31, 3; 'civitas' of, 1. 37, 3; 71, 1; 'oppidum' of, 1. 36, 1; 'ara' of, 1. 39, 1; 57, 2.

Umbria, 4. 5, 5.

Urgulania, a friend of Augusta, 2. 34, 3; 4. 21, 1; 22, 3.

Usipetes, the, in Germany, 1. 51, 4.

Vahalis, (Waal), the, 2. 6, 5.

Valerius. See Corvus, Messalla, Messalinus, Naso.

Vannius, a Quadian, 2. 63, 7.
Varilla, Appuleia, 2. 50, 1.
Varius. See Ligur.
Varro, Vibidius, 2. 48, 3.
Varro, Visellius, legatus of Lower Germany, 3. 41, 3.
Varro, Visellius, son of the above, accuser of Silius, 4. 17, 1; 19, 1.
Varus, Quintilius, allusions to the defeat of, 1. 3, 6; 43, 2; 55, 3; 60, 4, foll.; 61, 3, foll.; 65, 4; 71, 2; 2. 25, 2; 45, 4.
Varus, Quintilius, son of the above, accused, 4. 66, 1.
Vedius. See Pollio.
Velinus, the lake of the, 1. 79, 3.
Vellaeus, P., 3. 39, 1.
Venus, Amathusia, 3. 62, 5; Erycina, 4. 43, 6; Paphia, 3. 62, 5; Stratonicis, 3. 62, 3.
Veranius, Q., governor of Cappadocia, 2. 56, 4; an accuser of Cn. Piso, 2. 74, 2; 3. 10, 2; 13, 3; 17, 4; 19, 1.
Vescularius. See Flaccus.
Vespasianus, influence of the frugality of, 3. 55, 5.
Vesuvius, eruption of, 4. 67, 3.
Vetera, camp at, 1. 45, 1.
Vetus, Antistius, 3. 38, 2.
Vibenna. See Caeles.
Vibidius. See Varro.
Vibilius, a chief of the Hermunduri, in Germany, 2. 63, 7.
Vibius. See Fronto, Marsus, Serenus.
Vibulenus, 1. 22, 1; 28, 6; 29, 4.
Vindelici, cohorts of, in the Roman army, 2. 17, 6.
Vinicius, P., an orator, 3. 11, 2.
Vipsania, daughter of Agrippa, wife of Tiberius and of Asinius Gallus, 1. 12, 6; death of, 3. 19, 4.
Vipsanius. See Agrippa.
Vipstanus Gallus, 2. 51, 1.
Visellius. See Varro.
Vistilia, a profligate woman of high rank, 2. 85, 2.
Visurgis (Weser), the, 2. 9, 1; 11, 1; 12, 1; 16, 2; 17, 8 (and MS. text in 1. 70, 7).
Vitellia, 3. 49, 2.
Vitellius, P., legatus under Germanicus, 1. 70, 1, foll.; 2. 6, 1; an accuser of Cn. Piso, 2. 74, 2; 3. 10, 2; 13, 3; 17, 4; 19, 1.
Vitellius, Q., expelled from the senate, 2. 48, 3.
Volesus, Messalla, punished by Augustus, 3. 68, 1.
Volusius, L., death of, 3. 30, 1.
Vonones, king of Parthia, afterwards of Armenia, 2. 1, 1; 2, 1; 3, 2; in Roman custody, 2. 4, 4; 58, 3; put to death, 2. 68, 3.
Votienus. See Montanus.
Vulcatius. See Moschus.
Vulsinii, the birthplace of Seianus, 4. 1, 3.

Zeno, made king of Armenia and called Artaxias, 2. 56, 2.
Zmyrna, temple of Venus at, 3. 63, 4; Rutilius made a citizen of, 4. 43, 7; allowed to build the temple to Tiberius for Asia, 4. 56, 1, foll.

THE END.

PRINTED IN ENGLAND.

CLARENDON PRESS BOOKS
LATIN AND GREEK

Grammars and Exercise Books

Extra fcap 8vo

Mr. J. B. Allen's Elementary Series

Rudimenta Latina. Comprising accidence and exercises of a very elementary character for the use of beginners. 2s.

An Elementary Latin Grammar. 266th thousand. 2s. 6d.

A First Latin Exercise Book. Eighth edition. 2s. 6d.

A Second Latin Exercise Book. Second edition. 3s. 6d.

Key (see note p. 35) to both Exercise Books. 5s. net.

An Elementary Greek Grammar. Containing accidence and elementary syntax. 3s.

The Oxford Elementary Latin Readers

By J. B. Allen: with notes, maps, vocabularies and English exercises; stiff covers, 1s. 6d. each. These books are of the same and not of graduated difficulty.

Lives from Cornelius Nepos.
Tales of Early Rome.
Tales of the Roman Republic, Part I.
Tales of the Roman Republic, Part II.
} Adapted from the Text of Livy.

By W. D. Lowe: with notes, maps, vocabularies, and English exercises.

Tales of the Civil War. 1s. 6d.

Scenes from the Life of Hannibal. Selected from Livy. 1s. 6d.

Caesar in Britain; Selections from the Gallic War. Illustrated. 1s.

Stories from Ovid. 1s. 6d.

Extracts from Cicero, with notes, by Henry Walford. In three Parts. Third edition. Part I. Anecdotes from Grecian and Roman History. 1s. 6d. Part II. Omens and Dreams: Beauties of Nature. 1s. 6d. Part III. Rome's Rule of her Provinces. 1s. 6d. Parts I–III, 4s. 6d.

Extracts from Livy, with notes and maps, by H. Lee-Warner. New edition. Part I. The Caudine Disaster. Part II. Hannibal's Campaign in Italy. Part III, by H. Lee-Warner and T. W. Gould. The Macedonian War. 1s. 6d. each.

A First Latin Reader, by T. J. Nunns. Third edition. 2s.

An Introduction to Latin Syntax, by W. S. Gibson. 2s.

Mr. C. S. Jerram's Series

Reddenda Minora; or easy passages, Latin and Greek, for unseen translation. For the use of lower forms. Sixth edition, revised and enlarged. 1s. 6d. Latin extracts, separately, 1s.

Anglice Reddenda; or extracts, Latin and Greek, for unseen translation. First Series. Fifth edition. 2s. 6d. Second Series. New edition. 2s. (Also Latin extracts (First and Second Series), 2s. 6d.; Greek extracts, 3s.) Third Series. 3s.

Prof. von. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's *Griechisches Lesebuch*

Greek Reader. Selected and adapted with English notes by E. C. Marchant. Crown 8vo. 2 vols., each (with or without Vocabulary), 2s.

Other Greek Readers and Primers

Easy Reader, by Evelyn Abbot. In stiff covers. 2s. First Reader, by W. G. Rushbrooke. Third Edition. 2s. 6d. Second Reader, by A. M. Bell. Second edition. 3s. Specimens of Greek Dialects; being a Fourth Greek Reader. With introductions, etc. by W. W. Merry. 4s. 6d. Homer and the Greek Dramatists; being a Fifth Greek Reader. With explanatory notes and introductions to the study of Greek Epic and Dramatic Poetry, by Evelyn Abbott. 4s. 6d.

Xenophon (see p. 43) and Plutarch

Easy Selections from Xenophon, with a vocabulary, notes, illustrations carefully chosen from coins, casts and ancient statues, and map, by J. S. Phillpotts and C. S. Jerram. Third edition. 3s. 6d.

Selections from Xenophon, with notes, illustrations, and maps, by J. S. Phillpotts. Fifth ed. 3s. 6d. Key (see p. 35) to §§ 1-3, 2s. 6d. net.

Selections from Plutarch's Caesar. Crown 8vo, large type. Edited by R. L. A. Du Pontet. 2s. (With or without Vocabulary.)

A Greek Testament Primer. For the use of students beginning Greek, by E. Miller. Second edition. Paper covers, 2s.; cloth, 3s. 6d.

A Greek Primer. By the Right Rev. Charles Wordsworth. Eighty-sixth thousand. 1s. 6d. Graecae Grammaticae Rudimenta. Nineteenth edition. 4s.

Latin Dictionaries

A Latin Dictionary. Founded on Andrews's edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary. By Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short. 4to. 25s.

A School Latin Dictionary. By C. T. Lewis. 4to. 12s. 6d.

Elementary Latin Dictionary. By C. T. Lewis. Square 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Scheller's Latin Dictionary. Revised and translated into English by J. E. Riddle. Folio. 21s. net.

Greek Dictionaries: Liddell & Scott

A Greek-English Lexicon. Eighth edition, revised. 4to. 36s.

An Intermediate Greek Lexicon. Small 4to. 12s. 6d.

An Abridged Greek Lexicon. Sq. 12mo. 7s. 6d.

Comparative Grammar

An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin. By J. E. King and C. Cookson. Extra fcap 8vo. 5s. 6d.

The Principles of Sound and Inflexion, as illustrated in the Greek and Latin Languages. By J. E. King and C. Cookson. 8vo. 18s.

Comparative Philology. By T. L. Papillon. Ed. 3. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Latin and Greek Prose Composition

Mr. J. Y. Sargent's Course. Extra fcap 8vo

Primer of Latin Prose Composition. 2s. 6d.

Passages for Translation into Latin Prose. Eighth edition. 2s. 6d. Key (see note below) to the eighth edition, 5s. net.

Primer of Greek Prose. [Out of print.] Key (see note below), 5s. net.

Passages for Translation into Greek Prose. 3s.

Exemplaria Graeca. Select Greek versions of the above. 3s.

Other Prose Composition Books. Extra fcap 8vo

Ramsay's Latin Prose Composition. Fourth edition.
Vol. I: Syntax and Exercises. 4s. 6d. Or Part 1, First Year's Course, 1s. 6d.; Part 2, Second Year's Course, 1s. 6d.; Part 3, Syntax and Appendix, 2s. 6d. Key (see note below) to the volume, 5s. net.
Vol. II: Passages for Translation. 4s. 6d.

Latin Prose Versions. Contributed by various Scholars, edited by G. G. Ramsay. Extra fcap 8vo, 5s.

Jerram's Graece Reddenda. Being exercises for Greek Prose. 2s. 6d.

Unseen Translation

Jerram's Reddenda Minora and Anglice Reddenda. See p. 33.

Fox and Bromley's Models and Exercises in Unseen Translation. Revised edition. Extra fcap 8vo. 5s. 6d. A Key (see note below) giving references for the passages contained in the above, 6d. net.

Latin and Greek Verse

Lee-Warner's Helps and Exercises for Latin Elegiacs. 3s. 6d. Key (see note below) 4s. 6d. net.

Rouse's Demonstrations in Latin Elegiac Verse. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. (Exercises and versions.)

Laurence's Helps and Exercises for Greek Iambic Verse. 3s. 6d. Key (see note below) 5s. net.

Sargent's Models and Materials for Greek Iambic Verse. 4s. 6d. Key (see note below) 5s. net.

Nova Anthologia Oxoniensis. Edited by Robinson Ellis and A. D. Godley. Crown 8vo buckram extra, 6s. net; on India paper, 7s. 6d. net.

Musa Clauda. Being translations into Latin Elegiac Verse, by S. G. Owen and J. S. Phillimore. Crown 8vo, boards, 3s. 6d.

KEYS

Application for all Keys to be made direct to the Secretary, Clarendon Press, Oxford, and accompanied by a remittance. Keys can be obtained by teachers or bona fide private students.

Annotated editions of Latin Authors

For Oxford Classical Texts see p. 41 ; for Oxford Translations, p. 21.

Aetna. A critical recension of the Text, with prolegomena, translation, commentary, and index verborum. By Robinson Ellis. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

Avianus, The Fables. With prolegomena, critical apparatus, commentary, etc. By Robinson Ellis. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

Caesar, De Bello Gallico, I-VII. In two crown 8vo volumes. By St. G. Stock. Vol. I, Introduction, 5s. ; Vol. II, Text and Notes, 6s.

The Gallic War. By C. E. Moberly. Second edition. With maps. Books I-III, 2s. ; III-V, 2s. 6d. ; VI-VIII, 3s. 6d.

The Civil War. By the same editor. 3s. 6d.

Catullus, Commentary on. By Robinson Ellis. Ed. 2. 8vo. 18s. net.

Carmina Selecta. Text only, for Schools. 3s. 6d.

Cicero, de Amicitia. By St. George Stock. 3s.

de Senectute. By L. Huxley. 2s.

in Catilinam. By E. A. Upcott. Third edition. 2s. 6d.

in Q. Caecilium Divinatio and in C. Verrem Actio Prima. By J. R. King. Second Edition, revised. 2s.

pro Cluentio. By G. G. Ramsay. Second ed. 3s. 6d.

pro Marcello, pro Ligario, pro Rege Deiotaro. By W. Y. Fausset. Second edition. 2s. 6d.

pro Milone. By A. C. Clark. 8vo. 8s. 6d. By A. B. Poynton. Second edition. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Philippics, I, II, III, V, VII. By J. R. King. Revised by A. C. Clark. 3s. 6d.

pro Roscio. By St. George Stock. 3s. 6d.

Select Orations, viz. in Verrem Actio Prima, de Imperio Gn. Pompeii, pro Archia, Philippica IX. By J. R. King. Second edition. 2s. 6d.

Select Letters. With introductions, notes, and appendices. By A. Watson. Fourth edition. 8vo. 18s. Text only of the large edition. By the same. Third edition. Extra fcap 8vo. 4s.

Selected Letters. By C. E. Prichard and E. R. Bernard. Second edition. 3s.

De Oratore Libri Tres. With introduction and notes. By A. S. Wilkins. 8vo. 18s. Or separately, Book I. Third edition. 7s. 6d. Book II. Second edition. 5s. Book III. 6s.

Fragments of Roman Poetry. Selected, with introduction and notes, by W. W. Merry. Second edition. Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.

Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin. With introductions and notes. By J. Wordsworth. 8vo. 18s.

Horace, Odes, Carmen Saeculare, and Epodes. By E. C. Wickham. 8vo. Third edition. 12s. Crown 8vo. Second edition. 6s.

Selected Odes. By the same. 2nd ed. 2s. Odes, Book I. 2s.

Satires, Epistles, De Arte Poetica. By the same. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

Text only: miniature Oxford edition. On writing-paper for MS notes, 3s. net; on Oxford India paper, roan, 4s. 6d. net.

Iuvenalis ad satiram vi additi versus xxxvi exscr. E. O. Winstedt. 2s. 6d. net.

Thirteen Satires. By C. H. Pearson and H. A. Strong. Cr. 8vo. 9s.

Livy, Book I. By Sir J. R. Seeley. Third edition. 8vo. 6s.

Books V–VII. By A. R. Cluer. Revised by P. E. Matheson. 5s. Separately: Book V, 2s. 6d.; Book VI, 2s.; Book VII, 2s.

Book IX. By T. Nicklin. Crown 8vo, 2s. 6d.; with vocabulary, 3s.

Books XXI–XXIII. By M. T. Tatham. Second edition, enlarged. 5s. Separately: Book XXI, 2s. 6d.; Book XXII, 2s. 6d.

Lucretius, Book V. Edited by W. D. Lowe. Crown 8vo. 1–782, 2s.; 783–1457, 2s.; together, 3s. 6d.

Manili Astronomicon Liber II. Ed. H. W. Garrod. 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

Noctes Manilianae. By Robinson Ellis. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Martialis Epigrammata Selecta (W. M. Lindsay's Text and critical notes). Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. On India paper. 5s.

Books I–VI, VII–XII. Edited by R. T. Bridge and E. D. C. Lake, each 3s. 6d. Notes only, each 2s.

Nepos. By Oscar Browning. Third edition, revised by W. R. Inge. 3s.

Nonius Marcellus, de compendiosa doctrina I–III. Edited, with introduction and critical apparatus, by J. H. Onions. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Ovid, Heroides, with the Greek translations of Planudes. Edited by Arthur Palmer. 8vo. With a facsimile. 21s.

Ibis. With scholia and commentary. By Robinson Ellis. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Tristia. Ed. S. G. Owen. 8vo. 16s. Fcap 8vo. Ed. 3. Bk. I, 3s. 6d. Bk. III, 2s.

Selections. By G. G. Ramsay. Third edition. 5s. 6d.

The following can be obtained either with or without vocabulary:

Metamorphoses, Book III. Edited by M. Cartwright. Crown 8vo. 2s. **Book XI.** Ed. G. A. T. Davies. Crown 8vo. 2s.

Stories from the Metamorphoses. Edited by D. A. Slater. Crown 8vo, illustrated. 2s. 6d.

Selections, Heroic & Elegiac. Ed. A. C. B. Brown. Cr. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

Persius, The Satires. With a translation and commentary, by John Conington. Edited by Henry Nettleship. Third edition. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

Plautus, Captivi. By Wallace M. Lindsay. Second edition. 2s. 6d.

Mostellaria. By E. A. Sonnenschein. Second edition. Fcap 8vo. Text interleaved. 4s. 6d.

Rudens. By the same. 8vo. 8s. 6d. **Editio minor,** Text and Appendix on Metre interleaved. Second edition. 4s. 6d.

Trinummus. By C. E. Freeman and A. Sloman. Third edition. 3s.

Plauti Codex Turnebi. By W. M. Lindsay. 8vo. 21s. net.

Pliny, Selected Letters. By C. E. Prichard and E. R. Bernard. Third edition. 3s.

Propertius. Index Verborum. By J. S. Phillimore. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. net. Translation by the same. Extra fcap 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

Selections. See Tibullus.

Quintilian, Institutionis Oratoriae Lib. X. By W. Peterson. 8vo. 12s. 6d. School edition. Fcap 8vo. Second edition. 3s. 6d.

Sallust. By W. W. Capes. Second edition. 4s. 6d.

Scriptores Latini Rei Metricae. Edited by T. Gaisford. 8vo. 6s. net.

Selections from the less known Poets. By North Pinder. 4s. net.

Tacitus. Edited, with introductions and notes, by H. Furneaux. 8vo.

Annals. Books I-VI. Second ed. 18s. Books XI-XVI. Second edition, revised by H. F. Pelham and C. D. Fisher. 21s.

Annals. (Text only.) Crown 8vo. 6s.

Books I-IV. 5s. Book I. Limp, 2s. Books V, VI, XI, XII (abridged from Furneaux's 8vo edition). By H. Pitman. [In the press.] Books XIII-XVI (abridged from Furneaux's 8vo edition). By H. Pitman. 4s. 6d.

De Germania. Vita Agricolae. 6s. 6d. each.

Dialogus de Oratoribus. Edited, with introduction and notes, by W. Peterson. 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

Terence, Adelphi. By A. Sloman. Second edition. 3s.

Andria. By C. E. Freeman and A. Sloman. Third edition. 3s.

Phormio. By A. Sloman. Second edition. 3s.

'Famulus.' By J. Sargeaunt and A. G. S. Raynor. 2s.

Tibullus and Propertius, Selections. By G. G. Ramsay. Third edition. 6s.

Velleius Paterculus. By Robinson Ellis. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Virgil. By T. L. Papillon and A. E. Haigh. Two volumes. Crown 8vo. Cloth, 6s. each; or stiff covers, 3s. 6d. each.

Text only (including the minor works emended by R. Ellis). Miniature Oxford edition. By the same editors. 32mo. On writing-paper, 3s. net; on Oxford India paper, roan, 4s. 6d. net.

Aeneid, Books I-III, IV-VI, VII-IX, X-XII. By the same editors. 2s. each part. Book IX, by A. E. Haigh, 1s. 6d.; in two parts, 2s.

Bucolics and Georgics. By the same editors. 2s. 6d.

Bucolics. 2s. 6d. Georgics, Books I, II, 2s. 6d. Books III, IV, 2s. 6d. Aeneid, Book I. Limp cloth, 1s. 6d. All by C. S. Jerram.

Literature of the Early Empire: selections edited by A. C. B. Brown. Crown 8vo, in two parts, each 2s. 6d.; together 4s. 6d.

Somnium Scipionis. Fcap. 8vo. Paper covers, 3d.; cloth, 4d. (Oxford Plain Texts.)

Pervigilium Veneris. Introd. by J. W. Mackail. Cloth, 4d. (Oxford Plain Texts.)

History of Ancient Rome

Clinton's Fasti Romani, from the death of Augustus to the death of Heraclius. Two volumes. 4to. £2 2s. net. Epitome. 8vo. 7s. net.

Latin Historical Inscriptions, illustrating the history of the Early Empire. By G. M'N. Rushforth. 8vo. 10s. net.

Sources for Roman History, B.C. 133–70. By A. H. J. Greenidge and A. M. Clay. Crown 8vo. 5s. 6d. net.

Essays on Roman History. By H. F. Pelham. Edited by F. Haverfield. Royal 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

Hannibal's March through the Alps. By Spenser Wilkinson. 8vo, illustrated. 7s. 6d. net.

A Junior History of Rome. By M. A. Hamilton. Crown 8vo, with illustrations and maps. 4s. 6d.

Latin Language and Literature

The Latin Language, being an historical account of Latin Sounds, Stems, and Flexions. By W. M. Lindsay. 8vo. 21s.

Post-Augustan Poetry from Seneca to Juvenal. By H. E. Butler. 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.

Fontes Prosae Numerosae collegit A. C. Clark. 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.

The Cursus in Mediaeval and Vulgar Latin. By the same Author. 8vo. 2s. net. The two bound together, 4s. 6d. net.

Professor Sellar's Books

Roman Poets of the Republic. Third edition. Crown 8vo. 10s.

Roman Poets of the Augustan Age. Crown 8vo. viz.: **Virgil.** Third edition. 9s., and **Horace and the Elegiac Poets,** with a memoir of the Author, by Andrew Lang. Second edition. 7s. 6d.
(A limited number of copies of the first edition of *Horace*, containing a portrait of the Author, can still be obtained in Demy 8vo, price 14s.)

Professor Nettleship's Books

Contributions to Latin Lexicography. 8vo. 21s.

Lectures and Essays. Second Series. Edited by F. Haverfield. With portrait and memoir. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. (The first series is out of print.)

The Roman Satura. 8vo. Sewed. 1s.

Professor Ellis's Lectures

8vo, each 1s. net. Published by Mr. Frowde.

Juvenal, The New Fragments.—Phaedrus, The Fables.—The Correspondence of Fronto and M. Aurelius.—Catullus in the Fourteenth Century.—A Bodleian MS of Copa, Moretum, and other Poems of the Appendix Vergiliana. (Cr. 8vo.)—The Elegiae in Maecenatem.—The Annalist Licinianus, with an Appendix of Emendations of the Text.—Prof. Birt's Edition of the Vergilian Catalepton. The Tenth Declamation of (Pseudo) Quintilian.

OXFORD CLASSICAL TEXTS

Crown 8vo. Prices in cloth (A), interleaved (B), on India paper (C)
Uncut copies in paper covers at 6d. less (1s. for those priced at 6s. or above in cloth)

Greek

	A	B	C
Aeschylus. A. Sidgwick	3s. 6d.	7s. 6d.	4s. 6d.
Antoninus. J. H. Leopold	3s.	5s. 6d.	4s.
Apollonius Rhodius. R. C. Seaton	3s.	5s. 6d.	4s.
Aristophanes. F. W. Hall, W. M. Geldart			8s. 6d.
I. Ach., Eq., Nub., Vesp., Pax, Aves.	3s. 6d.	7s. 6d.	4s. 6d.
II. Lys., Thesm., Ran., Eccl., Plut. fr.	3s. 6d.	7s. 6d.	4s. 6d.
Aristotle. I. Bywater. De Arte Poetica	2s.	4s. 6d.	
Ethica. (Quarto writing-paper, 10s. 6d.)	4s.	8s.	
Bucolici Graeci. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.	3s.	7s.	4s.
Demosthenes. S. H. Butcher			12s. 6d.
I. Orationes I–XIX	4s. 6d.	8s. 6d.	
II. i. Orationes XX–XXVI	3s. 6d.	7s. 6d.	
Euripides. G. G. A. Murray			12s. 6d.
I. Cyc., Alc., Med., Heracl., Hip., Andr., Hec.	3s. 6d.	7s. 6d.	9s.
II. Suppl., Herc., Ion, Tro., El., I. T.	3s. 6d.	7s. 6d.	
III. Hel., Phoen., Or., Bacch., Iph. Aul., Rh.	3s. 6d.	7s. 6d.	4s. 6d.
Hellenica Oxyrhynchia cum Theopompi et Cratippi fragmentis. B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt	4s. 6d.	8s. 6d.	
Herodotus. K. Hude. I (Books I–IV)	4s. 6d.	10s.	12s. 6d.
II (Books V–IX)	4s. 6d.	10s.	
Homer. I–II. Iliad. D. B. Monro, T. W. Allen. I–XII	3s.	5s. 6d.	7s.
Books XIII–XXIV	3s.	5s. 6d.	10s. net
III–IV. Odyssey. T. W. Allen. Books I–XII	3s.	5s. 6d.	6s.
Books XIII–XXIV	3s.	5s. 6d.	
V. Hymns, etc. T. W. Allen. [In the press.]			
Hyperides. F. G. Kenyon	3s. 6d.	6s.	
Longinus. A. O. Prickard	2s. 6d.	5s.	
Plato. J. Burnet. (India Paper I–III, 20s. IV–V, 18s.)			
I. Euth., Apol., Crit., Ph.; Crat., Tht., Soph., Polit.	6s.	12s.	7s.
II. Par., Phil., Symp., Phdr.; Alc. I, II, Hipp., Am.	6s.	12s.	7s.
III. Thg., Chrm., Lch., Lys.; Euthd., Prot., Gorg., Men.; Hp., Ma. et Min., Io, Mnx.	6s.	12s.	7s.
IV. Clit., Rep., Tim., Critias.	7s.	14s.	8s. 6d.
Republic separately (4to with margin, 10s. 6d.)	6s.	12s.	
Clit., Tim., Crit., paper covers, 2s.			
V. Part i. Minos, Leges I–VIII	8s.	16s.	10s. 6d.
Part ii. Leges IX–XII, Ep., Epp., Def., Spuria			
Separately: Tetr. i; Ap. and Men.; Tetr. v, paper covers, 2s. each. Tetr. vi	4s.		
Theophrasti Characteres. H. Diels	3s. 6d.	6s.	
Thucydides. H. Stuart Jones. Bks. I–IV; V–VIII each	3s. 6d.	7s. 6d.	together 8s. 6d.
Xenophon. E. C. Marchant. I–III			12s. 6d.
I. Historia Graeca and III. Anabasis each	3s.	7s.	
II. Libri Socratici and IV. Institutio Cyri. each	3s. 6d.	7s. 6d.	

The Oxford Greek Testament. The Revisers' Text, with app. crit. by A. Souter (Quarto writing-paper, 8s. 6d. net). Not sold in paper covers — 3s. net; 4s. net.

Latin

	A	B	C
Asconius. A. C. Clark	3s. 6d.	6s.	
Caesar, Commentarii. R. L. A. Du Pontet			7s.
Bellum Gallicum	2s. 6d.	6s.	
Bellum Civile	3s.	7s.	
Catullus. R. Ellis	2s. 6d.	5s.	
With Tibullus and Propertius			8s. 6d.
Cicero, Epistulae. L. C. Purser			21s.
I. ad Fam.	6s.	12s.	
II. ad Att., Pars i (1–8), Pars ii (9–16)	each 4s. 6d.	8s. 6d.	
III. ad Q. F., ad M. Brut., Fragm.	3s.	5s. 6d.	
Orationes.			
Rosc. Am., I. Pomp., Clu., Cat., Mur., Cael. A. C. Clark	3s.	7s.	18s. 6d.
Pro Milone, Caesarianae, Philippicae. A. C. Clark.	3s.	7s.	
Verrinae. W. Peterson	4s.	8s.	
Quinct., Rosc. Com., Caec., Leg. Agr., Rab. Perduell., Flacc., Pis., Rab. Post. A. C. Clark	3s.	7s.	16s.
Post Reditum, De Domo, Har. Resp., Sest., Vat., Prov. Cons., Balb. W. Peterson	3s.	7s.	
Tull., Font., Sull., Arch., Planc., Scaur. A. C. Clark	2s. 6d.	5s.	
Rhetorica. A. S. Wilkins			7s. 6d.
I. De Oratore	3s.	7s.	
II. Brutus, etc.	3s. 6d.	7s. 6d.	
Horace. E. C. Wickham	3s.	5s. 6d.	4s. 6d.
Isidori Etymologiae. W. M. Lindsay. Two vols.	20s.	32s.	25s.
Lucretius. C. Bailey	3s.	5s. 6d.	4s.
Martial. W. M. Lindsay	6s.	12s.	7s. 6d.
Nepos. E. O. Winstedt	2s.	4s. 6d.	
Persius and Juvenal. S. G. Owen	3s.	5s. 6d.	4s.
Plautus. W. M. Lindsay. I. Amph.—Merc.	6s.	13s. 6d.	16s.
II. Miles—fragm	6s.	13s. 6d.	
Propertius. J. S. Phillimore. (I. P. with Catullus)	3s.	5s. 6d.	
Statius.			10s. 6d.
Silvae. J. S. Phillimore	3s. 6d.	6s.	
Thebais and Achilleis. H. W. Garrod	6s.	12s.	
Tacitus.			15s.
Annales. C. D. Fisher.	6s.	12s.	7s.
Historiae. C. D. Fisher	4s.	7s. 6d.	5s. 6d.
Opera Minora. H. Furneaux	2s.	4s. 6d.	
Terence. R. Y. Tyrrell	3s. 6d.	7s. 6d.	5s.
Tibullus. J. P. Postgate. (India Paper, see Catullus)	2s.	4s. 6d.	
Vergil. Sir Arthur Hirtzel	3s. 6d.	8s. 6d.	4s. 6d.
Appendix Vergiliana. R. Ellis	4s.	7s.	

Greek Language (for Dictionaries see p. 34

A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect. By D. B. Monro. 8vo. Ed. 2, 14s.

The Sounds and Inflections of Greek Dialects (Ionic). By H. W. Smyth. 8vo. £1 4s.

A Glossary of Greek Birds. By D'Arcy W. Thompson, C.B. 8vo. 10s. n.

Practical Introduction to Greek Accentuation. By H. W. Chandler. 8vo. 2nd ed. 10s. 6d. Also an abridgement. Fcap 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Annotated Greek Classics. Extra fcap 8vo

For Oxford Classical Texts, see p. 40; for Oxford Translations, p. 21.

Aeschylus. By Arthur Sidgwick. With the text of the *Oxford Classical Texts*.

Agamemnon. Sixth edition revised. 3s. Choephoroi. Ed. 2, revised. 3s. Eumenides. Third edition. 3s. Persae. 3s.
Septem contra Thebas. 3s.
Prometheus Vinctus. By A. O. Prickard. Fourth edition. 2s.

Aristophanes. By W. W. Merry. Acharnians. Ed. 5. 3s.
Birds. Ed. 4. 3s. 6d. Clouds. Ed. 2. 3s. Frogs. Ed. 5 3s.
Knights. Ed. 2. 3s. Peace. 3s. 6d. Wasps. Ed. 2. 3s. 6d.

Cebes, Tabula. By C. S. Jerram. Stiff covers, 1s. 6d.; cloth, 2s. 6d.

Demosthenes. By Evelyn Abbott and P. E. Matheson.

Against Philip. Vol. I: Philippic I, Olynthiacs I-III. Ed. 4. 3s.
Vol. II: De Pace, Philippic II, de Chersoneso, Philippic III. 4s. 6d.
Philippics I-III (reprinted from above). 2s. 6d.
On the Crown. 3s. 6d.
Against Meidias. By J. R. King. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Euripides. Alcestis. By C. S. Jerram. Fifth edition. 2s. 6d.
Bacchae. A. H. Cruickshank. 3s. 6d. Cyclops. W. E. Long. 2s. 6d.
Hecuba. C. B. Heberden. 2s. 6d. Helena. C. S. Jerram. Ed. 2. 3s.
Heracleidae. C. S. Jerram. 3s. Ion. C. S. Jerram. 3s.
Iphigenia in Tauris. C. S. Jerram. Medea. C. B. Heberden. Ed. 3. (revised ed.). 3s. 2s.

Herodotus, Book IX. By Evelyn Abbott. 3s.
Selections. With a map. By W. W. Merry. 2s. 6d.

Homer, Iliad. By D. B. Monro. I-XII. With a brief Homeric Grammar. Fifth edition. 6s. Book I, with the Homeric Grammar, separately. Third edition. 1s. 6d. XIII-XXIV. Fourth edition. 6s.
Book III (for beginners), by M. T. Tatham. 1s. 6d. Book XXI. By Herbert Hailstone. 1s. 6d.

Homer, Odyssey. By W. W. Merry.
I XII. Sixty-sixth thousand. 5s. Books I and II, separately, each 1s. 6d. Books VI and VII. 1s. 6d. Books VII-XII. 3s.
XIII-XXIV. 16th thousand. 5s. Bks. XIII-XVIII. 3s. Bks. XIX-XXIV. 3s.

Isocrates, Cyprian Orations. Edited by E. S. Forster. Cr. 8vo. [In the press.]

Lucian, Vera Historia. By C. S. Jerram. Second edition. 1s. 6d.

Dialogues prepared for Schools. By W. H. D. Rouse. Text 2s., Notes in Greek 2s.

Lysias, Epitaphios. By F. J. Snell. 2s.

Plato. By St. George Stock. **Euthyphro.** 2s. 6d. **Apology.** Ed. 3. 2s. 6d. **Crito.** 2s. **Meno.** Ed. 3. 2s. 6d. **Ion.** 2s. 6d.

Euthydemus. With revised text, introduction, notes, and indices, by E. H. Gifford. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Phaedo. With introd. and notes by John Burnet. Crown 8vo. 5s.

Menexenus. By J. A. Shawyer. Crown 8vo. 2s.

Selections. By J. Purves with preface by B. Jowett. 2nd ed. 5s.

Plutarch, Lives of the Gracchi. By G. E. Underhill. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Coriolanus (for Junior Students). With introduction and notes. 2s.

Sophocles. By Lewis Campbell and Evelyn Abbott. New and revised edition. Two volumes: Vol. I text 4s. 6d.; Vol. II notes 6s.

Or singly 2s. each (text and notes), Ajax, Antigone, Electra, Oedipus Coloneus, Oedipus Tyrannus, Philoctetes, Trachiniae.

Scenes from Sophocles, edited by C. E. Laurence. With illustrations. 1s. 6d. each. (1) **Ajax.** (2) **Antigone.**

Select Fragments of the Greek Comic Poets. By A. W. Pickard-Cambridge. Crown 8vo. 5s.

Golden Treasury of Ancient Greek Poetry. By Sir R. S. Wright. Second edition. Revised by E. Abbott. Extra fcap 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Golden Treasury of Greek Prose. By Sir R. S. Wright and J. E. L. Shadwell. Extra fcap 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Theocritus. By H. Kynaston. Fifth edition. 4s. 6d.

Thucydides. Book III. By H. F. Fox. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. **Book IV.** By T. R. Mills. With an introductory essay by H. S. Jones. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. Notes only, 2s. 6d.

Xenophon. (See also p. 34.)

Anabasis. Each of the first four Books is now issued in uniform cloth binding at 1s. 6d. Each volume contains introduction, text, notes, and a full vocabulary to the Anabasis. Book I. By J. Marshall. Book II. By C. S. Jerram. Books III and IV. By J. Marshall. Books III, IV, 3s. *Vocabulary to the Anabasis*, by J. Marshall. 1s.

Cyropaedia, Book I. 2s. Books IV and V. 2s. 6d. By C. Bigg.

Hellenica, Books I, II. By G. E. Underhill. 3s.

Memorabilia. By J. Marshall. 4s. 6d.

Editions etc of Greek Authors mostly with English notes

Appian, Book I. Edited with map and appendix on Pompey's passage of the Alps, by J. L. Strachan-Davidson. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Aristophanes, A Concordance to. By H. Dunbar. 4to. £1 1s. net.

Aristotle.

The Poetics. A revised Greek text, with critical introduction, English translation and commentary, by I. Bywater. 8vo. 16s. net.

De Arte Poetica Liber recognovit I. Bywater. See p. 40.

Ethica Nicomachea recognovit I. Bywater. See p. 40.

Contributions to the Textual Criticism of Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics. By I. Bywater. Stiff cover. 2s. 6d.

Notes on the Nicomachean Ethics. By J. A. Stewart. 2 vols. Post 8vo. £1 12s.

The English Manuscripts of the Nicomachean Ethics. By J. A. Stewart. Crown 4to. 3s. 6d. net.

Selecta ex Organo Capitula: in usum Scholarum Academicarum. Crown 8vo, stiff covers. 3s. 6d.

The Politics, with introduction, notes, etc, by W. L. Newman. 4 vols. Medium 8vo. 14s. net per volume.

The Politics, translated into English, with introduction, notes, and indices, by B. Jowett. Medium 8vo. Vol. I, 10s. net; Vol. II, 8s. 6d. net.

Aristotelian Studies. On the Structure of the Seventh Book of the Nicomachean Ethics. By J. Cook Wilson. 8vo. 5s.

On the History of the Aristotelian Writings. By R. Shute. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Physics, Book VII. With introduction by R. Shute. 2s. net.

The Works of Aristotle. Translated into English under the Editorship of J. A. Smith and W. D. Ross. 8vo.

Parva Naturalia. By J. I. Beare and G. R. T. Ross. 3s. 6d. net.

De Lineis Insecabilibus. By H. H. Joachim. 2s. 6d. net.

Metaphysica. (Vol. VIII.) By W. D. Ross. 7s. 6d. net.

De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus. By L. D. Dowdall. 2s. net.

Historia Animalium. (Vol. IV.) By D'Arcy W. Thompson. 10s. 6d. net.

De Generatione Animalium. By A. Platt. 7s. 6d. net.

De Partibus Animalium. By W. Ogle. 5s. net.

Aristoxenus. Edited, with introduction, music, translation, and notes, by H. S. Macran. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

Demosthenes and Aeschines on the Crown. With introductory essays and notes, by G. A. Simcox and W. H. Simcox. 8vo. 12s.

Heracliti Ephesii Reliquiae. Edited by I. Bywater, with Diogenes Laertius' Life of Heraclitus, etc. 8vo. 6s.

Herodas. Edited, with full introduction and notes, by J. Arbuthnot Nairn. With facsimiles of the fragments and other illustrations. 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.

Herodotus, Books V and VI. Terpsichore and Erato. Edited, with notes and appendices, by E. Abbott. With two maps. Post 8vo. 6s.

Homer, A Concordance to the Odyssey and Hymns; and to the Parallel Passages in the Iliad, Odyssey, and Hymns. By H. Dunbar. 4to. £1 1s. net.

Odyssey. Books I-XII. Edited, with English notes, appendices, etc, by W. W. Merry and J. Riddell. Second edition. 8vo. 16s.

Books XIII-XXIV. Edited, with English notes, appendices, and illustrations, by D. B. Monro. 8vo. 16s.

Hymni Homerici codicibus denuo collatis recensuit A. Goodwin. Small folio. With four plates. £1 1s. net.

Scholia Graeca in Iliadem. Edited by W. Dindorf, after a new collation of the Venetian MSS by D. B. Monro. 4 vols. 8vo. £2 10s. net. See also p. 47.

'The Oxford Homer'; the text edited by D. B. Monro and T. W. Allen. Crown 8vo, on India paper. 10s. 6d. net.

Homerica. Emendations and Elucidations of the Odyssey. By T. L. Agar. 8vo. 14s. net.

Index Andocideus, Lycurgeus, Dinarcheus, confectus ab L. L. Forman. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

Menander's Γεωργός, the Geneva Fragment, with text, translation, and notes, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. 8vo, stiff covers. 1s. 6d.

Νόμος Ῥοδίων Ναυτικός. The Rhodian Sea-Law. Edited, with introduction, translation, and commentary, by W. Ashburner. 8vo. 18s. net.

Plato, Philebus. Edited by E. Poste. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Republic. Edited, with notes and essays, by B. Jowett and L. Campbell. In three volumes. Medium 8vo, cloth. £2 2s.

Sophistes and Politicus. Edited by L. Campbell. 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

Theaetetus. Edited by L. Campbell. 2nd ed. 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

The Dialogues, translated into English, with analyses and introductions, by B. Jowett. Third edition. Five volumes, medium 8vo. £4 4s. In half-morocco, £5. *The Subject-Index to the second edition of the Dialogues*, by E. Abbott, separately. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

The Republic, translated into English, by B. Jowett. Third edition. Medium 8vo. 12s. 6d. Half-roan, 14s.

Selections from Jowett's translation, with introductions by M. J. Knight. Two volumes. Crown 8vo. 12s.

Polybius, Selections. Edited by J. L. Strachan-Davidson. With maps. Medium 8vo, buckram. 21s.

Sophocles, The Plays and Fragments. Ed. L. Campbell. 8vo. Vol. I: O. T. O. C. Ant. 16s. Vol. II: Ajax. El. Trach. Phil. Fragm. 16s.

Strabo, Selections. With an introduction on Strabo's Life and Works. By H. F. Tozer. With maps and plans. Post 8vo, cloth. 12s.

Thucydides. Translated into English by B. Jowett. Second edition, revised. 2 vols. 8vo. 15s. Vol. I: Essay on Inscriptions, and Books I–III. Vol. II: Books IV–VIII, and Historical Index.

Xenophon, Hellenica. Annotated, with introduction and appendices, by G. E. Underhill. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. Also with the Oxford Text by E. C. Marchant, one volume. 7s. 6d. net.

Palaeography: Papyri

An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography. By Sir E. Maunde Thompson, K.C.B. [In the press.]

Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Sinaiticorum. Scripsit V. Gardthausen. With facsimiles. 8vo, linen. £1 5s. net.

On abbreviations in Greek MSS. By T. W. Allen. Royal 8vo. 5s.

An Alexandrian erotic fragment and other Greek papyri, chiefly Ptolemaic. Edited by B. P. Grenfell. Small 4to. 8s. 6d. net.

New classical fragments and other papyri. Edited by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. 12s. 6d. net.

Revenue laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Edited by B. P. Grenfell and J. P. Mahaffy. £1 11s. 6d. net.

Palaeography of Greek papyri, by F. G. Kenyon. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Older Editions of Greek Authors. 8vo

The Greek texts in fine and generally large type: the Scholia (and some of the texts) have not appeared in any later editions. Latin annotations.

Aeschinem et Isocratem, Scholia in, ed. G. Dindorfius. 4s.

Aeschylus ex rec. G. Dindorfii. Tragoedíae et Fragmenta. Ed. 2. 5s. 6d. net. Annotationes. Partes II. 10s. 6d. net. Quae supersunt in codice Laurentiano edidit R. Merkel. Small folio. £1 1s. net.

Apsinis et Longini Rhetorica recensuit Joh. Bakius. 3s.

Aristophanes ex rec. G. Dindorfii. Comoedíae et Fragmenta. Tomi II. 10s. 6d. net. Annotationes. Partes II. 8vo. 10s. 6d. net. Scholia Graeca. Partes III. £1 1s. net. J. Caravellae Index. 3s.

Aristoteles ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri. Accedunt Indices Sylburgiani. Tomi I–XI. 8vo. The nine volumes in print (I–Organon) and IX (Ethica) are out of print) separately, price 5s. 6d. each.

Choerobosci Dictata in Theodosii Canones, necnon Epimerismi in Psalmos edidit Thomas Gaisford. Tomi III. 8vo. 15s. net.

Demosthenes ex recensione G. Dindorfii. Tomi IX. 8vo. £2 6s. Separately: Textus, £1 1s. Annotationes, 15s. Scholia, 10s.

Etymologicon Magnum. Edited by T. Gaisford. Folio. (Out of print.)

Euripides ex rec. G. Dindorfii. Tragoedíae et Fragmenta. Tomi II. 10s. Annotationes. Partes II. 10s. Scholia Graeca. Tomi IV. £1 16s. Alcestis. 2s. 6d.

Harpocrationis Lexicon ex rec. G. Dindorfii. Tomi II. 21s. net.

Hephaestionis Enchiridion, Terentianus Maurus, Proclus, etc. edidit T. Gaisford. Tomi II. 12s. 6d. net.

Homerus:

Ilias, cum annotatione Heynii. Accedunt Scholia minora. Tomi II. 15s.
Ex rec. G. Dindorfii. Ilias. 5s. 6d. Odyssea. 5s. 6d.
Scholia in Iliadem. See p. 45.
Scholia in Iliadem Townleyana rec. Ernestus Maass. 2 vols. £1 16s. net.
Scholia Graeca in Odysseam. Tomi II. 18s. net.
Seberi Index in Homerum. 6s. 6d.

Oratores Attici ex recensione Bekkeri: Vol. III. Isaeus, Æschines, Lycurgus, etc. 7s. 6d. net. Vols. I and II are out of print.

Paroemiographi Graeci edidit T. Gaisford. Out of print.

Index Graecitatis Platonicae confecit T. Mitchell. 2 vols. 5s.

Plotinus edidit F. Creuzer. Tomi III. 4to. 42s. net.

Plutarchi Moralia edidit D. Wyttenbach Accedit Index Graecitatis, Tomi VIII. Partes XV. £3 10s. net.

Sophoclis Tragoediae et Fragmenta cum annotationibus G. Dindorfii. 8vo; Vol. I, text, 5s. 6d. Vol. II, notes, 4s. 6d. Fcap 8vo, 2 vols. 21s. Each play separately, 1s.; text only, 6d. Text on writing-paper, 8s.

Stobaei Florilegium ad MSS fidem emendavit et supplevit T. Gaisford. Tomi IV. 8vo. £3 3s. net. Eclogarum Physicarum et Ethicarum libri duo: accedit Hieroclis Commentarius in aurea carmina Pythagoreorum. Recensuit T. Gaisford. Tomi II. 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.

Suidae Lexicon. Edited by T. Gaisford. Three vols. Folio. Large paper copies, £6 6s. net. (A few copies remain.)

Xenophon ex rec. et cum annotatt. L. Dindorfii.

Hist. Gr. Ed. 2. 10s. 6d. Expeditio Cyri. Ed. 2. 10s. 6d. Institutio Cyri. 10s. 6d. Memorabilia Socratis. 7s. 6d. Opuscula Politica Equestria et Venatica cum Arriani Libello de Venatione. 10s. 6d.

Greek Literature

Interpretation of Greek Literature. By G. Murray. 8vo. 1s. net.

The Rise of the Greek Epic. By Gilbert Murray. Second edition (1911) revised and enlarged. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

Greek Historical Writing and **Apollo.** Two Lectures by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. Translation by Gilbert Murray. 8vo. 2s. net.

The Attic Theatre. By A. E. Haigh. Third edition, revised and in part rewritten by A. W. Pickard-Cambridge. Illustrated. 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
A few copies of the second edition can still be obtained.

Greek Tragic Drama. By A. E. Haigh. Illustrated. 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

Ancient Classical Drama. By R. G. Moulton. Ed. 2. Cr. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

Romances of Chivalry on Greek Soil: The Romanes Lecture, 1911. By J. B. Bury. 2s. net.

The Value of Byzantine and Modern Greek. By S. Menardos. 8vo. 1s. n.

The Erasmian Pronunciation of Greek. A Lecture by I. Bywater. 8vo. 1s. net (published by Mr. Frowde).

History and Art of Ancient Greece

Scripta Minoa. By Sir Arthur Evans. Ry. 4to. Vol. I. Hieroglyphic and Primitive Linear Classes. With plates, figures, and other illustrations. £2 2s. n.

The Cults of the Greek States. By L. R. Farnell. 8vo. Five volumes, 207 plates. I-II, 32s. net; III-IV, 32s. net; V. 18s. 6d. net.

Historia Numorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics. By Barclay V. Head. New and enlarged edition (1911). Royal 8vo, cloth, £2 2s. net; with morocco back, £2 6s. net.

Sources for Greek History between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. By G. F. Hill. 8vo. Reissue, revised. 10s. 6d. net.

A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions. By E. L. Hicks. New edition, revised by G. F. Hill. 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

The Inscriptions of Cos. By W. R. Paton & E. L. Hicks. Ry. 8vo. £1 8s.

Ionia and the East. By D. G. Hogarth. 8vo. With a map. 3s. 6d. net.

The Greek Commonwealth. Politics and Economics in Fifth-Century Athens. By A. E. Zimmern. 8vo. 8s. 6d. net.

The History of Sicily from the earliest times. By E. A. Freeman. 8vo.
Vols. I and II. The Native Nations: The Phoenician and Greek Settlements to the beginning of Athenian Intervention. £2 2s. net.
Vol. III. The Athenian and Carthaginian Invasions. £1 4s. net.
Vol. IV. From the Tyranny of Dionysios to the Death of Agathoklês. Edited from posthumous MSS, by A. J. Evans. £1 1s. net.

Aetolia. By W. J. Woodhouse. Illustrated. Royal 8vo. £1 1s. net.

A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum. By J. L. Myres and Max Ohnefalsch-Richter. 8vo. With eight plates, 7s. 6d. net.

A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum. By M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace. 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.

Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Ashmolean Museum. By P. Gardner. Small folio, linen, with 26 plates. £3 3s. net.

Classical Archaeology in Schools. By P. Gardner and J. L. Myres. 8vo. Second edition. 1s. net.

Introduction to Greek Sculpture. By L. E. Upcott. Cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, from the LVIth to the CXXIIIrd Olympiad. Third edition. 4to. £1 14s. 6d. net. From the CXXIVth Olympiad to the Death of Augustus. Second edition. 4to. £1 12s. net. Epitome. 8vo. 6s. 6d. net.

Greswell's Fasti Temporis Catholici. 4 vols. 8vo. £2 10s. net. Tables and Introduction to Tables. 8vo. 15s. net. Origines Kalendariae Italicae. 4 vols. 8vo. £2 2s. net. Origines Kalendariae Hellenicae. 6 vols. 8vo. £4 4s. net.

Cramer's Description of Asia Minor. Two volumes. 8vo. 11s.

Description of Ancient Greece. 3 vols. 8vo. 16s. 6d.

Marmora Oxoniensia, inscriptiones Graecae ad Chandleri exempla editae, cur. Gul. Roberts, 1791. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

De Antiquis Marmoribus, Blasii Caryophili. 1828. 7s. 6d. net.

Fragmenta Herculanensia. (Oxford Fragments.) By W. Scott. Royal 8vo. £1 1s. Engravings from the Fragments. Folio. 10s. 6d., large paper £1 1s.

Herculanensium Voluminum Partes II. 1824. 8vo. 10s.

14 Day

Date Due

NOV 4 '68			
NOV 9 '68			
JAN 24 [illegible]			
NO 26 '68			
MY 18 '70			
MY 20 '70			
NO 11 '70			
NOV 8 1979			
MAR 18 1980			
MAY 20 1982			
FEB 22 '93			

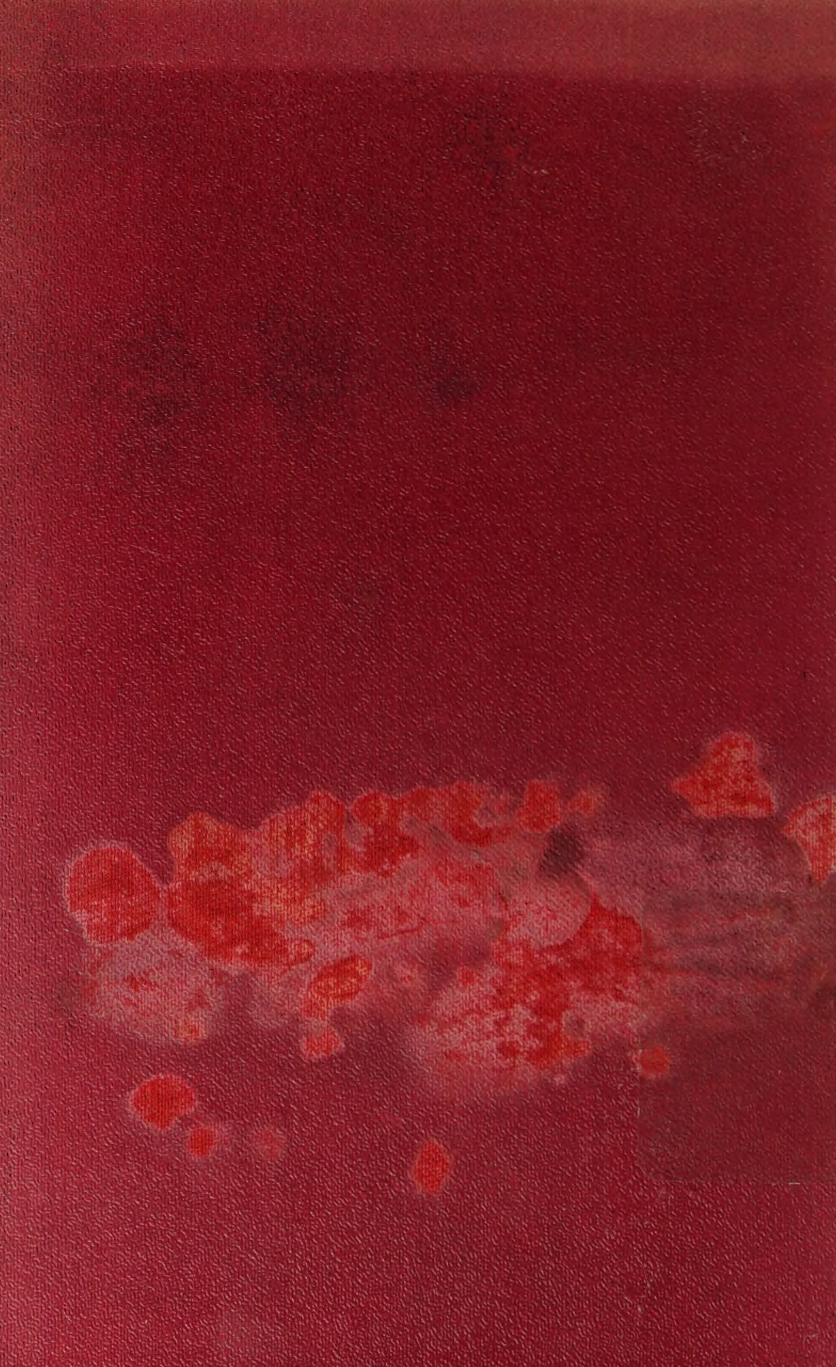
Demco 293-5

CINCINNATI BIBLE COLLEGE & SEM. LIBRARY
878.01 T118f
main
Tacitus, Cornelius/Cornelii Taciti Annal
3 4320 00079 8126

878.01 T118f
Ac. #15734
Tacitus, Cornelius.

Cornelii Taciti Annalium
libri I-IV

THE CINCINNATI BIBLE
SEMINARY LIBRARY

878.01 T118f
Ac. #15734
Tacitus, Cornelius.

Cornelii Taciti Annalium
libri I-IV